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ARCHAEOLOGIA :

OR,

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

RELATING TO

ANTIQUITY.

ARCHAEOLOGIA:

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ANTIQUITY.

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AT A COUNCIL OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES,
MAY 2, 1815.

ORDERED,

THAT, in future, any Gentleman desirous to have separate Copies of any Paper he may have presented to the Society, which shall be printed in the Archaeologia or Vetusta Monumenta, shall be allowed, on application in writing to the Secretary, to receive a number not exceeding Twenty Copies (free of all expense) of such Paper, as soon as it is printed.

ARCHAEOLOGIA:

OR,

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS,

&c.

1. *A Letter from JOHN GAGE, Esq. F.R.S., Director, to HUDSON GURNEY, Esq. F.R.S. V.P. &c. containing an account of further discoveries of Roman sepulchral relics at the Bartlow Hills.*

Read June 14, 1838.

DEAR SIR,

LORD Maynard having directed a further excavation to be made at the Bartlow hills, a gallery was commenced early in April last on the north side of the south barrow. This hill, according to the plan,^a is about thirty-five feet high, the diameter having been computed at ninety feet, but it exceeds a hundred. The gallery was constructed in the same manner as that opened in 1835 in the largest barrow, and had reached the centre of the hill on the 16th April, upon which day I inspected it in company with Lord Braybrooke and the Honourable Captain Percy. It extended fifty-two feet, and we observed that the tumulus was formed, like the largest barrow, of

^a Archæologia, vol. XXVI. p. 300.

earth and chalk, in horizontal strata. Our arrival took place shortly after the workmen had broken in upon a hollow, where we gladly anticipated the finding a sepulchral deposit, appearances being much the same as those observed on first opening the cavity in the centre of the other barrow.

On the following day, the 17th of April, we proceeded to explore the tomb, Lords Maynard and Braybrooke with their families, Captain Percy, Gally Knight, Esq. Professors Sedgwick, Whewell, and Henslow, the Reverends John Lodge and Henry Hutchinson Swinny, and the Rectors of Ashdon and Bartlow, and others, being present. A wooden chest had been laid nearly on the natural soil, in an artificial bed, the sides of which were washed with chalk that formed something of a cement, and from the indented lines of the chest, the largest side of which lay north-east by north, and north-west by west, the measurement of it was taken to be 3 ft. 5 in. by 3 ft. 2 in. the depth being 1 ft. 8 in. Beneath a quantity of loose earth, mixed with the decomposed wood of the chest, various sepulchral objects were discovered.

I. A square, wide-mouthed, greenish coloured glass urn,^b with a reeded handle ; it measures $12\frac{1}{2}$ in. high, and $6\frac{1}{8}$ in. square, and is full to the mouth with burnt human bones, white from cremation, in a dry state, and fine preservation.

II. A bronze *præfericulum* ^c (Plate I. fig. 1, 2,) with an elevated handle. The lower end of the handle terminates in the claw, and the upper in the head of a lion ; from the jaws of which issues a bucranium decorated with fillets :

Lanea dum niveâ circumdatur infula vittâ.—GEOR. iii. 486.

The eyes of the lion, and some ornamental parts of the handle are of silver ; the claw and ears of the lion, and also the fillets, are of copper. This vessel is $5\frac{1}{4}$ in. in height up to the lip, and about 7 inches to the top of the handle ; the diameter is 8 inches, and the weight 28 oz. 10 dwts.

III. A bronze *patera*,^d with a straight handle (Plates I. and II.), depth $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. diameter 8 in., weight forty ounces. At the upper part of the junction

^b Vide similar vessels, Archæolog. XXV. XXVI. plates ii. xxxii, fig. 8, 1.

^c Ibid. XXV. plate ii. fig. 2. XXVI, plate xxxiii. fig. 1.

^d Ibid.

of the handle with the vessel is the head of a ram, with the fore legs extended along the rim; and at the lower part is a cippus, with a diagonal band of silver; upon it is placed a basket of fruit; on each side of the cippus, on a table, is a mask, the eyes of which are of silver, and a small plate of the same metal, resembling a portion of a scallop shell, is placed contiguously to the forehead and nose of each. Both masks have a close cap or helmet, with a species of button projecting in front; that on the left hand has somewhat of the resemblance of a Phrygian cap, and a sort of lappet hangs over the ear; over each head appears to be a torch. On the upper part of the handle, next to the ram's head, are three dentated leaves; below is a mask, in a close cap, on which is a round cippus or altar; the mask has silver eyes, and a plate of silver similar to those before described; below the mask is a basket of fruit. This end of the handle is terminated by a head or mask, with a profusion of curled and braided hair, and with eyes of silver. In several parts appear traces of small portions of metal or enamel having been inserted.

IV. An iron lamp^e (Plate I. fig. 3) suspended by a chain to a long handle, neatly twisted; the extreme length of the whole is 20 inches, equal to the depth of the chest, to which it was doubtlessly affixed.

V. An oblong, double-handled, greenish glass vessel,^f more than half full of liquid, like water. It is $8\frac{5}{8}$ in. in height, $5\frac{1}{4}$ in. in length, $3\frac{1}{3}$ in. in width; diameter of mouth $3\frac{1}{3}$ in. height to the shoulder $6\frac{1}{4}$ in. The handles are reeded. At the bottom of the vessel is a circle, between the letters C. F.

VI. A glass vessel,^g broken, of the jar form, with a reeded handle, diameter of the lip $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

VII. Fragments of a small, thin, yellowish sparkling glass vessel, with a white coat adhering to it; either a lacrymatory, or more probably a cup similar to that found in the brick bustum in 1832.^h

VIII. A yellow spherical earthenware urn,ⁱ (Plate I. fig. 4,) height $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. circumference 1 ft. 11 in. diameter of the rim $6\frac{3}{8}$ in. diameter of the foot $2\frac{1}{4}$ in.

^e Archæologia, vol. XXV. plate xxxiii. fig. 10.

^f Vide a nearly similar vessel, Archæologia, vol. XXVI. plate xxxii. fig. 4.

^g Ibid. vol. XXV. plate ii. fig. 2.

^h Ibid. plate iii. fig. 8.

ⁱ The pitcher, fig. 3, plate ii. *ibid.* is of the same yellow pottery.

IX. and X. Two vessels^k of red glazed earthenware, found together, one in the form of a cup, (Plate I. fig. 5) and the other of a saucer. The potter's mark of the cup is IANVARS, and of the saucer, MACERATI. In the saucer were several bones not calcined.

XI. and XII. Two small earthenware urns^l tapering at the bottom, one red, the other brown; height of red vessel $3\frac{1}{5}$ in. diameter of rim $2\frac{3}{4}$ in.; height of brown vessel $3\frac{3}{5}$ in. diameter $2\frac{5}{8}$ in.

The sepulchre described, it will readily be perceived, is of the same character as those explored in 1832 and 1835, and the objects just noticed are none of them new to us, though some of them vary in form and circumstances from others before discovered. We have therefore few observations to make on the present occasion, and Lord Maynard has not thought it necessary to exhibit more than two or three of the objects discovered.

The human bones in the glass urn are those of an adult, and portions of the cranium are of considerable thickness. Neither the cinerary urn, nor the munera accompanying it are so magnificent as those found in the largest barrow.

As to the bones, not calcined, found in the red earthenware vessel, or saucer, Mr. Owen pronounces them to be fragments of a skeleton of a gallinaceous bird, most like the common fowl, not fully grown. The cock was sacred to Apollo,^m Mercury,ⁿ Æsculapius,^o and more particularly to Mars.^p It was sacrificed to the Lares, and other divinities.^q The dying charge of Socrates to his friend Crito will not be forgotten.^r

In a fragment of an inscription from the gardens of the Imperial Carini at Rome occurs, "Pro Gallo holocausto."^s At Christ Church^t in Hampshire, a large deposit was found of the bones of fowls, supposed to be sacred, belonging to some Roman temple. The bones of a cock^u were also found in a dark brown earthenware vessel on the eminence opposite the Dane John Hill, near the Watling street, Canterbury.

^k Archæologia, vol. XXV. plate ii. fig. 4.

^l Ibid. fig. 6, 7.

^m Ibid. vol. III. p. 139.

ⁿ Montfaucon, Antiq. Expliquée, i. tom. 127, 128, 130, 132, Leon. Agostini Gemm. Roma, 1686, n. 12.

^o Montfaucon, i. tom. 284, 286.

^p *Ἀπεὸς Νεοττός* Aristophanis Aves. Archæolog. III. p. 139. Agostini Gemm. n. 14.

^q Montfaucon, ii. tom. 159. v. tom. 226. vide tom. i. 180, 368.

^r Plato in Phædone.

^s Gruter, 125, 2.

^t Archæologia, vol. IV. p. 414.

^u Nenia Brit. 138.

The position of the *præfericulum* and bronze *patera* was, in the present instance, different to that in which similar vessels have been found on former occasions. The *patera* lay inverted, and the *præfericulum* stood erect upon it; so that the bottom of the *præfericulum*, becoming detached by the perishing of the solder, remained fixed in the outer of the concentric circles on the back of the *patera*. Some cloth or linen covered these vessels, remnants of which still adhere to the side of the *præfericulum*; other little portions were seen below, on the bed of the tomb. In a tumulus on Chartham Downs, in Kent, opened in 1730, among other things, was found the fragment of a brass vessel with a handle on the rim, probably a *patera* of the character described, and upon it were impressions of linen or woollen cloth.^x

Very close to these sacrificing vessels lay some sponge, which is one of the objects now exhibited to the Society. It is flat, and small in quantity, and had imbibed moisture. Livy,^y describing the arms of the Samnite Gladiators, says, that the covering of their breasts was sponge, "*spongia pectori tegumentum*." The sponge was used with the strigil at the baths, as may be seen in the drawing given by Montfaucon,^z from Boissard, of the interior of the baths of Metellus: they also occur in a nuptial balneal scene represented on an Etruscan vase figured by Passerius.^a

In our observations made in 1832 upon the objects found in the brick bustum, some conjectures were offered on a dark incrustation seen upon the cinerary urn. A branch of yew or other dark vegetable substance was supposed to have been the origin of it. This receives confirmation from the actual finding on the present occasion of vegetable remains scattered in the tomb, and adhering to several of the objects. Leaves were found adhering to the bottom of the cinerary urn, from which it would appear that some had been thrown in before the urn was deposited: while round the handle of the lamp a wreath would seem to have been entwined.

"These vegetable remains," remarks Mr. Brown, F.R.S., who has had the kindness to examine them, "appear to consist of the epidermis of leaves and ultimate branches of box, the vascular part and parenchyma being in

^x *Nen. Brit.* p. 21.

^y *Tit. Liv. lib. ix. cap. 40.*

^z *Montfaucon, tom. iii. pl. 124, p. 206.*

^a *Picturæ Etruscorum in Vasculis, &c. vol. i. tab. xxx. Romæ, MDCCLXVII.*

most cases entirely removed ! I judge the leaves to belong to Box (*Buxus sempervirens*), from their insertion as indicated in the ramuli, from their outline, size, thickened margin, and arrangement, and form of stomata, which in most cases, however, are removed, leaving round apertures of the form and size of the whole stoma."

Professor Henslow informs the writer of this memoir, that a skeleton was lately found in or near Chesterford churchyard, together with a Roman vase, and that box leaves lay loose in the soil near the skull and vase. Some of the leaves are in his possession, and they are similar to those found at Bartlow.

The Romans planted box at their places of sepulchre, as we learn from Varro :^a "Juxta sepulturam sunt buxus." And Martial beautifully contrasts its enduring simplicity with the perishable grandeur of the monumental pile :

Alcime, quem raptum domino crescentibus annis
 Labicana levi cespite velat humus,
 Accipe non Phario nutantia pondera saxo,
 Quæ cineri vanus dat ruitura labor ;
 Sed fragiles buxos et opacas palmitis umbras,
 Quæque virent lacrymis roscida prata meis.
 Accipe, care puer, nostri monumenta laboris :
 Hic tibi perpetuo tempore vivet honor.
 Cum mihi supremos Lachesis perneverit annos,
 Non aliter cineres mando jacere meos. Lib. i. Epig. 89.

We shall conclude these remarks by noticing from Mr. Wordsworth's poetical works, that, "in several parts^b of the North of England, when a funeral takes place, a basin full of sprigs of box-wood is placed at the door of the house from which the coffin is taken up ; and each person who attends the funeral ordinarily takes a sprig of the box-wood and throws it into the grave of the deceased."

I am, dear Sir, yours very faithfully,

HUDSON GURNEY, Esq.
 &c. &c. &c.

JOHN GAGE.

^a Rei Agrariæ Auctores, p. 296. Amstel. 1674.

^b Vol. i. p. 184, note to these lines :

" Fresh sprigs of green box-wood, not six months before,
 Filled the funeral basin at Timothy's door."

II. *On the Antiquity and Invention of the Lock Canal of Exeter ;
in a Letter from PHILIP CHILWELL DE LA GARDE, Esq. to
Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H. F.R.S. Secretary.*

Read 11th January, 1838.

SIR,

Exeter, January 8th, 1838.

UNDER the conviction that every research which tends to fix the date of an improvement in Science, is useful to the promotion of that correct knowledge of our country which is one of the chief objects of the Society of Antiquaries, I beg to offer, through you, the following remarks on the *Origin of the Lock Canal of Exeter*, which I believe to be the earliest of that description of works in England.

It is usually supposed that the formation of artificial *Lock* Canals in this country does not date earlier than 1755 :^a but I am able to prove that a

^a Trans. Inst. Civil Engineers, "Introduction." Rees's Cyclop. and the Encycl. Metropol. art. "Canal." In the edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica, now publishing, the article "Inland Navigation," which appeared last year, gives the following particulars of the Exe River and Exeter Canal. "The estuary of the Exe is navigable for eight miles, from Exeter up to the town of Topsham, and a little above this a canal proceeds from the river, running full three miles up its west side. It is said that the first lock constructed in England was on this navigation, in 1675. But in 1829 an Act was passed for making the canal enter the estuary at the Turf, two miles lower down, which will increase its length to five miles, with a depth of fifteen feet." This account admits of correction: for "eight miles," read, six miles ; for "from Exeter," read, from Exmouth ; for "a little above," read, rather less than two miles below ; for "1675," read 1566 ; and for "three miles," read, five miles ; and if to these little alterations it be added, in explanation, that the canal was already extended to Turf, and deepened to the extent of fifteen feet, in 1829, and that the Act was passed to remove some legal difficulty regarding the tolls, a fair apprehension of the facts of the case may be obtained.

navigable Canal, with a complete apparatus of Pound Locks, was formed at Exeter so far back as the year 1566.^b

As the origin of this work may be indirectly referred to events which occurred in the beginning of the reign of the first Edward, I will begin my inquiry at that period: for it will serve to exhibit a picture of those times of violence, and of the still imperfect state of public liberty a century after the apparent triumph of the popular cause at Runnymede.

The inordinate power of the Barons over the Commonalty of England did not cease with the sealing of Magna Charta. For many years (especially in remote parts of the kingdom) we observe a constant endeavour on the part of the Nobles to recover their feudal supremacy, and a constant, though generally feeble, struggle on the part of the Burgesses of free towns to vindicate their claims to freedom. The struggles of the Corporation of Exeter with the house of Courtenay form an epoch in the history of Devon.

The river Exe is naturally only navigable for large vessels as far as Topsham, on the left bank of the river, four miles below Exeter. Smaller craft, however, and large barges, could with the tide ascend to the water-gate of the city, in sufficient numbers to supply the wants of the inhabitants. Thus stood matters in the reign of Edward the First.

At that time the Lady *Isabella de Fortibus*, Countess of Aumerle and of Holdernes, of the Isle of Wight and of Devon, who owned the village and port of Topsham, as well as lands on both sides of the Exe, erected Countess-weir. What might be her object, whether jealousy of the rising inde-

^b I am not prepared to maintain that it was the first pound-lock canal ever constructed, though I think it highly probable. It has been said by La Lande, whose work I have not seen, that true locks were set up in the Brenta in 1488, and in the Milan canals shortly after. Unless his statement be supported by strong evidence, I should entertain great doubts; for, had this been the case, it is strange that the canal of Briare, which was not commenced until many years after that of Exeter was completed, should have been the first in France to which so important an invention was applied. The term Lock was, until a recent period, used in this country for a sluice formed of two gates. In an Act passed in the "12 Edw. IV. A. D. 1472," we read of "lokkez," which no one will imagine were pound-locks. Indeed it is worth observing, that neither in the reign of Elizabeth, nor of William the Third, were the Locks at Exeter called Locks, but "pooles between two gates," or "a pere of sluices:" and the "double Lock," formed at the latter period, has evidently been so called because it was a real pound-lock, having Gates at each end.

pendence of the commonalty of Exeter; or whether, as was certainly the case with her immediate successor, revenge for some affront; or to secure to her town of Topsham a monopoly of the commerce, is not ascertained. Her proceedings, and those of her successors, are detailed in the history of "the Haven of Exe," a manuscript by John Hoker, Chamberlain of the City in the reign of Mary, and its representative in Parliament in that of Elizabeth. These MSS. are in the possession of the Town Council of Exeter. They form two large and thick folio volumes. One is entirely in his own handwriting and the other partly so. The second is for the most part a duplicate of the first, with this difference, that the first contains the Annals of the Mayoralties, and the second his own autobiography. They comprise a vast mass of local antiquarian information. From them I have extracted the following "Inquisitions," which will form an appropriate introduction to our inquiry.

"MEMORANDE and be it knowen that in the Eightene Yere of kinge Edwarde the First after the Conquest there was a generall Inquisition mad & had through out all the Coūtie of Devon before Malcolyn Harleighe the then gen^rall Eschetore of the kinge of all Englande on thissyde of Trente, and sittinge at Excet^r there did appere before hym svndrye of the hondredes yn the Countye of Devon, w^{ch} all, after the Charge geven vnto theym to inquier for all suche thinge as appertayned to the kinge, they gave e^{ch}ye one their severall Verdytes, and emonge theym the hundred of Woñfforde & the Citie of Excet^r gave their Verdytes as followethe :

"INQUISITIO CAPTA apud Exoñ de hundredo de Wonnfford die decollationis S^cti Johis Baptiste A^o. Rⁿⁱ Regis Edwardi decimo octavo coram Malcolino de Harleigh Escheatore Dñi Regē citra Trentā, p sacramentū Johis Floer, Willi Flore, Willi Dyrewyne, Ro^bti de Coweke, Rogeri de Rue, Rog^oi Wynchcombe, Johis Lampreye, Ro^bti de la Crosta, Willi Bysnam, Durandi de Bucklande, Willi de Hucksham, et Henrici de la Berne : Qui de presenturis dicunt quod Isabella Comitissa Devoñ fecit preposturā in cursu aque de Essa, levando quendā gurgitē, et quod idem cursus seu flū dño Regi ptinet ratiōe dominii Civitatē Exoñ viz. de Chekeston vsq̃ ad Pontē dicte Civitatē, ad nocumentū totius patrie."

2. “ INQUISITIO CAPTA apud Exoñ de Juratē dicte Ciuitatis die decollatiōis Scti Johis Baptiste A^o Rⁿⁱ Regis Edwardi decimo octavo coram Malcolino de Harleigh Escheatore dñi Regis citra Trentā : Qui dicnt sup^a sacramenta sua quod ciuitas Exoñ est de corona dñi Regē et ptinet ad coronā, et fuit ab antiquo, et immediate tenebatur de dño Regi donec dñus Rex Henricus pater dñi Regis nunc dētā Ciuitatē dedit fratri suo Ričo Comiti Cornubie et heredib; suis : Et Cives eiusdē Ci^{te} dictā Civitatē tenent ad ffeodi firmam de Comite Cornubie sicut eam prius tenuerunt de dño Rege : reddendo inde p Annū dicē Coñ p Annū XIII^{li} IX^s. Et de preposturis dicunt q^d cū aqua de Exe ptineat ad dictā ciuitatē et ab antiquo ptinere consueverat vsq; ad portū de Exemewt : Et piscaria magna cōis esset oībus ibm̄ volentib;, Isabella Comitissa Devon, sex annis elapsis, quendā gurgitē ex transūso aque de Exe levavit apud Topisham et illū sic exaltauit q^d captio salmonū et alioñ pisciū que in eadē aqua capi solebant citra gurgitē p̄dictū omnino aufertur, ad grave dampnū dicte Ci^{te} et alioz vicinorū : Et etiam ubi aliquando batelli ascendere solebant versus Ciuitatē p̄dictā usq; ad pontē dicte Ci^{te} cū vinis et alijs m̄candisis, ad magnū cōmōdū totius patrie, modo nullus batellus ascendere potest ppter impedimentū dēti gurgitis ad maximū damnū dēte Ci^{te} et alioz vicinoz.” (The remainder of this inquisition, not being connected with the Haven, is omitted in this place.)

3. “ INQUISITIO CAPTA apud Exoñ coram Philippo Courtnaye milite, Johē Hull, et alijs Justiciarijs dñi Regis die m̄tis pxīe ante festū Scti Matthei anno regni Regis Riči secundo, p sacramentū Johis Graye, Radī Swayne, Simonis Grendon, Riči Bozomme, Johis Talbot, Witli Willforde, Witli Oke, Johis Shapleighe, Johis Russell, Ade Scutt, Thome Eston, Riči Pewterer, Robi Eston, Witli Coscombe, et Rogⁱ Dolye. Qui jurati h̄ent diem die m̄tis pxīe post festū conceptiōis B̄te marie Virginis quilibet sub pena xx^{li}. Quo die comparuerunt corā p̄fatis Justiciarijs et dicunt sup sacramenta sua, quod tempe Henrici Regis filij Johis Regis fuit quidem Gurses voč vnus *heddge* de *stakes* et spinis novitⁱ levatus et factus in aqua de Exe, juxta portū magni maris, vbi mare fluit et refluit : p quandā *Isabellam de Fortibus* vocač *Comitissa de Aumerle* in manerio de Topisham et que tunc fuit dña de Toppishm ex pte orientali de Exe : Et etiam quidā gurses similis voč vnus *hedge* de

stakes et spinis p eandem Comitissā factus et levatus fuit ex opposito dēti gurgitis in manerio suo de Exmister ex pte occidentali eiusdem aque, p̄dicta Comitissa ad tunc relinquendo quandam aperturam xxx^{ti} pedum in latitudine in profundo et medio eiusdem aque: ita quod naves et batelli vinis et m̄chandisis transierunt et navigaverunt, et transire & navigare potuerunt ab alto mare usq; villam Exon sicut a toto tempe antea navigaverūt et trāsierunt sine quocūq; impedimento c̄ vinis et alijs m̄candisis in eisdem navibus et batellis contentis. Qui quidē gurgēs vocaĩ vnus *hedge* cū aptura p̄dicta continuati fuerunt in eodem statu in quo dicti gurgites sic faci fuer̄ et levati de tempe Henrici Regis vsq; ad tempus Regis Edwardi filij Regis Edwardi; Et quod tunc Hugo de Courtenaye primus Comes Devoñ p̄avus Edwardi Courtenaye Comitis Devn qui nunc est, et Hugo filius eiusdem Hugonis, tunc tenenĩ manerioz p̄dictoz dñi post tempus Regis Henrici patris Regis Edwardi primi dictos gurgites voč *hedges* vt premittitur factos et levatos c̄ magno grosso et forti maeremio, et cū lapidib; et alijs in eisdem positis, magis altius p duodecim pedes quam antea tempe dicte comitisse facti et levati fuerint, fecit et exaltavit; quodq; idem Comes dictā aperturā xxx^{ti} pedum cū magno grosso et forti maeremio, lapidibus et alijs stuffuris p̄dicti positis obstupavit: Et etiā quendā aliū gurgitem ibm cū maeremio lapidibus et alijs stuffuris p̄dicti gurgitib; anneĩ de novo fecit et levavit de altitudine p̄dicti, p quod naves et batelli cū vinis et alijs mercandisis navigia sua et tranĩ versus villā Exon predicĩ sicut ab antiquo ĩere solebant et debuerunt ĩere non potuerunt, sed inde oĩo impediti fuerunt. Ac etiā Hugo de Courtenay Comes Devon filius eiusdem Hugonis dētos gurgites quo; vnus nuncupatur *Comitis Weare* toto tempe suo sustinuit et manutenuit: Et Edwardus de Courtenaye nunc Comes Devoñ heres p̄dicti Hugonis p̄dicti gurgiĩ vt p̄mittitur exaltat, emendat, sustinet, et manutenet ad magnā exhereditatiōem dñi Regis et Ville sue p̄dicte, et ad grave damnū totius patrie. Et dicunt etiam q^d p exaltacōem, levacōem, et repacōem gurgiĩ, p̄dicti flumen maris sicut quod solebat transire versus villā predicĩ ad p̄dicti gurgiĩ, nunc stat et redundat, et vltra dicti gurgiĩ transire non potest; Et quod prata et terre ibm dicti Comitis Devoñ et teĩĩ eius et quampluĩm aliorū hominū inundan^{ti} destruunt^r et surrundan^{ti} pp̄tⁱ exaltatiōem, obstupacōem, et levatiōem predicĩ; etiam quod aque fresce venientes et currentes a patria versus mare desup predicĩ gurgi-

tem p obstupatiōem, levatiōem, et repacōem p̄dicti multiplici⁹ obstupati sunt: et ea de causa prata et terre Prioris de Plympton apud le marshe, Petri de Court-naye dñi de Alphington apud Alphington, Wiſſi Coreton, et alioꝝ pluꝝm multi-plici⁹ inundant⁹, vastantur, et destruunt⁹, ad grave damnū eoꝝ et aliorū ligoꝝ dñi Regis: Item dicunt quod p̄dicti Hugo filius Hugonis fecit et construxit in dicti gurgi⁹ 2tos *huches* ad capiendū salmōnes in eisdem, ita quod salmōnes et alij pisces vltra eosdem *huches* versus patriā sicut solebant transire nō possunt. Quos quidem *huches* dicti Edwardus nūc Comes de novo sustinet et manutinet, ad grave dampnū totius patrie. Et quod idem Edū^s nūc Comes de novo levavit tempe Ricardi nūc Regis quendā magnū gurgi⁹ de magno mae-remio in Toppesham et Alfington in 2to loco vo^c Lampreford, in aqua de Exe p̄dict⁹, transverso magni cursus aque p̄dictae pro nova piscaria habenda, impediendo cursum p̄ quod naves et batelli cū vinis et m̄candisis de mari vsq3 ad dictam Ciuitatē vt premittit⁹ transire nō possunt, licet p̄dictus gurgis vo^c nunc *Comitys Weare* amotus fuerit: Et quod terre et prata Prioris S̄cti Jacobi, Riči Bozomme, et alioꝝ quāplūm hominū in Toppisham et Alphington, viz. viginti ac^r terre et prata inundant⁹, vastant⁹, et destruant⁹, ad grave damnū ipsoꝝ et populi dñi Regis p̄ aquā sic p̄ dicti gurgi⁹ obstupa⁹. Et dicunt quod Edwardus p̄dictus nunc Comes Devon tempe Regis nunc levavit gurgitē in Toppysham juxta ecclesiā S̄cti Jacobi ultra dictū cursū aque de Exe ex transverso aque de Exe p̄dicti p̄ quod prata et terre, viz. viginti acre Johis Werne et prioris S̄cti Jacobi et alioꝝ diversoꝝ hominū multiplici⁹ inundant⁹, vastant⁹, et destruunt⁹, ad grave damnū ipsoꝝ et alioꝝ ligoꝝ dñi Regis: Et quod naves et batelli in aqua p̄dicta cū m̄candisis, ut p̄dictū est, transire nō possunt, licet alii gurgites sūdicti amoti fuissent, ad grave damnū ville Exoñ et partm̄ adja-cent. Et ulterius dicunt quod Hugo de Court-naye avus p̄dicti Edwardi nunc Comite Qui post tempus Henrici Regē fecit et construxit et de novo levavit unū magnū gurgitem ex utraq3 parte pontis de Exe Bridge in Exilonde, Coweke et Hayes p̄ quod cursus aque de Exe modo recto cursu suo currere nō potest, p̄ quod prata, terre, domus, et prebenda de Hieghes, ecclia S̄cti Thome juxta pontē, et Regia via ibm̄ multiplici⁹ inundant⁹, vastant⁹, et destruunt⁹ apud Heighes et Coweke Ita quod tempe diluvij nullus ibm̄ transire potest, et p̄ quod unus Thomas Brentingham et Ričus filius Johis Dightie, et Wiſſius serviens Simonis Gryndon, & plures alij nup demersi et interfecti

fuerunt p levatiōem et sustentationē illius novi gurgitis: Et quod Pons de Exbridge multiplici² defecit et destrui² causa p̄dicta ad grave damnū ville p̄d̄ et nocumentū totius patrie. Quem quidē Edwardus Courtnaye comes Devoñ qui nūc est sustentat et manutēt.”

Between these inquisitions there is an apparent discrepancy. The two first charge the Countess with blocking up the river in the reign of Edward the First. The third says she did this in the reign of Henry the Third, leaving an aperture of thirty feet for the passage of vessels. It is quite clear that in the reign of Edward the navigation was entirely obstructed, which might have been done by filling the aperture, or, as may be conjectured from the words of the two inquisitions, by building a weir from Topsham to meet one which had some years before been erected on the Exminster side. The object of the first weir was probably a mill and salmon fishery, and of the second to render the effect of damming up the water more complete, and perhaps to force the trade of Exeter to Topsham. At all events it does not appear that the citizens made any complaint until either the aperture was closed, or a second weir run out to meet the first. We may further presume that in consequence of the verdict it was reopened, or that the aperture was now made in the middle, for the third inquisition describes Hugh Courtenay (who was at that time Baron of Okehampton, not being created Earl of Devon till some years afterwards, though he had succeeded to the property,) as filling it up with timber, &c. so that vessels could no longer pass as *heretofore*. I think this is pretty clear, though neither Hoker nor any of our local historians seem to have so seen it—and hence the confusion of dates, which, I dare say, got the story into discredit with Mr. Gough.

The immediate cause of the obstruction of the Exe by Hugh, the first Earl of the house of Courtenay, was an accidental circumstance, thus related by Hoker :^c

^c From a MS. in the handwriting of Hoker, belonging to the Town Council of Exeter. It commences, “ Here folowe the names of all and everie of the Kinges of England from the tyme of Kinge John who died yn October Ao. 1216 untill the tyme of the reigne of Quene Elizabeth, and of her yeres and the names of the mayres & hedd officers yn everie of the sayd severall Kinges tymes, together w^h a Copie of all the Recordes of the Citie for and duringe those Kinges Regnes as

“ The iij^h yere of King Edward the ij^d 1309.

“ Roger Beynym mayer

“ M^d this yere there fell a greate controversie w^h bredd greate trobles betwene Hew Courtenay the iij^d Erle of Devon and the maio^r and Coñiltie of this Citie. The occasion whereof was this: The Erle vpon a certeyne market daye sent his Cator to this Citie to buye fishe: at w^h tyme there were onely three potts of fyshe yn the market: The Bishops Cator lykewyse came: and eyther of theym thincking the whole to be to lytle for any of theym were at some contencion about it: The mayor of his pte also tendringe that the commons also might be served, and have the benefite of the markett, decyded this stryff: and delyver one pott to the Erles Cater and one other to the bishops Cater, and the third he reserved for the markett. The Erle beinge advertised hereof thought him selff miche iniuried by the mayer yn that he could not have the whole fishe: And w^hout further hiring or considering of the matter, is offended greveously w^h the mayer, gevinge and outbreathinge thretninge words that he wolde be revenged. Not longe after this, the sayde Erle came to this Citie and lodged him selff yn his owne lodginge w^hin the house of the blacke ffreers: And forthw^h sent for the mayer to come to speke w^h him. The mayer who was a reteyner vnto the saide Erle, and beinge advertised of the Erles displeasure, and knowenge his disposition, and therefor mystrustinge the worst, callethe all his brethren & honest comoners vnto the Guyldhall: before whom he declared how the Erle was offended w^h him and wherefor: and that he sent for him: w^h he feared to do oneless they would accompany him and helpe him if neede were, w^h they promysed and were contented to do. Then saide the mayer: Masters, I knowe the Erle will fall out w^h me, and as he hathe

be extant and remayninge And here understaunde yt from the tyme of the Conqueste untyll the xiiij yere of Kinge Edward the first there is extant one Roll of Recorde makinge a shorte mencion of the three yeres yn the tyme of Kynge Henry the Third, viz. the xlvij, xlix and l yeres of his Reigne, that is to say, for xxxvij yeres no Recordes remayninge but only one MS. whether it [were] by the iniquitye of the tyme, the uncertentie of the government, cyvill warres, intestine rebellyons, or neglygence of Officers, I referr yt to others to thyncke what they lyst; further, yn the ende of everye p'ticuler mayers yere there is subnected and wrytten a breeffe abstracte of some suche things as were donne yn that yere and especially yn these West partes.”

thretned wilbe avenged of me, and therefor I am to py yō that for as miche as his dyspleasure is agaynst me for the Cities cause and for doinge my office, I am to pray yō to accompany me and to stande by me. And when I am before the Erle if ȳ do see that I do there tarye and be stayed any longe time, then yn any wyse do ȳ breake open the dores and pforce serche me out: for ells I shalbe yn greate perell & daunger. After theyse and sundry other lyke speches, they all depted and togethere to the house of the blacke ffreers: where assone as they were come the Mayer was received yn and went vnto the Erle being yn his lodginge, but the dore was made fast & shutt after him: The Erle assone as the mayer was come beganne to be yn greate stormes and wold not be pacified, wherefor the mayer seeing none of his excuses nor awnsweres wold be received, sodenly toke of the coate w^h he wore of the Erles lyverie and thē delyvered and yelded the same vp vnto him: wherew^h the Erle was so greved that he grewe to be in a verie greate heate & cholor: and so whote that the Mayer mystrusted what wold or might become of hym. The comoners and people who were w^hout the dores remembringe what the mayer had sayde vnto theym and doubtinge what was become of him, because he was so longe w^h the Erle, they knocke at the dore and require to have the mayer: w^h being not yn longe tyme and after sundry demaundes graunted: they geyte ladders and other stuff to rypp open the house & to breake open the dores: w^h when the Erle, and mystrustinge what might ensewe if the comoners had not their request, dyd by the aduyse of his ffrendes fall yn to entreating of the mayer that he wold pacifie the comons & the people: w^h he dyd and so w^h quietnes they depted. But the Erle notw^hstanding his good countenance then, to avoyde the furre of the people, he could never after brooke the Citie nor any Citesen. Vpon this, order was taken by the mayer & the common counsell that no free or fraunchesed man of the Citie shold wear any mannes lyverie, cognysaunce, or badge, except of a ffreemans; and this order was inserted and put yn to the othe of everie ffree man w^h is kept to this daye.”

The Freeman's Oath stood thus in the time of Elizabeth, though afterwards a power was given to the Mayor to grant a license for wearing a livery :

“ You shall not be a reteyner nor serve nor weare the cloths, lyverye,

badge, or cognysance of any pson or psons what soever, beinge not a franchased man of this Citie."

An exception was made in favour of "counsellors of the one Lawe or of the other,"^d who were allowed to wear the livery of their clients; a privilege which in our times would not be very eagerly maintained.

There are several other Inquisitions, besides those already cited, shewing the great power of these Barons, and the steady opposition of the Corporation. They refer chiefly to the jurisdiction, and property of the fairs, of the port, and of the suburbs of Exeter.

At length the patience and perseverance of the citizens prevailed. On the death of Henry Courtenay, Earl of Devon and Marquis of Exeter, the Earldom, with all the lands and possessions, being in the King's hands, the Chamber of Exeter, still intent on the prosperity of their city, ordered, on the "17 Octobris A°. 30° Hen. VIII. (Henrye Hamlyn mayor) that suete shalbe made to the kinge and a Byt to be put in to the plament for the newe makinge of the Haven."^e

In the following year, 1539, they obtained "an Acte for the mending of the Ryv of Exetor."^f This Act makes no mention of a canal, but enacts "that it may and shalbe lafull at all tymes after the feaste of Ester nowe next comynge to your said suppliaunte, Maire Bayliffe and Coñionaltie of your saide Cittie of Exetor, and their successors, to plucke downe, digge, moyne, breke, banke, and caste upp all and all manner of weyres, rocke, sandes, gravell, and other lettē and noysaunces whatsoever they be in the saide river, and also in other places and groundē convenient and necessarie for the same, whose soever they be, lyinge betwene your saide Cittie and the highe sea, and further to doe and make all other thingē requisite and necessarie wherby the saide shippes boate and vessels may have their sure course and recourse in the saide River to & from youre saide Cittie."

On "the xxviiij die Marcij A°. Rē Henrici octavi xxxiiij," the Chamber

^d From a MS. belonging to the Town Council of Exeter, entitled, "An Abstracte of all the Orders & ordynances extant, made, enacted, & ordayned by the Maiors & Co'mon Councell of the Citie of Excester for the tyme beinge for the good government of the sayde Citie & Cōmōwelthe of the same, By John Vowell al's Hooker & Chamberlayne of the same—A°. ix Edw. IV. Jo. Hamlyn."

^e Hoker's "Abstracte, Haven 1."

^f Statutes of the Realm.

did holy agree for the pformans of the Havyn of Exe that ffoure men shalbe appoynted to take the charge of the settinge ffourth of the worke for the said Havyn, w^t the advise and consent of certayne of suche as they thynke can geve them most best knowligh thereof.”^g Somewhat later Leland, visiting Exeter, says, “Men of Excestre contend to make the Haven to cum up to Excestre self. At this tyme shippes cum not farther up but to Apsham.”^h On “the viij Junij A^o. R^e Edw. VI. quinto,” the Chamber resolved, “that M. Mayor & M. Blackaller shall have full pour to concluyd w^t M. Hullond for his estate of his Mylls, and all the comoditie & pffite pteynynge to the same, and suche conclusiō as they shall take w^t the seid M. Hullond shalbe pformyd by the hole body of the Cetie And lyke wyse to take order w^t the tēts of the grunde where the Rev^y of Exe shall have his course, and for the sale of the okē that do growe vppon the course, and all other thyngē cons’nyng the seid wat^r course.”ⁱ These mills were close to Countess weir, the removal of which would have deprived them of their supply of water. Part of the mill course, the aged oaks still growing on its bank, remains. In the same year several parishes in Exeter gave part of their church plate towards the work. The sale produced the “sume of CCxxvijli. xij^s. iiij^d. o^b.”^k These attempts failed.^l

In 1560 “Willm Stroode Esquier”^m proposed to restore the navigation, so that a loaded boat of four tons might reach Exeter. At the same time he offered on certain conditions, “w^{thin} x years after the worke begonne (to) conducte and bring from Topsh^m a bote of viij tonne laden wth viij tonne vight of mchūndise—w^{thin} one stones cast of a mannes hande of frerenpoole.”ⁿ The tide still flowing to St. James’s weir shews that his scheme, though not adopted, was practicable. But its chief interest consists in the proposal “to make & buylde one floadde hatche,”^o to pass boats from one level to another; a proposition which would hardly have been made had the Locks, which were executed three years after, been then known in this country.

“The xxj of September 1563, M. John Peter maio^r, a conclusyon was

^g Act Book, No. I. f. 54 a.

^h Itinerary, f. 64. vol. i.

ⁱ Act Book, No. I. f. 115.

^k Act Book, No. I. f. 117. Hoker’s “Abstracte, Haven 3.”

^l Haven of Exe.

^m Act Book, No. II. f. 42.

ⁿ Ibid. f. 45.

^o Ibid.

made w^h John Trew for & concernynge the conductynge the ryver of Exe.”^p
 “ORDER, agreement, and a full conclusyon ys made that in consyderaçon that Joñ Trewe^q shall & will conduct and make the Haven of the Citie in suche sorte as boates & vessells laden wth Tenne Tonnes vightes at the least shall at all tyde & tydes passe & repasse to & from the seas vnto the Cities walls, and accordinge to suche Articles of agreem^t betwene the sayde Joñ Trewe of the one ptie, and the mayor baylyffe & coĩaltie of the other pte, agreed upon & sealed, he shall have the Some of too Hundred pounde payde vnto hym as also Twentye fyve pounde in money for the dyschardge of one Hyndred Loades of Tymber by hym demaunded for savinge of the Tuckinge mylles. And that the works beinge fynyshed he shall take no more for transportinge, ladinge, & vnlading of anye wares & mchandise but after the Rates as followethe :

“ For everye Tonne of Tonnage frõ Colepole, Powderham, & Exmouth, to Excet^r ij^s. viij^d.

“ For everye tonne of kyntaled frõ any of the sayd places ij^s.

“ For everye tonne of tonnage frõ Topyshñ to Excet^r ij^s.

“ For everye tonne of kentaledg frõ thense to & from xx^d.

“ For everye boate loadinge wth beare, shillingstones, lyme, wood, cole, fyshe, corne, or grayne, beinge not above vj tonnes lading, shall have from Exmouth or els where wthin Exmouth barre iiij^d.”^r

Trew was at first “mynded to have gonne to the Easte syde of the ryver.”^s I have no doubt, from an agreement on “the 28 of September 1563, wth John Cove & Nychus Crowne for & concerninge certeyne weares placed & fyxed yn the water course from St. James weare to the weare mylls,” that he meant to convert the leat into a canal, placing a lock at its lower end, and thus attaining the level of the river above St. James’s weir. They covenanted “that one John Trewe who hathe takⁿ yn hand the

p Act Book, No. II. f. 139.

q “Sr John Sentleiger knight together wth Robert Yeo Esquier & John Trew for the said John Trew do stunde bounden yn the some of fyve hundreth pounde to the maior, bayliffs & coĩaltie of the citie of Exceter for the perfectinge of the new worke.” Act Book, No. III. f. 197, 198.

r Hoker’s “Abstracte, Haven 4.”

s “Order & processe of the conven’ts, &c.” Act Book, No. II. f. 139.

conductinge of the ryver or haven shall have all such staks & other stuffe as he or his men shall pull up for the conductinge of the saide water wth-out any denyall." They further "agreed that not they nor any of them nor there assignes shall yn any wyse intermedle wth the weare called St. James weare to pull up or take away any stacke or stacks or any stuffe there." ^t The clearing of the mill-course, and the preservation of the weir at its head, are, I think, conclusive.

On "the 15 of December 1563—Trew after sundry viewes dyd now chūnge his mynde & thought it better to take the grounde & way by the weste syde of Exe." ^u He thus not only saved the purchase of the mills at Wear, and perhaps at Lampreford, but he avoided more than half a mile of the Exe, which, previous to the erection of Trew's weir, must have been a rapid stream, presenting great, and, during floods, insurmountable obstacles to navigation.

I find by the conveyances of the land purchased for the work, that it followed the course of the present canal to a Pyll ^x which entered the river just above the site of the present Countess-wear bridge. ^y It could not have been entered at all tides, much less at all times, ^z and hence probably the litigation with Trew, of which there are many notices.

A few years since the Rev. George Oliver, to whose learning and indefatigable research the ecclesiastical history of Devon is deeply indebted, ascertained from documents, relating to the case of the Mayor and Chamber versus George Browning, that it was furnished with seven sluices. One of them is the King's Arms sluice, which still protects the canal from floods. It is marked in a map in Braun's "*Civitates*;" and more distinctly in the

^t Act Book, No. II.

^u Ibid. f. 139.

^x The term Pyll is still used, and means a Creek subject to the tide. The pylls are the channels through which the drainings of the marshes enter the river. The pyll in which our canal terminated was a little estuary to Matford Brook.

^y Countess-wear was opposite Mount-wear, and about a hundred yards above the present bridge. Some of its ponderous timber is still visible at low water.

^z In the MS "*Case of an Act of Parliament relating to the waterworks*," A. D. 1699, it is said that "Botes and Lighters did with merchandize on Spring Tides only passe and repasse."

manuscript map,^a of which I send an accurate copy (Plate III.) accompanied by Explanations. This sluice was merely designed to protect the canal from floods, and may have formed no part of the original design. If this conjecture be correct, the following notice may supply the date of its construction, “xxj^o die Aprilis A^o Elizabeth &c. xxiiij^o. Who wholly agre That a sufficiente sleuss shalbe made for the watercourse for the conveinge of wares by water unto the Cittie.”^b

The six remaining sluices were so arranged as to form *three Locks*; a fact which is established by various conveyances of land to the Chamber. In that of “John Arrundell Esquyer,” the following passages occur: “from a certain bancke vnto the lane or way there leadyng towards Countyes weare, where one pere of Sluces nowe are lately made, called the lower pere of Sluces.—And in bredyth uppewarde from the hed of the higher Sluice of the sayde pere of Sluces.” When the canal was enlarged in 1829 some masonry of this lock was found.

In the conveyance of the joint property of “Roberte Penrudocke and Leonarde Loveys Esquiers,” amongst other measurements, is one “to the Hedd of the Higher Sluce of the two myddell Sluces there lately made.’ Considerable vestiges of this lock were found, during the late improvements, midway between the present double-lock^c and a turning-bridge leading to Salmon Pool. These were evidently real locks, though probably of rude construction.

Even if we had not the evidence in the proceedings against George Brown, the terms “lower and myddell peres of Sluses” would imply a higher pair. No such Lock is mentioned in the conveyances,^d nor have any remains of it been discovered; yet its site may be determined.

^a In this map a second pair of gates is represented, introduced, it would appear, to shew the bridge by which the canal was crossed. The Act Books inform us that this bridge was at Bole pool, which does not come within the limits of the map. Such license was common in old plans. There appears to have been an attempt at washing out this second pair of gates, which is not so strongly shewn in the copy as in the original.

^b Act Book, No. II. f. 195.

^c This has always been a single lock. A single pair of gates was *formerly* called a lock or sluice, and this, which possessed two pair, was therefore called “Double Lock.”

^d The land of Arundel, and that of Loveys and Penrudocke, having been divided amongst many

The breadth of the land purchased for the canal was about seventy feet ; at the lower and middle locks it was an hundred.^e In the conveyance of the land of “ Wyllyam Floyre of Floyr Hayes in the County of Devon Esquyer,” the property is described as being “ wthin the parryshes of S^t. Thom^s wthoute the weste gate of the said Citty and S^t Leonardes in the said Countye of Devon,” and then as “ extending in Lengthe from the Hedd of the said new water course, havying his begynninge at the olde Ryver of Exe at or neare a place called S^t Leonardes Lane, to and untill a place beneathe Bole Poole called olde Exe, and in bredthe from the said Hed downeward at and to Bole Poole aforesaid Three-score Eighte foote, and from thence downeward by all the said Bole Poole to olde Exe aforesaid, adioyning to the late inheritūce of James Coffyn Esquyer deceased, Nyne Pearches accompting every pche seventene foote.” The breadth of the ground convinces me that the upper Lock was situated at this place. When I first read this document, I did not know the size of the Locks, and I hoped, by ascertaining the extent of Bole Pool, to obtain a clue. Now the land of Coffyn was “ in the

tenants, who claimed compensation, a detailed description of the property was required. But the land of Floyer, where the upper lock was situated, being in his own occupation, such a description only is given as would determine the portion to be purchased. The same was the case with Hulse's property.

^e Land purchased for the Canal.

| <i>Owners.</i> | <i>Parishes.</i> | | | | <i>Breadth.</i> | | <i>Total.</i> | |
|----------------|------------------|---|----|----|-----------------|------|---------------|--|
| | | | | | ft. | Acr. | perc. | |
| Floyre, | St. Leonard, | from the Exe to Bole poole | .. | .. | 68 | | | |
| | and | | | | | 3½ | 20 | |
| Coffyn, | St. Thomas, | at and by Bole poole | .. | .. | 151 | | | |
| | Alphinton, | no breadth given | .. | .. | | | 120 | |
| | | through olde Exe (apparently) | | .. | 68 | | | |
| Penrudoche | | from olde Exe to higher of myddell sluices | | | 68 | | | |
| and | Alphinton, | from thence to 25 ft. below Trew's house | | | 100 | 8¾ | 31½ | |
| Loveys, | | from thence to Alphington brook | .. | | 76 | | | |
| | | from Alphington brook to Adelbury wood | | | 68 | | | |
| Mohun | | from Alphington boundary to lower pair of sluices | | | 68 | | | |
| and | Exmynster, | at & between the sluices & twenty feet below | | | 100 | 6½ | 6 | |
| Others, | | from thence to the pyll | .. | .. | 68 | | | |
| Holland, | Exmynster, | no breadth given | .. | .. | | 1 | | |

pyshe of Alphington," and as Alphington and St. Thomas are contiguous on the line of the canal, it followed that Bole Pool adjoined the boundary. I may here mention, as a circumstance alike unexpected and discouraging, that the places named in the conveyances are no longer known by their original appellations. Then the canal has been reconstructed twice, and the very face of the country is changed.^f To render the inquiry more perplexing, the measurements as to length are only supplied by a reference to these forgotten names.

But to return to the higher Lock. At the boundary of the parish is an irregularly-shaped marshy depression. From this point it extends along the side of the canal for about two hundred and twenty feet. I had no doubt that this was once Bole pool, but I was at some loss to conceive that a lock of such length could ever have belonged to a canal, which I had already ascertained was only three feet in depth.^g My first conjecture is, however, borne out by the following extract: "xijth of marche A^o Eli. &c. xv. Who doo wholly agree m Knighte, m Bruarton, Nic^hus mtyn, Will^m Trevet, Richard Prowze, Richard Hellier, Geffry Tho^ms, Will^m mtyn, John Webbe, & Michaell Germin shall measure the watercourse & worke of the Haven all the lengthe & bredthe of the same & of the pooles and to suppe at Walter Jones & the receu^t to paye for ther supper there." At the bottom of the page is the following curious entry:

"Whiche psons before named have mesured the said watercourse, and doo finde the same to conteine as folowethe:

| | M. | C. | |
|---|----|-------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| " Fyrste the Lengthe of the whole grounde wroughte ys | ix | iiij | ^{xx} _{iiij} foote. |
| " The lengthe of the Bancke | vj | vij | xx foote. |
| " The bredtthe at the lower Sluce & downewardē | | | xvj foote. |
| " The depthe there & belowe | | | iiij foote. |
| " The bredthe of the lower Poole | | | xxiiij foote. |
| " The Lengthe of the lower Poole | C | ^{xx} _{iiij} | ix foote. |
| " The depthe of the said Poole | | | v foote di. |
| " The bredthe " ^h | | | |

^f Braunii Civitates Orbis Terrarum.

^g Act Book, No. II. f. 140.

^h Act Book, No. III. f. 299. My disappointment on finding these measurements incomplete may

The length of the "poole" or chamber of the Lock, with twenty feet added, as at the other locks, very nearly corresponds with the apparent extent of "Bole Pole."

The above measurements furnish the entire length of the work; the dimensions of the lower Lock; the difference of level above it and below; the breadth of the canal, which we may presume was continued throughout, as we know, from the following extract, was the case in respect to depth: "also to talke & conferre wth them for the full depthe of iij fote from the pyll to Adelburye woode & to contynew the same leuell to olde Exe."ⁱ

The size of the Locks or "pooles" is so remarkable as to require explanation. Their length was evidently intended to receive several vessels at once; their breadth to allow lighters to pass each other.^k The waste of water was great, but the supply was ample.

From the land purchased it would appear that the upper Lock considerably exceeded the others in width. This was no unnecessary precaution, for the Exe is sometimes so full, that for days, or even weeks, it might have been impracticable to tow lighters from the canal to the quay. In that case a great number might have waited in the upper lock until the flood subsided.

Instead of removing weirs, as was contemplated by the Act of Parliament, a new one "was made, sett, fyxed, or erected for the better contynũnce and mayntenũce of the said newe Water course."¹ This, originally of wood, but rebuilt with stone, is still called Trew's Weir.

The work was commenced early in February 1563. This we learn from "The whole order & processe of the convenũts,"^m &c. where, in stating the

be conceived. The carelessness of the clerk was the more remarkable, and the more provoking, because the minutes of even unimportant proceedings were usually entered very carefully.

ⁱ Act Book, No. II. f. 140.

^k The following item from an estimate for the enlargement of the canal in 1699 confirms this view: "For digging a poole between the said two gates which must be 300 foot in length at least & about 80 foot in breadth on the topp or surface of the water & 50 foot broad att the bottom & ffor walling the same on both sides, for the convenient & necessary passing of shipps one by thother."

¹ Floyer's Conveyance.

^m Act Book, No. II. f. 139.

monthly expenditure, it is said that "The first moneth ended the 6 of Marche 1563." The precise period of its completion is unknown; but an address to Lord Burleigh dated "June 20, 1579," represents that "the Citizens of Exoñ have newe made the saide Porte and made a faire and open Keye w^{ch} coste aboute three thowsande poundes, and have laden and vnladen their mchũdyzes there thies fourtene yeres."ⁿ This, if quite exact, would give two years and a half as the time occupied in its formation; but the building of the Quay had not then been begun, as is proved by "An acte made the xxvth of July 1565 for makynge of the key."^o By "An acte made the xvth of January 1565—it is ordered that all suche dewties shalbe payed for everye tonne of wares dyschardged at the watergate & key of this Citie as is vsually payed & receved at Topsñm—and further it is concluded that Thoñs Rawlyns taylor shalbe the porter & keper of the sayd water-gate."^p Hence it may be collected that the Canal and Quay were finished in about three years. In confirmation, it appears by "An acte made the ij of december 1566—that M. Olyver shall well & trewly collecte & gather all suche some & somes of money as shalbe dew for any kynde of wares & mchũdyses dyschardged & unladen at the key of the watergate, & to awnswere the same from the feaste of S^t Mychaell last past vntyll the same feast next comynge."^q The Chamber on "The viijth of January 1566—fully condyscended that M. Smyth recevor shall buylde a crane."^r On "The xiiijth of Aprill 1567," they resolved on "The ar^{les} of agreñt for the cranage grũnted to M. Geffery Tothill recorder," amongst which is this, that "he shall contynewe the yerely paym^t of the dyschardge of the foresaide Rents durynge his terme whether the watercourse so now newly made do contynew yn his force & goodnes or not"^s—a provision which argues some misgiving.

Trew engaged, as has been seen, to bring up vessels of ten tons, but Hoker informs us that "Joñ Trewe of Glamorgan shere yn Walls—by excluses so wrought & conducted the watercoũse that he broughte & dyschardged at

ⁿ Lansdowne MSS. No. 28. article 12.

^o Act Book, No. III. f. 160.

^p Act Book, No. III. f. 169.

^q Ibid. f. 190.

^r Ibid. 191.

^s Ibid. No. II.

the key and at the bridge of Excest^o boates and Lighters loaden wth x, xij, & xiiij toonnes ;”^t and in his History of Exeter he says, “Boates & Vessells of fyftyne or sixteine tonnes.”

Of the previous and subsequent history of John Trew, the artificer of this *first* of Lock Canals, I have learned no particulars, except that, like most projectors of improvements and benefactors of mankind, he seems to have realized no money by his Work. Some unfortunate failure in the execution of his agreement involved him in litigations with the Chamber, which must have been expensive if not ruinous. It might be that his Canal, when finished, was found not to be accessible by vessels of ten tons *at all tides*. But this partial failure might have been overlooked, when vessels of fifteen and sixteen tons were known to discharge their cargoes at the Quay. It must, however, be admitted, on the evidence of their Act Books, that Trew dealt *shrewdly* with the Chamber—while he clearly had undertaken that which an engineer of his sagacity well knew he could not execute. We can therefore hardly be surprised that the Chamber, provoked on finding themselves involved by an unprofitable expenditure, disputed his claims.^u To them be the credit of discerning his ingenuity ; to him the honour of discovery. But enough, I

^t Haven of Exe, f. 51.

^u Since the above Paper was read to the Society I have been kindly referred by J. H. Merivale, Esq. for additional information to MS. Lansd. 107, art. 73. It is addressed to Lord Burleigh, and relates to his suit against the Chamber of Exeter. The first passage contains a melancholy picture of the state to which he was reduced. “The varyablenes of men, and the great injury done unto me, brought me in such case that I wyshed my credetours sattisfyd and I away from earth: what becom may of my poor wyf & children, who lye in great mysery, for that I have spent all.” He afterwards recounts “the things whear in God hath gyven (him) exsperyance.” They relate to mining operations, and various branches of Civil and even Military Engineering.

It may, however, be satisfactory to state, that in 1573 this harassing suit was brought to a conclusion. I have seen Trew’s release to the Corporation, “in concideration of an Annuitie or yearly rente of Thirty Pounds, and the some of Two hundred and twenty four pounds.” There is a reciprocal release on the part of the Chamber of the same date, saving “harmles the said John Trewe, against the owners of the groundes,” &c.

In MS. Lansd. xxxi. art. 74, are “Reasons against the proceedings of John Trew in the works of Dover haven, 1581.” It appears from Lyon’s History of Dover, that he was engaged at 10s. a day, but they thought he was inclined to protract the work, and so dismissed him.

I believe nothing is known of him after this.

hope, has been said to fix the date of an invention from which so many blessings have since resulted to commerce; and to rescue from unmerited oblivion the name of a man, who may fairly claim a place among the benefactors of his country.

In conclusion, I will just add, that this Canal has been twice extended and enlarged. In 1698 it was carried to the neighbourhood of Topsham, with a depth of ten feet. In 1829 it was extended to Turf. It is now upwards of five miles and a half in length. It has two entrance Locks, one at Turf and another opposite Topsham.^x Between these and Exeter it has only one Lock, the old double Lock altered and improved. Opposite Exeter is a spacious basin,^y in which those vessels lie which are too large to proceed to the old quay through the King's Arms Sluice, or which cannot approach it during floods. The Canal is thirty-four feet wide at the bottom, and ninety-four at the surface of the water, with fifteen feet of water throughout; so that in depth it is surpassed only by the Caledonian and Gloucester Canals, whilst its sectional area is exceeded only by the former.

I am, Sir,

your obedient servant,

P. C. DE LA GARDE.

SIR HENRY ELLIS, K.H. F.R.S.

Sec. S. A.

^x These Locks are masterpieces of scientific construction. The Turf Lock is built on piles driven through a fluid bog into the subjacent rock, twenty feet beneath the inverted arch. It is 131 feet in length, and 30 feet 3 inches in breadth. Its lower sill is two inches under Exmouth bar, with 16 feet water on the upper sill. Vessels of great burden pass through this Lock in three minutes. The whole canal, which was carried on in the face of great natural difficulties, is finely executed. The Engineer was James Green, Esq. of Exeter. A plan has been engraved, under the auspices of the Corporation, of the Canal, with his extensions and improvements.

^y Nine hundred feet long, and gradually increasing from 90 to 120 feet in width. It is deeper than the canal: so that if the water were lowered in the latter several feet, the vessels in the wet dock would continue to float.

III. *Memorials of the last Achievement, Illness, and Death of SIR PHILIP SIDNEY ; communicated by G. F. BELTZ, Esq. K.H. F.S.A. Lancaster Herald, in a Letter to SIR HENRY ELLIS, K.H. F.R.S. Secretary.*

Read 22d November, 1838.

MY DEAR SIR,

Heralds' College, Nov. 13, 1838.

THE campaign in the Netherlands, of 1586, will be ever memorable in the English annals for the heroic death of Sir Philip Sidney, one of the brightest ornaments of the reign of Elizabeth.

Of a person so illustrious, so deeply imbued with all the virtues and graces of the ancient chivalry, improved in him by science, illuminated by genius, and, above all, purified by a corrected sense and practice of religion, the most minute remains are of profound interest: and they were accordingly sought by his surviving contemporaries with a zeal and fervour which have scarcely abated after the lapse of nearly three centuries.

The particular achievement, of which the glory was dearly purchased by the nation with a life of such high desert and promise, and the subsequent incidents, exhibiting the fortitude and magnanimity of the suffering hero, have been described, it may be thought with details sufficiently ample, by writers of the period, both English and foreign: yet, after a reference to all that has hitherto been gathered on the subject, a few gleanings, from authentic sources, may still be acceptable to students of our history.

THE skirmish under the walls of Zutphen, on Thursday the 22nd of September in the above year, bears in all its features a lively resemblance to the *Faits d'Armes* of the Middle Age. The nature of the service, precluding, from its necessary suddenness, the choice of time or position,—the disproportion between the numbers of the combatant parties,—and the gallant daring and self-devotion of the chiefs,—form a complete parallel with many of the encounters which fixed the admiration and employed the racy and enchanting pen of Froissart.

After the surrender of the town of Doesburg to Leicester on the 2nd of September, he proceeded, on the 13th, to invest Zutphen, on the right bank of the Issel, which was then held for the Spaniards by Verdugo, the fort on the opposite bank of the river being under the command of Tassis. This movement drew the Duke of Parma, commander in chief of the Spanish forces, from the siege of Rheinberg.

From the narrative by Collins, printed with the Sidney Papers,^a it would be inferred that two great detachments of the armies were engaged on the 22nd: whilst Dr. Zouch relates that a detachment from the English army “met *accidentally* a convoy sent by the enemy to Zutphen, then *besieged* by the Spaniards.”^b Both accounts are at variance with that given, on the day following, by Leicester himself, in his letter to Sir Thomas Heneage; where it is stated that, intelligence having been received that the enemy was bringing a convoy of provisions, guarded by 3000 horse, and intended to be introduced into the town, there were sent by Leicester “to impeach it” 200 horse and 300 foot, with a reserve of horse and foot “to second them.”^c

This statement (which, in so far as concerns the intelligence conveyed to Leicester, agrees with that of Strada,^d) finds corroboration in the following hitherto unpublished Postscript to a letter from the Earl to Burghley, depo-

^a Vol. i. p. 53.

^b Zouch's Memoirs of Sir P. Sidney, p. 253.

^c Sidney Papers, vol. i. p. 104.

^d “Fecerat hoc prius Alexander [Alexander Farnese, prince of Parma and Placentia] ipse, compositaque ad Verdugum epistolâ et equiti ex leviter armatis traditâ illum præmonuerat de commeatu postridie in urbem invehendo, jussu cum peditibus mille sub auroram venientibus occurrere. Sed, capto equite a Lochemi hostilis oppidi præsidiariis, transmissa ad Leicestrium epistola,” &c.—*Strada de bello Belgico, tom. 2, sub a°. 1586.*

sited in the State Paper Office. It is dated in the Camp before Zutphen in September, and, from internal evidence, must have been written about the 24th or 25th of that month.

“My L. or proceedings here God be thankyd goeth very well forward hetherto; only a ptycular grefe to my self is hapaned by y^e hurt of my dere nephew S^r Ph. Sidney in a skyrmysh uppō thursday last in y^e morning w^t a muskett shott uppō his thye iij fingers above his knee a very daungerous wound y^e bone being broken in pec^s but yet he is of good comfort and y^e surgens ar in good hope of his lyfe yf no yll accedent come as y^et ther ys not, he slept this last night iiij howers together and did eate w^t good appetyte afterward. I pray God salv his lyfe & I care not how lame he be. Ther was at y^e skyrmysh only a 250 Englysh horse & most of thē y^e best of this camp unawares to mee; but, this myshapp sett a syde, ther was not such an encounter thes xl yeres, for beside y^e horse ther was but 300 footmē. Thenymye 1200 horse y^e hole flower of thē & 3000 footmen all placed & prepared aforehand; y^e ptycularyties this berer can tell you; these fewe maintained the fyght ij howers together; many of thers kyld, few of o^{rs}, none of name hurt or kyld but Ph. hurte.

“The marques del Gwast gen^rall of y^e cavallery was ther.^e

“Capt. Geo. Basto lyfetenant to y^e marques.

“The Conte Hanniball Gonzago kyld.^f

“w^t iij others whose names we know not but they had cassocks all embroidered & laced w^t sylver & gold.

“Capt. Geo. Cresier Capt. of y^e Pr. Garde and of all the Albanēses taken prisoner by my l. Wylloubye & overthrown by him to the ground fyrst.^g

“Ther was to many in dede at this skyrmysh of the better sort; but I was offended when I knew yt but could not fech thē back, but synce they have all so well escaped (salv my dere nephew) I wold not for x^{mli} [10,000*l*]

^e “Nec procul a pernicio Vastius erat, quem Ducis militisque partes fortiter obeuntem, latā securi aggressus, Anglus eques à tergo oppressurus haud dubiè videbatur, nisi hunc ferrum attollentem, periculum in tempore conspicatus, eques Hispanus, directā in pectus lanceā, medium transfodisset.”—*Strada*.

^f “Cadebant utrinque multi: ipsum Annibalem, equo excussum, letaliterque saucium pro mortuo habere.”—*Ibid*.

^g “Capto Georgio Crescia, ductore Epirotarum.”—*Strada*.

but they had byn ther, synce they have all wonn that hon^r they have ; for yo^r L. never hard so desperatt charges as they gave uppō the enymys in y^e face of ther musketts ; and the noble men^b w^t S^r Jo. Norrice, S^r W^m Russell, & S^r Tho. Perrott, S^r Ph. Sydney, & others ledd styll ; and dyvers, ther horses being kyld, stept a syde & changed ther horses & to hit ageyn, and notw^t-standing all these troups he dyd not putt in one wagon salv xxx w^{ch} gott in in the night.ⁱ We lookyd to have hurd of the prince to cō forward w^t his army & to putt in those cariages, but this day he hath levyd his camp & he sayth hit ys to fight with o^r Ruytters^j who ar wⁱⁿ ij days journey of us. but gonn he ys, & I trust they wilbe safe inough frō him : yf the worst fall, they ar a better mach thā we at this tyme were for they are ij^ml [2000] strong of hors & iij^ml [3000] Almeyns.

“ These noble mē & gent’ brought w^t thē iij Cornetts^k of y^e enemyes taken frō y^e enmyes w^{ch} was no suche dyshono^r to them.”

Sir Philip Sidney is stated, in Leicester’s beforementioned letter to Heneage, of the 23rd September, to have been conveyed, after his wound had been dressed, in the Earl’s barge to Arnheim, which is about twenty English miles distant S.S.W. from Zutphen.

He had been benevolently occupied, on the morning of the fatal encounter, in recommending to Sir Francis Walsingham’s protection one Richard Smyth, “ an old servant of her Majesty, who hath lord Leycester’s letters for the poor man’s preferment, he having so long served, and now being aged and weak, and in need of good mean for his relief.”^l

On the 27th September, Leicester reports to Burghley thus :

“ I receaved līes even now frō the surgeons about my nephew that they have very good hope of him ; he had y^e last night a fever & was very yll, and this morning he tooke very great rest ij or iij houers together, after which he found himself very well and his fever cleane gonn frō him and was

^b Among these, the earl of Essex and the lords Willoughby and North were most distinguished.

ⁱ Strada states that the convoy consisted of 300 waggons of provisions, sufficient for a three months’ supply of 4000 men ; and he asserts that, Leicester slackening his efforts after the skirmish, the provisions were received into the town.

^j The German auxiliary cavalry expected by Leicester.

^k A flag or ensign, so called from being carried by a Cornet of Horse.

^l Original letter, in the State Paper Office, dated “ Camp at Sutphen, 22 Sept. 1586.”

dressed and they found his wound as well & w^t all the good sines they could wysh. I thank God for yt & wyll hope the best.”^m

I shall now proceed to the principal object of this communication. In addition to an affecting narrative by the minister Gifford, the spiritual comforter, in conjunction with another of the name of Fountayne, of the gallant Sidney on his bed of death, of which narrative a precious fragmentⁿ only escaped the accident to the Cottonian MSS. by the fire of 1731, and which, for the sublimity of the subject, may be compared to the Phædon—Dr. Zouch has alluded to *three* compositions by the accomplished sufferer during his confinement at Arnheim. Of these, an Ode on the nature of his wound, and a long epistle to Belerius, a learned divine, both said to have been of the purest latinity, are yet undiscovered. For the existence of the former, I am not aware of any original authority: the latter is mentioned, by the continuator of Holinshed’s Chronicle, as having been shown to, and commended by the Queen. The third, a short autograph note, also in latin, addressed by Sidney to his friend and physician Jan Wyer, is quoted in Holinshed, with the observation, that it was written by Sir Philip, leaning upon a pillow, in his bed, on the night before he died.

Copies of this memorable note had been probably in circulation at the time; but it is somewhat extraordinary that the letter, to which it is prefixed, should have wholly eluded the notice of the hero’s several biographers, by whom the particulars of his conversations and actions, during the twenty-four entire days in which he languished after receiving the fatal wound, seem to have been so carefully collected and treasured up. In order to account for the early neglect of such a document, it may be said that it does not furnish any very material addition to the statements which were given to the public soon after the event, and that it is moreover in a language and character of writing which may not have been very intelligible to those who had access to it previously to its deposit with the government.

As attesting, however, the genuineness of the autograph of so eminent a person, and the anxiety manifested by him, in his latter moments, for the

^m Postscript to a letter, preserved in the same repository, from Leicester to the Lord Treasurer, dated “Camp before Zutphen, 27 Sept. 1586.”

ⁿ Vitellius, C. xvii. 382.

visit of the skilful individual to whom it was addressed, I cannot but consider it as an interesting memorial; and I am, therefore, desirous of submitting it, through your friendly medium, to the Society of Antiquaries.

I shall beg leave to premise, that this literary relic is preserved in the State Paper Office, where I have been permitted to copy it; having, some years since, at the request of the late worthy deputy-keeper Mr. Lemon, made the translation which is now deposited with it.

The letter, in the language which at that period was in use in the Low Countries,^o written upon the same sheet with, and beneath, the autograph note, is from Gisbert Enerwitz, who appears to have been of the medical profession, to Jan Wyer (Johannes Wierus, or, as he is sometimes designated, from a translation of his surname into latin, "Piscinarius"), a well-known and distinguished physician and philosopher, native of Graaff, or Grave, in Dutch Brabant, and who was, at the date of the letter in question, about seventy-one years old. He had been, in his early youth, a disciple of the celebrated Henry Cornelius Agrippa, was the author of several works, and, after practising his profession in various parts of Europe, and even in Africa, passed the last thirty years of his life as principal physician to William duke of Cleves, brother to the Queen of England of that house.

Of Enerwitz I have not met with any further particulars. He appears to have stood to Wyer in the two-fold relation of nephew and brother-in-law. Sidney does not seem to have known, or remembered, his name; for he is, doubtless, the legatee in the codicil,^p which Sir Philip added to his will on the morning of his death,^q by the following description:

^o A mixed dialect of German, Flemish, and Dutch.

^p The will and codicil (the former dated on the last day of September) were not proved until the 19th June, 1589, a delay which arose, without doubt, from the embarrassed state of the testator's affairs, as unfolded by the letter of Walsingham, first published in your valuable collection, *Orig. Letters, Vol. iii. 1st series, p. 15.* It is, however, but just to observe, that the debts for which Sidney was liable were not wholly his own; and that a portion (probably a large portion) of them had been incurred by his father, Sir Henry Sidney, who died in May preceding. For the discharge of both, Sir Philip provides by his will; therein directing the necessary sale, for the purpose, of a part of the family estates, under a power which, he states, had been already vested in Sir Francis Walsingham.

^q It is painful, even at this distance of time, to reflect how grievously, whether from ignorance or

“ Item, I give to the Doctor that came to me yesterday twenty pounds.”

The letter is dated at Arnheim, in Guelderland, on the 26th of October 1586, answering (according to the Gregorian computation, then recently adopted in Holland) to the 16th of the same month ; and, as Sidney's dissolution took place on the day following, Monday the 17th of October, between two and three o'clock in the afternoon, the symptoms of the near approach of death were probably so apparent as to render it unnecessary to forward the letter to its destination. It may, therefore, have been preserved, with other melancholy memorials, by his sorrowing family. Zouch mentions that Lady Sidney, his wife, accompanied him to Holland, and attended him assiduously during his illness. She certainly did not accompany him on the expedition ; for, in a letter, from Flushing, to Walsingham, he rather dissuades her coming, on account of the inconvenience to which she might be exposed in a country which was the seat of war. She may, however, have joined her husband after his misfortune. The papers of the deceased would have been collected by Sir Robert Sidney, who had also served at the siege of Zutphen, been knighted by Leicester in that campaign, and was present at his honoured brother's death : and it may further be presumed, that the letter passed into the custody of Sir Leoline Jenkins upon the seizure of the papers of Algernon Sidney (the grandson of Sir Robert) in 1683 ; and that it remained in the mass of unassorted documents, deposited, after that secretary's death, amongst the papers of State, until it was discovered, fourteen years since, by the active and intelligent Mr. Lemon, junior.

want of skill, the noble patient was tormented by his surgical attendants, of whom no less than *five* are legatees in the will and codicil, “ *for the pains which they take in this my hurt.*” In the codicil, “ *Isert, the bone-setter,*” as if exercising a distinct profession from that of surgeon, is rewarded with 20*l.* Although the testamentary papers are upon record, the originals have, I find upon inquiry, not been preserved in the registry of the Prerogative Court.

The following is a transcript of the celebrated autograph of Sir Philip Sidney, and of the letter above which it is written :

“ Mi Weiere veni veni, de vita
 periclitor et te cupio—
 nec vivus nec mortuus ero ingrat⁹—
 plura non possum sed obnixē
 oro ut festines— vale
 Arnemi Tuus Ph: Sidney.”

“ Geleffte Ohem unde Swager Ick bin desē morgē tithlicke versocht wie ock enne dach oft drie voer deses van den Herre Seidny noeste bewautter van sein Ex^{ce} die welke alher tenn hueese van die Juffrouw Grutthueissens ist leggende gequesst van enne Schuette in sein Dichte van sein ben van den Vyannt untrent drie weeken voer Zuitphen bekommen Welke quetsuer sich tot noch to tamentlick unde well ist schickende Den ist den goden Heren enne dach oft drie geleden en feebris ankommen unde derhalffe en wennich swacker geworden hefft derhalffen zein G. [Generaelschap ?] op my wie andern Heren mer drinstlicke versocht unde begert Ick minem Ohem mit dese eigener bedte wolte anschreven datt mein Ohem doch geleven wolte hem in sinner Zwackheit te kommen besueck unde sein G. so fiell troste mitdeellen als de her mein Ohem verlent hefft twelke hem in senner Zwackheit dinstlicke muichte sein Unde also Ick den godenn heren heb doen anseggē datt u. E. [uwe Edele] mit en swaekheit befallen waert (unde u. E. missive an my gesonnd vertoont) hefft sen G. nochtans seer ent boven sen vertrount geset om so fern u. E. nit met mer Zwackheit befallen hem te sullen kommen besuieck unde hefft ock in sennen bedde dese boven gschrifte mit eigener hannt an meinen ohem geschreven Unde op my begert an u. E. daerby te wellen schreven twelke Ick den goden heren nit heb kunnen aaffslan wie den anderen heren mer Unde wolle derhalffe minen Ohem well drinstlick by dese versocht hebben so fern muglick hem te wellen kommen versueck twelke by den heren uimerduit intblevin sall. Marttē Schmick der Averte hefft ock dess hern halffe an den Captain in der Schannsse op Greeffe waert geschreven unde die schepen von Orleghe aldar leggende datt men mein Ohem met Jachte oft schepen herher convoy-

eerd ende brengen waert oft so fern mein Ohem te landen sennē paes solte nemen wert Hopman Schmick meinen Ohem mit genochsame Covoy versen. Sein Ex^{ce} is dese nacht her ankommen unde mein Her Conseler Leoning solte ock an mein Ohem geschreven hebben den hebben de Post so langhe nit wellen opholden solt daer om der so fiell muglick.

“Ich heb Peter Binss mede laest gegeben voer mein Ohem alle sen provi-
cion te kopē unde sell tselve mein Ohem by hem met gebrocht werden Den
so u. E. selvist her kommē wollen wy die midle well te wege brengen dat u.
E. van alles mit uns Moye haer nottdorfft becommē sellen, sonst solle het
by na oft wennich mein so fiell anlopē als het goet ingekomft staet.

“Het ist my dockt van des unde wedrum opankere die her S. [Sidney]
leeff.

“Ick heb mein Ohem mit uns Moye desen morgē en beneke Schelfis ge-
sonden. Peter Binss heft ock sen Weff Waet avergescheckt. Snelt derselve
mit uns Moye der Hh [Herr] will mein Ohem hermede in Schuits den Al-
mechtige befelt hebben men gebedenisse an uns Moeye, semptlk mit huesst.
In Arnheim den 26 October anno 1586.

U. E. dienstwillig

Nef

GISBERT ENERWITZ.”

(Superscribed)

“Aan mein geleiffte Ohm Jan Wyer Medecy van sen
forstlike H. [Hoogheid] van Cleeff.”

Translation of the Letter from Enerwitz to Wyer :

Dear Uncle and Brother-in-law,

I was this morning early, as well as before within these three days, sent
for by His Excellency's^r nearest attendant on Mr. Sidney, who is lying here,
in the house of Mad^{lle} Gruiythueissens, wounded in his thigh by a shot re-
ceived from the enemy, about three weeks since, before Zutphen; which
wound has hitherto done tolerably well. But, in the course of the last three
days, the good gentleman has been attacked by fever, and is become on that

^r The Earl of Leicester.

account a little weaker. He [the General]^s has, therefore, urgently besought me, as have also the other gentlemen, that I would write to you, my uncle, and make it my own request that you would be pleased to visit him in his illness, and thereby impart to him all that consolation which you have been wont to afford, and which may prove serviceable to him in his weak state. And although I have caused the good gentleman to be informed that you are yourself labouring under indisposition (and have shewn the letter which you sent me), yet he has, nevertheless, expressed his full persuasion, that, if you should not have had any accession of illness, you will come and pay him a visit. HE HAS ALSO, IN HIS BED AND WITH HIS OWN HAND, WRITTEN THE ABOVE TO YOU, and desired me to write therewith; which I could not refuse to him and the other gentlemen: and I do, therefore, hereby most earnestly intreat you that, if it be possible, you will come and visit him, a favour which will ever be remembered by him. Colonel Martin Schmick has also written in his behalf to the captain of the fort at Grave, and to the ships of war there lying, to bring you hither with a convoy of yachts or ships; or, in case you should prefer to take your passage by land, Captain Schmick is to provide you a sufficient escort. His Excellency arrived here this night:^t and Councillor Leoning would also have written to you; but the post would not wait long enough. We must therefore do the best we can in the matter.

I have also charged Peter Binss to purchase for you all your provisions, and himself to attend you hither. So that if you will but decide to come, we shall find the means of arranging it properly, and so that you and my aunt shall be provided with all needful, and that nothing shall, in any the least degree, frustrate the accomplishment of the object.

My thoughts are now and then whether Mr. Sidney will live?

I despatched this morning a small basket of haddocks for you and my aunt. Peter Binss also sent his wove coverlid.

May the Lord speed you and my aunt. I commend you, my uncle, to the

^s In the original "*zein G.*," which is supposed to denote "*zyn Generaelschap*," literally "*his Generalship*."

^t This passage confirms the information, derived from another source, that Leicester, after securing Deventer, came to Arnheim on the 15th October, to visit his dying relative.—*Sidney Papers*.

protection of the Almighty. My blessing to my aunt. All in haste.
Arnheim the 26 [16] October 1586.

Your obedient nephew,

GISBERT ENERWITZ.

(Superscribed)

“To my dear uncle John Wyer, Physician
to his princely Highness of Cleves.”

The inconsiderable addition, supplied by the foregoing letter, to our previous information concerning the last illness and sufferings of Sir Philip Sidney, and the irrelevancy of parts of it to that subject, may demand some apology for having troubled you with an entire copy of the document. Its value is, in fact, principally owing to the autograph prefixed to it: and, a point of minor interest, the antiquary learns from it under whose roof the hero expired.

I remain, with much esteem,

my dear Sir,

very faithfully yours,

G. F. BELTZ, LANCASTER.

SIR HENRY ELLIS, K H. F.R.S.
Sec. S.A.

IV. *On some Roman Bronzes discovered in the bed of the Thames, in January 1837 ; Communicated by CHARLES ROACH SMITH, Esq. F.S.A. in a Letter to NICHOLAS CARLISLE, Esq. K.H., F.R.S., Secretary.*

Read May 4, 1837.

SIR,

Lothbury, April 4, 1837.

IN conjunction with John Newman, Esq. F.S.A., I am enabled to exhibit to the Society of Antiquaries some fine and interesting bronzes, which were found in the bed of the river Thames, near London Bridge, in January last, by men employed in ballast heaving. They are five in number, and consist of a Priest, or devotee, of Cybele; a Mercury; an Apollo; an Atys; and the fragment of a Mercury, or, in the opinion of Sir Richard Westmacott, of a Jupiter. A pedestal of bronze was also found in the same spot.

The first of these figures (Plate IV.) is five inches high, and in perfect preservation: except the head, the figure is naked, and decidedly of the hermaphroditic character. In the right hand, and partly resting on the arm, are, as I presume, cymbals,^a evidently placed in that peculiar and temporary position to admit of the left hand being at liberty to adjust the sacred bandage or veil, which, it is to be inferred, has, during the celebration of the rites of the goddess, been loosened by dancing. These cymbals, however, appear of a rather unusual form; they are not separated by the artist, but whether by design or oversight, I am not prepared to say. Usually they are represented as being carried in either hand, and clashed against each other: these under examination may be a variety of the “*æra rotunda*,”^b but if the connexion

^a By some antiquaries a doubt has been suggested, whether the object may not be a speculum.

^b Propertius, iv. 7.

between the two brass-plates be intentional on the part of the artist, then this instrument must have been used with hinges, as a clapper, or in the manner of our modern castanets. It is not improbable that this image might have formed one of a group, of which the principal figures may have been the goddess Cybele and the Atys, hereafter to be described. This bronze is in the collection of Mr. Newman.

The Mercury (which, together with the Apollo and presumed Jupiter, are in my own possession,) is also about five inches in height, (Plate V.) and of the best and chastest design, and most finished workmanship. The correct proportions of the figure, the easy and graceful position, the attributory wings (emblems of thought) interwoven with the rich and clustering curls, which adorn the placid repose of a countenance worthy a god, the light and elegant fall of the mantle from the left shoulder, combine to stamp it one of the master-pieces of ancient art. The right hand, which most probably held the emblematic purse, is wanting; but, with this exception, the figure is well preserved.

The fragment, which I had at first also assigned to Mercury, is, in the opinion of Sir Richard Westmacott, more applicable, from its muscular developement, to Jupiter, (Plate VI.) and from its correct anatomical proportions, of equal interest to or greater than its less mutilated companion. Indeed its beautiful workmanship cannot but make us regret its imperfect condition; still I do not despair of obtaining at some future time the remainder of the figure. It stands about eight inches high.

But the gem of the collection, perhaps, is the Apollo; which, however, is not preserved entire. (Plate VII.) The left hand and the lower parts of the legs are wanting. The god is naked, and adorned with all the perfections of youth and beauty. The countenance, pensive and downcast, exhibits that unity of manly grace and feminine loveliness, which the artists of the Grecian school so well understood, and embodied in the numerous and incomparable proofs of their genius that have been happily preserved to delight and instruct us. The long and flowing hair (which gained for him the titles of *Χρυσοχαιτης*, Pulchricomus, Crinitus, &c.) is arranged in coiffure towards the front, while the luxuriant tresses, flowing down the back, are tied with the strophium.

Two ringlets, straying conspicuously over either shoulder, complete the picture of this superb, if not unique head-dress.

Intonsi crines longa cervice fluebant,
Stillabat Syrio myrtea rore coma.^c

It is difficult to give the execution of these relics to any precise epoch, but we cannot err in asserting their claims to an age not later than that of the Antonines or of Hadrian, when the arts were at their highest pitch of excellence. Sir Richard Westmacott, whose distinguished taste and matured judgment make it unsafe to appeal against his decision, gives them to the Augustan era, and confirms my opinion of the work being that of Greek artists in the employ of the Romans.

The Atys, (Plate VIII.) which was found at Barnes among the gravel taken from the same spot where the other bronzes were discovered, is well executed, though not so exquisitely modelled and finished as the Mercury and Apollo.

This deity wears the Phrygian bonnet, illustrative of his origin; and in either arm, symbolical of his prolific power, he carries boughs heavily laden with fruit. He is attired in a dress, composed of a short tunic and a loose garment or trowsers (the braccæ or anaxyrides) purposely thrown open at the waist, and buttoned up in front from the ankle to the knee over a sandal.

In Montfaucon are several representations of Atys. In one of these, the god holds the pastoral flute of unequal tubes in one hand, and in the other a pine branch.^d The dress corresponds in many respects with that just described.

In a second example, the flute or pipe is suspended from the sacred pine, the shepherd's crook is beside him, while, as officiating priest of Cybele, he is depicted playing on the tympanum before that goddess.

Another variety also resembles the specimen before us, except that

^c Tibullus, III. iv. 27.

^d Atys fistulâ et virgâ ornatus est. Fistula ordinem spiritus inæqualis ostendit, quia venti, in quibus nulla æqualitas est, propriam sumunt de Sole substantiam. Virga Solis potestatem asserit qui membra moderatur."—Elias Schedius de Diis Germanis, Amsterdam, 1648, 8vo. p. 77.

Montfaucon's bears the fruit in his lap, a peculiarity which has induced some to think it intended for Vertumnus.

The mythological accounts of Atys, as given by various writers, are replete with apparent contradictions and discrepancies: they concur, however, in making him a beautiful youth, a Phrygian or Lydian shepherd with whom the Mater Magna, the goddess Cybele, was enamoured, and who created him her high-priest; but, the young devotee failing in keeping sacred his vows of allegiance, the goddess displaced him from his high office with punishment and disgrace. Atys then wore the habiliments and adopted the manners of the female sex.

In the capacity of high-priest of Cybele or Rhæa, Atys is made the institutor of religious ceremonies and observances in honour of the Great Mother, and is described as travelling through the world, teaching the nature and worship of the gods, of which people had hitherto been ignorant. In the course of time, from being the *means*, Atys became the *object* of worship, and was adored with rites in common with those peculiar to the Sun, to Mythras, Serapis, Dis, and Typhon.

It is quite unnecessary to make more than a passing allusion to these popular fables; Pausanias, Lucian, and others, can be consulted for the curious details. It may, however, be remarked, that the investigation will be most profitably advanced by keeping in view the leading features or characteristics which identify his worship throughout so many ages and countries, and which will assist us in distinguishing between the literal signification of the fable or allegory, and the important truths founded on principles or natural facts concealed beneath its veil.

A few observations naturally arise from contemplating the figure before us.

Atys partook of both sexes:

Quod enim genus figuræ est, ego non quod habuerim?

Ego mulier, ego adolescens, ego ephebus, ego puer.—CATULLUS, Car. lxi. l. 63.

and Ovid:

Deque viro fias nec Vir, nec Fœmina, ut Attys.^e

^e Libellus in Ibin, l. 457.

This androgynous character appears to have originated in a very remote period, and to have been suggested by the obvious fact, that either of the two sexes taken alone would fail to convey a correct idea of the object aimed at, namely, a personification of the generative power of nature; but that a combination of the two would render an unequivocal explanation, and effect the end proposed.

This unity of persons in the mythological system is not confined to Atys. Proclus, in one of the Orphic hymns, describes Jupiter as male and female.

Priapus of the Etruscans was hermaphroditic.^f

Apuleius makes the Mother of the Gods masculine.^g

Plutarch says the Egyptians called Isis or the Moon, the mother of the world, both male and female; and that Osiris, in his character of the Sun, the giver of heat and life, was represented with attributes similar to those assigned to Atys in our specimen.

In the wanderings of Atys and his sufferings, an analogy to Adonis is observable. “*Nec Atys quem Berecynthia mater amavit, alius est quem Sol; qui corrupto nomine pro Adoni, Atys vel Attines dictus est.*”

The Phrygians imagined that God slept all the winter and awoke in the summer.

Atys, according to Porphyry, is one and the same with Vesta (the Persian *At-is* means fire), *Rhæa*, *Ceres*, *Themis*, *Priapus*, *Proserpine*, *Adonis*, *Silenus*, and the *Satyrs*. *Diodorus Siculus* makes the same assertion.ⁱ

The hermaphroditic nature of Atys and of others, and the various changes to which the deities of the ancients were subject, cannot be rationally explained in any other way, than by recognising in the whole group an allegorical representation of certain determined and accredited facts. To believe that the more learned assented to the literal reading of the tales of their deities, is contrary not only to reason, but to their own assertions.

The progress of science in former ages was retarded by obstacles as uncongenial to its advancement as plagues, deluges, and earthquakes are to the physical prosperity of the world. The peaceful and enlightened must often have fallen before the fire and sword of uncivilised adventurers, who

^f Table lviii. of *Gorius*.

^g *Met.* liii. p. 241.

^h *Schedius*, *De Diis Germanis*, ut *supr.*

ⁱ 1. 23.

crushed the spreading influence of the arts and sciences, and confounded the records of history with their own rude and barbarous traditions. To this cause alone, the origin of many of the incongruous and conflicting relations of mythology may be traced. The learned Jacob Bryant, after spending a life in laborious and unwearied research on the mythology of the ancients, came to the conclusion that a strong analogy exists between all the deities, and that they may each and all be referred to the grand luminary of nature—the Sun.

Thus, it requires no great straining of the imagination to identify Atys, or the God Papas, the first principle from whose agency all things were supposed to proceed, with all and each of the ancient deities; with Jupiter the father, with Apollo the bestower of heat and light, with Osiris, with Bacchus, and Ceres, all personifications of the fructifying power of Nature. Atys is connected with Cybele, as Adonis is with Venus, Endymion with Diana, Osiris with Isis, &c. As the universal father, he is supposed to generate all things by means of the twofold sex inherent in him. He is beloved by Cybele, or the Earth, because every thing seems to be engendered and produced by her and Atys, or the Sun's heat.

The God of Lampsacus seems derived from the same source, but is probably of a later invention, and may be emblematical of the generative power in a more restricted and grosser sense. Priapus also is depicted old, the autumn of the year; while Atys stands forth in the prime of youth and beauty, in the springtime of life, alluding to the eternal juvenility of man, the species.

The worship of the personified creative power appears to have originated in the East, and to have spread far and wide. The stone of conical shape brought by Elagabalus from Syria, as the god of his idolatry, may not without argument be conjectured to be the Phallus, and strong traces of this worship remain in the East to the present day. A Phallus in freestone, which seems, from its construction, to have been adapted for a place among the household gods of some Roman colonist, was lately found in digging the foundation for the houses in Moorgate Street.

That the Mercury, the Apollo, and Atys, were the Penates of a Roman of some distinction residing in the metropolis of the province of Britain there

can be but little doubt. From the many fragments found on the sites of Roman towns, the common people seem to have been content with clay or earthen images; while the beauty and execution of the bronzes exhibited are of a very superior character to what belongs to the generality of the figures found in metal.

The Romans were not an exterminating, and most decidedly not a bigoted people. They seem always to have been ready to admit to a share of religious homage, the deities of foreign and of conquered nations.

The gods of the countries into which their hostile arms were carried, were always propitiated with sacrifices to favour their cause.

Thus Virgil makes Æneas, who carried with him the gods of his own country, immediately and cordially to reverence the tutelar deities of a strange land:

“—— hesternumque Larem, parvosque Penates
Lætus adit.”^k

Tacitus, in his treatise on Germany, states that Mercury was the god most worshipped, and also (especially among the Suevi) Isis or Herthum, that is, the mother Earth, or Cybele, and the ceremonies there accorded with those used long before in Syria; and in the priest *apparelled like a woman* is an additional evidence of the connexion and derivation described. This worship, with modifications, seems to have been common in the German States. The Æstyan nation, Tacitus further states, “using the same customs, worship the *Mother* of the Gods; their language, however, resembles that of the Britons.”

From the connexion of language and intercourse there is good reason for supposing the forms of worship in the two countries to have been not widely different. The policy of the Romans would induce that people to bring over such of their deities as were ostensibly related to those used by the natives, and could, without wounding their prejudices, be used by both in common. For this reason, Cybele and Atys would be among the first to be selected.

Apollo, also, was among the gods worshipped in Britain according to

^k Æn. VIII. l. 543.

Cæsar, who, moreover, states that he also found many images of Mercury, in his manifold capacities.

It now remains for me to attempt to give some conjecture why these Penates were deposited in such a peculiar situation as the bed of the river Thames; where also, it will be remembered, was found the colossal bronze head of Hadrian, in the possession of, and exhibited to the Society some short time since, by Mr. Newman.

The Roman ships, Virgil tells us, when on an expedition, were under the protection of the guardian deities of the empire, whose images were arranged around the poop. The head of Hadrian, just referred to, would seem better adapted for such a purpose: our images, had they been used (which seems improbable) under such circumstances, and been displaced from their situation by accident, would have been found unmutilated and perfect; for the water, when the air is excluded, preserves metals, and their weight would have sunk them in the bed of the river, out of the reach of injury.

I conceive these elegant relics to have been intentionally disfigured, and then thrown into the river.

The image of the Apollo bears on both sides of the legs, just above the point where they are sundered, marks of some sharp instrument, such as a hatchet would leave if struck with moderate force, and this could not have been done while the image lay buried in the bottom of the river. Both legs of the Atys seem to have been purposely broken, and the mutilations of the Jupiter and Mercury also appear to have been effected intentionally.

We know that the destruction of the idols of the Pagans was a duty prescribed the early Christians. The Venerable Bede testifies to this fact in numerous passages in his Ecclesiastical History.¹

Fire was often the grand agent of destruction; but the proximity of the

¹ Vide cap. xii. lib. ii. commencing: "Adjecit autem Coifi," and ending with "ac destruxit eas quas ipse sacraverat aras."

In the epistle of Pope Gregory to Æthelbert, A D. 601, occur these commands: "Idolarum cultus insequere, fanorum ædificia evertite," &c. Cap. xxxii. lib. i.

In another letter (to Mellitus), the same Pope says: "ipsa quæ in eis sunt idola destruantur."

Thames suggested to the mistaken zeal of the spoilers of Roman London an easier mode of removing the evidences of paganism, and these very objects of our admiration, after being defaced, as we now see them, were consigned to what was intended for an eternal grave. But the water, faithful to science, has conserved these interesting specimens of ancient art for the use and admiration of a posterity, it is to be hoped, less intolerant and destructive.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

CHARLES ROACH SMITH.

NICHOLAS CARLISLE, Esq. K.H., F.R.S.
Sec. S A. &c.

- V. *An Account of a large quantity of Coins of Edward I. and II. discovered in February 1836, at Wyke, near Leeds; in Yorkshire: forming a Sequel to Mr. HAWKINS'S Account of those of the same reigns found at Tutbury. By Messrs. FRANCIS SHARPE and DANIEL HENRY HAIGH, of Leeds: Communicated through EDWARD HAWKINS, Esq. F.R.S., F.S.A.*

Read May 31, 1838.

IN February 1836, a person, in planting a tree at the end of his house at Wyke in the parish of Harewood, about eight miles from Leeds, struck upon an earthen vessel, containing a number of Coins of the early Edwards, &c. of which we shall, as far as lies in our power, give the particulars. The property on which they were found is held in trust for the Vicar of Leeds, and was bequeathed by the will of the late Right Honourable Lady Elizabeth Hastings. From whom, and at what time the property came into her family, we have not been able to ascertain; but by Kirby's Inquest, it appears that the Abbot of Kirkstall, to whose monastery most of the property in this neighbourhood belonged, was Lord of Wyke also. In the year 1831 the present farm-house was built upon the site of the old one, but was not continued so far as the original in length. It was in or under the plastered floor of the ancient tenement that these coins were concealed. The earthen vessel in which they were contained was, as far as we could learn, somewhat of the shape and nature of a Roman Urn; but every fragment of it had been destroyed previously to our inquiry. It had probably been cracked at the time of its secretion, or the cover was imperfect, as a great quantity of the coins were united together; many much oxidized, so as to be rendered quite friable and readily broken, not

leaving even the slightest trace of the original silver ; others were in a more perfect state ; but the generality were in very indifferent preservation. As to the number, we found it very difficult to come to any decided statement, as the individual into whose possession they had fallen was anything but communicative upon the subject, and stated varied numbers at various times ; but we consider it not improbable that there may have been about 2000.

The numbers which were examined minutely by F. Sharpe, were those described in detail ; D. H. Haigh having examined about 300 more.

In our arrangement, we have followed that adopted by Mr. Hawkins, in his account of the coins found at Tutbury in 1831,^a and have given the copy of his list of those coins, along with that of the coins found at Wyke. The varieties described by Mr. Hawkins, not discovered at Wyke, are included, marked by a (T), to give at one view a table of the comparative rarity of the coins of the two findings.

For the convenience of reference, we have in the first column given a general number, which belongs equally to each list ; in the second Mr. Hawkins's original number ; in the fourth, one belonging peculiarly to those found at Wyke ; and in the third and fifth, the quantities belonging to each particular discovery.

EDW. Mint LONDON.

No. Tutbury.

1. 1. 106

EDW R ANGL DNS HYB

CIVI TAS LON DON

Letters large ; mint-mark a large cross, with a long line at the end of each limb.

No. Wyke.

1. 86

^a Archaeologia, vol. XXIV. p. 148.

| No. Tutbury. | | | No. Wyke. |
|--------------|----|---|-----------|
| 2. | 2. | 3 (T) EDW R ANGL DNS HYB CIVI TAS LON DON Same as the preceding. Two dots on the King's breast, probably designed for the studs of a brooch. | 0 |
| 3. | | EDW R ANGL DNS HYB CIVI SAT LON DON In other respects same as No. 1. | 2. 1 |
| 4. | 3. | 40 EDW R ANGL DNS HYB CIVI TAS LON DON Letters smaller than No. 1; cross smaller, and the coin itself also smaller. | 3. 70 |
| 5. | 4. | 49 EDW R ANGL DNS HYB CIVI TAS LON DON Cross still smaller, and more compact than No. 1; a star on the breast, where the mantle meets. | 4. 25 |
| 6. | | A variety of the last, in which the pellets in each quarter of the cross on reverse are curiously laid on each other like scales. | 5. 1 |
| 7. | | EDW R ANGL DNS HYB CIVI TAS LONDON A variety of No. 3 (Wyke and Tutbury) mint mark a cross patée, with a small line extended in continuation of each horizontal limb. | 6. 1 |
| 8. | 5. | 12 EDW R ANGL DNS HYB CIVI TAS LON DON Large letters, and cross as on No. 1; a large pellet at the commencement of the legend on each side. | 7. 8 |

| No. | Tutbury. | | | No Wyke. |
|-----|----------|-------|---|----------|
| 9. | | | EDW R ANGL DNS HYB • CIVI TAS LON DON Same as the preceding, but no pellet before the legend on the obverse. | 8. 1 |
| 10. | 6. | 3 | EDW R ANGL DNS HYB CIVI TAS • LON DON Letters large; two dots at the joining of the mantle, as on No. 2 (Tutbury); a dot or roundel before London on reverse. | 9. 1 |
| 11. | 7. | 1 (T) | EDW R ANGL DNS HYB CIVI TAS † LON DON Letters large; a peculiarly formed cross before London on reverse; two dots at the joining of the King's mantle. | 0 |
| 12. | 8. | 1 (T) | EDW R ANGL DNS HYB CIVI TAS LON DON Letters rather large; cross plain, not patée at the ends. | 0 |
| 13. | | | A variety of this was observed, on which the γ of 10. HYB is omitted. | 1 |
| 14. | 9. | 1 (T) | EDW RE ANGL DNS YB CIVI TAS LON DON Letters large, s of DNS turned the contrary way, H of HYB omitted. Probably a counterfeit. | 0 |
| 15. | 10. | 11 | EDW REX ANGL DNS HYB CIVI TAS LON DON. Letters small. | 11. 2 |

discovered at Wyke near Leeds.

51

| No. | Tutbury. | | No. Wyke. |
|-----|----------|--|-----------|
| 16. | 11. | 1 (T) Same as No. 10. The letter N on the obverse in the English character ; on reverse in the Roman. | 0 |
| 17. | 12. | 1 (T) Very much blundered in the striking. | 0 |

EDW. Mint CANTOR.

| | | | | | |
|-----|-----|----|---|-----|----|
| 18. | 13. | 35 | EDW R ANGL DNS HYB | 12. | 28 |
| | | | CIVI TAS CAN TOR | | |
| | | | Large letters, and cross as on No. 1. | | |
| 19. | 14. | 13 | EDW R ANGL DNS HYB | 13. | 49 |
| | | | CIVI TAS CAN TOR | | |
| | | | Letters and cross smaller ; coin itself smaller. | | |
| 20. | 15. | 19 | EDW R ANGL DNS HYB | 14. | 2 |
| | | | CIVI TAS CAN TOR | | |
| | | | Letters and cross still smaller ; star on King's breast as on No. 4. | | |
| 21. | 16. | 3 | EDW R ANGL DNS HYB | 15. | 1 |
| | | | CIVI TAS CAN · TOR | | |
| | | | Letters and cross large ; two dots on the King's breast as on No. 2 (Tutbury), pellet between N and T of CANTOR on reverse. | | |
| 22. | 17. | 3 | · EDW R ANGL DNS HYB | 16. | 3 |
| | | | · CIVI TAS CAN TOR | | |
| | | | Letters and cross large ; brooch on the King's breast ; a pellet at the commencement of the legend on each side. | | |

No. Tutbury.

No. Wyke.

23.

EDW R ANGL DNS HYB

17. 1

· CIVI TAS CAN TOR

Letters large; no brooch on breast; pellet before
legend on reverse only.

24. 18. 1

· EDW R ANGL DNS HYB

18. 5

· CIVI TAS CAN TOR

Same as 17 (Tutbury); no brooch on breast.

EDW. Mint BEREWICI.

25. 19. 3

EDW R ANGL DNS HYB

19. 4

VILL A BE REV VICI

Letters and cross large.

26.

EDW R ANGL DNS HYD ·

20. 1

VILL ABE REV VICI

Letters small; pellet after D on obverse, Roman E
on reverse.

27.

EDW R ANGL DNS HYB

21. 1

VILL ABE REV VICI

Letters small.

28.

EDW R ANGL DNS HYB

22. 1

VILL ABE RRE VICI

Letters small.

No. Tatbury.

No. Wyke.

29.

EDW R ANGL DNS HYB

23. 1

: VIL LAB ERE VICI

Letters small; two dots at the commencement of
the legend on reverse.

EDW. Mint BRISTOLLIE.

30. 20. 21

EDW R ANGL DNS HYB

24. 7

VILL A BR ISTO LLIE

Letters and cross as on No. 1.

31. 21. 3

EDW R ANGL DNS HYB

25. 4

VILL BRI STO LIE

Letters and cross as on No. 3.

32. 22. 4

EDW R ANGL DNS HYB

26. 4

VILL BRI STO LIE

Star on breast as on No. 4.

EDW. Mint DVREME.

33. 23. 6

EDW R ANGL DNS HYB

27. 3

CIVI TAS DUR EME

Letters large as on No. 1; cross patée.

34.

EDW R ANGL DNS HYB

CIVITAS EME DUR

28. 1

Letters large. The syllables of Dur-eme trans-
posed.

| No. | Tutbury. | | No. Wyke. |
|-----|----------|--|-----------|
| 35. | 24. | 4 | 29. 3 |
| | | EDW R ANGL DNS HYB | |
| | | CIVI TAS DUR EME | |
| | | Letters and cross small, as on No. 3. | |
| 36. | 25. | 3 | 30. 2 |
| | | EDW R ANGL DNS HYB | |
| | | CIVI TAS DUR EME | |
| | | Letters and cross small : star on King's breast, as on No. 4. | |
| 37. | | ✠ EDW R ANGL DNS HYB | 31. 3 |
| | | ✠ CIV ITAS DUR EME | |
| | | Letters large : mint-mark a cross moline on both sides. | |
| 38. | 26. | 4 (T) | |
| | | EDW R ANGL DNS HYB | |
| | | CIVI TAS DUR EME | |
| | | Letters large : mint-mark a cross moline : struck by Bishop Beck. | |
| 39. | 27. | 4 (T) | |
| | | EDW R ANGL DNS HYB | |
| | | CIVI TAS DUR EME | |
| | | Letters small : mint-mark a cross moline : struck by Bishop Beck. | |
| 40. | | ✠ EDW R ANGL DNS HYB | 32. 1 |
| | | ✠ CIV ITA SDUR EME | |
| | | Letters small : mint-mark a cross moline on both sides. | |
| 41. | | ✠ EDW R ANGL DNS HYB | 33. 3 |
| | | CIVI TAS DUR EME | |
| | | Letters small : star on breast as on No. 4 : mint mark a cross moline on obverse only. | |

EDW. Mint SEDMVNDI.

No. Tutbury.

42. 28. 3

EDW R ANGL DNS HYB

VILL SCIE DMU NDI

Letters small.

43.

EDW R ANGL DNS HYB

VIL LAS EDM UNDI

Letters large : brooch on breast as on No. 2.

44. 29. 1

EDW R ANGL DNS HYB

VIL A SCI EDM UNDI

Letters small.

45.

EDW R ANGL DNS HYB

VILA SCI EDM UNDI

Letters small.

46. 30. 1

(T) EDW R ANGL DNS HYB

VILL SCIE DMU NDI

Letters small : star on breast as on No. 4.

47. 31. 2

(T) EDW R ANGL DNS HYB

CIVITAS EXONIE.

Small letters : star upon breast as No. 4.

EDW. Mint KYNGESTON.

48. 32. 3

EDW R ANGL DNS HYB

VILL KYN GES TON

Letters small : star on breast as on No. 4.

No. Wyke.

34. 1

35. 1

36. 1

37. 3

EDW. Mint LINCOL.

No. Tutbury.
49. 33. 6

EDW R ANGL DNS HYB
CIVI TAS LIN COL

Letters and cross large, as on No. 1.

No. Wyke
38. 4

EDW. Mint NOVICASTRI.

50. 34. 1

(T) EDW R ANGL DNS HYB

VILL A NO VICA STRI

Letters and cross large, as No. 1. Dot or roundel
in the N of ANGL.

51. 35. 5

EDW R ANGL DNS HYB

VILL NOVI CAS TRI

Letters and cross small, as on No. 3.

39. 4

52.

EDW R ANGL DNS HYB

VILL' NOVI CAS TRI

Differing from the former in having a mark of ab-
breviation after VILL on the reverse.

40. 2

53. 36. 9

EDW R ANGL DNS HYB

VILL NOV CAS TRI

Letters and cross small; star on breast as on No. 4.

41. 4

54. 37. 1

(T) EDW R ANGL DNS HYB

VIL NOV CAS TRI

In other respects same as last.

0

EDW. Mint EBORACI.

No. Tutbury.

No. Wyke.

55. 38. 8

EDW R ANGL DNS HYB

42. 6

CIVI TAS EBO RACI

Letters and cross large, as on No. 1.

56.

EDW R ANGL DNS HYB

43. 1

CIVI TAS EBOR ACI

Letters and cross large, as on No. 1.

57. 39. 9

EDW R ANGL DNS HYB

44. 4

CIVI TAS EBO RACI

Letters and cross small : star on breast as on No. 4.

58. 40. 1

EDW R ANGL DNS HYB

45. 2

CIVI TAS EBO RACI

Letters large, as on No. 1 : cross on breast : quatrefoil in the centre of the large cross on reverse.

59.

EDW R ANGL DNS HYB

46. 1

CIVI TAS EBO RACI

Letters small : no cross on breast : quatrefoil in the centre of cross on reverse.

EDW. Mint CESTRIE.

60.

EDW R ANGL DNS HYB

47. 1

CIVI TAS CES TRIE

Letters and cross large, as on No. 1.

ROBERT DE HADELEIE.

No. Tutbury.

No. Wyke.

61. 41. 1

48. 1

EDW R ANGL DNS HYB

ROBE RT DE HADE LEIE

Letters large : cross small and plain.

62.

49. 1

EDW R ANGL DNS HYB

ROBE RTUS DE H ADL'

Letters and cross small, as on No. 3.

EDWA. Mint LONDON.

63. 42. 309

50. 199

EDWA R ANGL DNS HYB

C IVI TAS LON DON

64.

51. 1

EDWA R ANGL DNS HB

CIVI TAS LON DON

The Y of HYB being omitted.

65.

52. 1

EDWA R ANGL DNS HYB:

CIVI TAS LON DON

A pellet and a mark of abbreviation after the B of
HYB.

66. 43.

7

(T)

EDWA R ANGL DNS HYB:

0

CIVI TAS LONDON

Two dots at the end of the legend on obverse.

67. 44.

1

(T)

EDWA R ANGL DNS HY:B:

0

CIVI TAS LON DON

Two dots on each side of the B of HYB.

discovered at Wyke near Leeds.

59

No. Tutbury.

No. Wyke.

68. 45. 1 (T) EDWA R AANGL DNS HYB
CIVI TAS LON DON

0

The A of ANGL being accidentally repeated.

69. 46. 1 (T) EDWA R ANGL DNS HYB
CIVI TAS DON DON

0

70. 47. 4 EDWA. R ANG DNS HYB
CIVI TAS LON DON

53. 2

The L of ANGL being omitted.

71. EDWA. R ANGL DNS HYB
CIVI TAS LON DON

54. 1

A pellet between A and R on the obverse.

EDWA. Mint CANTOR.

72. 48. 202 EDWA R ANGL DNS HYB.
CIVI TAS CAN TOR

55. 116

73. 49. 4 EDWA R ANGL DNS HYB :
CIVI TAS CAN TOR

56. 3

Two dots at the end of legend on obverse.

74. EDWA R ANGL DNS HYB :
CIVI TAS CAN TOR

57. 7

Three dots at the end of the legend on obverse.

75. 50. 3 EDWA R ANG DNS HYB
CIVI TAS CAN TOR

58. 1

The L of ANGL being omitted.

| | | | | |
|-----|----------|---|------------------------|-----------|
| No. | Tutbury. | | | No. Wyke. |
| 76. | 51. | 1 | (T) EDW R ANGL DNS HYB | 0 |
| | | | CANTOR CANTOR | |

| | | | | |
|-----|--|--|---------------------|---|
| 77. | | | EDWA R ANGL DNS HYB | 1 |
| | | | CIVI TAS CATOTOR | |

The limb of the cross does not, as usual, divide the last word: it may more properly be considered a blundered coin.

| | | | | | |
|-----|-----|---|----------------------|-----|---|
| 78. | 52. | 1 | EDWA R ANGL DNS HYB: | 59. | 1 |
| | | | CIVI TAS CAS TOR | | |

Two dots at the end of the legend on obverse; reverse blundered. The mistake of Castor for Cantor has probably given occasion to its having been reported that some coins struck at Lancaster had been discovered.

| | | | | | |
|-----|--|--|---------------------|-----|---|
| 79. | | | EDWA R ANGL DNS HYB | 60. | 1 |
| | | | CIVI TAS CAN TAS | | |

Blundered on reverse.

EDWA. Mint BEREWICI.

| | | | | |
|-----|-----|---|-------------------------|---|
| 80. | 53. | 1 | (T) EDWA R ANGL DNS HYB | 0 |
| | | | VIL LAB ERE VICI | |

| | | | | |
|-----|-----|---|-------------------------|---|
| 81. | 54. | 1 | (T) EDWA R ANGL DNS HYB | 0 |
| | | | VILL ABE REVV ICI | |

A dot on the breast. Workmanship very bad.

discovered at Wyke near Leeds.

61

No. Tutbury.

No. Wyke.

82. 55. 1 (T) EDWA R ANGL DNS HYB

0

: VIL LAB ERE WIC

Two dots before the legend on reverse.

83. 56. 6 EDWA R ANGL DNS HYB

61. 2

VILL ABE REV VICI

The E on the reverse in the Roman character.

84. 57. 20 EDWA R ANGL DNS HYB

62. 4

VILL ABE REV VICI

Dot on King's breast.

85. EDWA R ANGL DNS HYB

63. 1

: VIL LAB ERE WYCI

Two dots before legend on reverse.

EDWA. Mint BRISTOLIE.

86. EDWA R ANGL DNS HYB

64. 1

VILL BRI STO LIE

EDWA. Mint DVREME and DVNELM.

87. 58. 11 EDWA R ANGL DNS HYB

65. 4

CIVI TAS DUR EME

Mint-mark a plain cross (not patée).

88. 59. 55 EDWA R ANGL DNS HYB

66. 17

CIVI TAS DUR EME

Mint-mark a cross moline (struck by Bishop Beck).

No. Tutbury.

No. Wyke.

89. 60. 6

EDWA R ANGL DNS HYB

67. 5

CIVI TAS DUN ELM

The head of a crosier, turned to the left, terminates
one limb of the large cross on the reverse. (Bp. Kellow.)

EDW. Mint NOVCASTRI.

90.

EDWA R ANGL DNS HYB

68. 1

VILL A NOV CAS TRI

EDW. Mint SCI EDMVNDI.

91. 61. 27 (T)

EDWA R ANGL DNS HYB

0

VILL A SCI EDM UNDI

92.

EDWA R ANGL DNS HYB

69. 7

VILL SCIE DMU NDI

93.

EDWA R ANGL DNS HYB

70. 1

VILL SCIE DMU NDI

Pellet on the King's breast.

94.

EDWA R ANGL DNS HYB

71. 1

VILL' SCIE DMU NDI

Pellet between A and R on obverse. Abbrevia-
tion above VILL' on reverse.

| | | | |
|-----|----------|-----|-----------|
| No. | Tutbury. | | No. Wyke. |
| 95. | 62. | 121 | 72. 56 |

EDWAR R. ANGL DNS HYB
CIVITAS LONDON

96. 63. 1 (T) EDWAR R ANGL DNS HYB
CIV+TAS LONDON

The second I in CIVITAS has a short limb in the middle on each side, giving it a cross-like form.

97. 64. 1 (T) CIVI CIVI LONDON

The first part of the word *Civitas* being accidentally substituted in place of its termination.

| | | | | | |
|-----|-----|-----|----------------------|-----|----|
| 98. | 65. | 115 | EDWAR R ANGL DNS HYB | 73. | 60 |
| | | | CIVITAS CANTOR | | |

| | | | | | |
|-----|-----|---|-----------------------|-----|---|
| 99. | 66. | 1 | EDWAR R ANGL DNS HYB: | 74. | 1 |
| | | | CIVITAS CANTOR | | |

Two dots at the end of the legend on obverse, as upon Nos. 43, 49, and 52 (Tutbury).

100. The same as the last, with a single dot only. 75. 1

| | | | | | |
|------|-----|---|------------------------|-----|---|
| 101. | 67. | 1 | ✠ EDWAR R ANGL DNS HYB | 76. | 4 |
| | | | CIVITAS DUREME | | |

Mint-mark cross moline. Struck by Bishop Beck between 1283 and 1311.

102. The same, with a plain cross for mint-mark. 77. 1

| No. | Tutbury. | | No. Wyke. |
|------|----------|---|-----------|
| 103. | 68. | 4 | 78. 1 |

EDWAR R ANGL DNS HYB

CIVITAS DUNELM

The top of a crosier, turned to the left, terminates one limb of the large cross of the reverse. Struck by Bishop Kellow between 1313 and 1316.

| | | | |
|------|--|-----------------|-------|
| 104. | | CIVITAS DUNELM. | 79. 1 |
|------|--|-----------------|-------|

Plain cross for mint-mark, and no crosier on the reverse.

| | | | | | |
|------|-----|----|---|-----|---|
| 105. | 69. | 3 | M. M. Lion rampant with one fleur-de-lis in front. | 80. | 1 |
| | | 7 | M. M. Lion rampant with two fleurs-de-lis in front. | | 1 |
| | | 3 | M. M. Lion rampant between two fleurs-de-lis. | | 1 |
| | | | M. M. Lion rampant alone. | 81. | 1 |
| | | 10 | M. M. Lion rampant, but in too bad condition to show whether with one or two fleurs-de-lis. | | 7 |

These were all struck by Bishop Beaumont between 1317 and 1333; and the Wyke coins fully establish Mr. Hawkins's remark, that the coins of Durham were in general very badly minted.

| | | | | | |
|------|-----|---|----------------------|-----|---|
| 106. | 70. | 1 | EDWAR R ANGL DNS HYB | 82. | 1 |
| | | | VILL NOVI CAS TRI | | |

| | | | | | |
|------|-----|----|----------------------|-----|----|
| 107. | 71. | 47 | EDWAR R ANGL DNS HYB | 83. | 15 |
| | | | VILL ASCI EDM VNDI | | |

| | | | | | |
|------|--|--|--------------------|-----|---|
| 108. | | | VILL SCIE DMU NDI | 84. | 2 |
| 109. | | | VILL' SCIE DMU NDI | 85. | 1 |

An apostrophe after VILL: a slight line also across the I of MUNDI, almost giving it the appearance of a cross.

discovered at Wyke near Leeds.

65

| No. | Tutbury. | | No. Wyke. |
|-------|----------|--|-----------|
| 110. | 72. | 21 EDWARD R ANGL DNS HYB CIVITAS LONDON | 86. 11 |
| 111. | 73. | 10 The same, with a small ornamental mark of abbreviation attached to the B of HYB. | 87. 4 |
| 112. | 74. | 1 (T) EDWARD R ANG DNS HYB CIVITAS LONDON | |
| <hr/> | | | |
| 113. | | EDWARD R ANGL DNS HYB CIVITAS CANTOR | 88. 2 |
| <hr/> | | | |
| 114. | 75. | 1 EDWARD R ANGL DNS HYB CIVITAS DUREME | 89. 1 |
| 115. | 76. | 2 (T) EDWARD R ANGL DNS H CIVITAS DUREMIE Mint-mark a plain cross. | |
| 116. | 77. | 5 (T) EDWARD R ANGL DNS HYB VILL NOVI CAS TRI | |
| 117. | 78. | 2 (T) VILL NOV CAS TRI | |
| 118. | 79. | 4 EDWR R ANGL DNS HYB CIVITAS LONDON | 90. 1 |
| 119. | | An ornament and a dot after HYB. | 91. 1 |

| | | |
|--------------|---------------------------------------|-----------|
| No. Tutbury. | | No. Wyke. |
| 120. 80. 5 | EDWR R ANGL DNS HYB CIVITAS CANTOR | 92. 1 |

FOREIGN or COUNTERFEIT STERLINGS.

| | | |
|------------|---|-------|
| 121. 81. 1 | (T) G : DOMIN DE LIN MON SEREUE Letters large, like those of No. 1. Engraved in Snelling, pl. iii. fig. 27. | |
| 122. | G : DOMINUS : DE : LINI MON ETA SER EUE Small letters; the E on the obverse in the English character, the reverse in the Roman. | 93. 1 |
| 123. | E DOMYNVS : DELINNY MON ETA SCRAWN | 94. 1 |
| 124. | E : DOMINVS : DE : LINY MON ETA SCRAVN | 95. 1 |
| 125. | Obverse illegible. SER ENC DVG ONE | 96. 1 |
| 126. 82. 1 | (T) GVALER DE LVSENB MONETA SEREUE Letters large. (Snelling, pl. iii. fig. 28.) Gualeran of Luxemburg and Count of Ligny from 1280. | |

No. Tutbury.

No. Wyke.

127. 83. 2 (T) R COMES FLANDRIE

MONETA ALOTEN

Letters small. (Snelling, pl. iii. fig. 12). Struck after 1305.

128. R · COMES · FLANDRIE

97. 6

MON ETA ALO TEN

Small letters. A trefoil after R and s on the obverse.

129. 84. 1 JOHANNES DEI GRA

98. 1

REX BOE ET P OL'

Letters small: an eagle with wings displayed between the letters E and s of JOHANNES upon the obverse, and at the end of the legend of the reverse. Similar to Snelling, pl. iii. fig. 21. Struck between 1321 and 1345.

130. 85. 2 (T) EC MONETA NOSTRA

LIN TOLENGIEN.

Letters small. (Snelling, pl. iii. fig. 34.)

131. GALCHS COMES PORC

99. 2

MON ETN OVE yVE

132. Same as last; but has a spur-rowel of six points 100. 1
between y and v on the reverse.

- | No. | Tutbury. | | No. | Wyke. |
|------|---|------|-----|-------|
| 133. | Same legends; but with a small crescent above the space between h and s on the obverse, and a crescent reversed between y and v on the reverse. | 101. | 1 | |
| 134. | Same legends; with a pellet after the end of the legend on the reverse. | 102. | 1 | |
| 135. | GALCHS COMS PORC MON ET N OVA YVE The same as No. 99 (Wyke), with the E of COMES omitted. | 103. | 1 | |

-
- | | | | | |
|------|---|------|---|--|
| 136. | LVDOVICVS · ROM · IMPR MON ET A QVENSIS Letters small: mint-mark an eagle displayed, which also occurs in the first quarter of the cross on the reverse. (Snelling, pl. iii. No. 29.) | 104. | 1 | |
|------|---|------|---|--|

As Mr. Hawkins observes, "All these pieces strictly resemble in workmanship and type the English pennies of this period."

SCOTTISH MONEY.

- | | | | | |
|----------|--|------|--|--|
| 137. 86. | ✠ ALEXANDER DEI GRA REX SCOTORVM ✠ A plain cross at the beginning of the legend on the obverse, and at the end upon the reverse. | 105. | | |
|----------|--|------|--|--|

| No. | Tutbury. | | No. Wyke. |
|-----|----------|--|-----------|
| A | 4 | Four spur-rowels of five points in the quarters of the cross on the reverse. | |
| B | 7 | Four spur-rowels of six points. | 2 |
| C | 4 | Three spur-rowels of six points, and one star of seven points. | 1 |
| D | 2 | Two spur-rowels of six points, and two stars of seven points. | 1 |

138. 87. 1 (T) ✠ JOHANNES DEI GRA
 ✠ REX SCOTORUM

A plain cross at the commencement of the legend on each side ; four spur-rowels of six points in the quarters of the cross on the reverse.

The same ; but with two spur-rowels of five 106. 1
 points, and two stars of five points placed alternately.

139. 88. 1 (T) ✠ J. OHANNES DEI GRA
 REX SCOTORUM ✠

A cross at the commencement of the legend of the obverse, and at the end upon the reverse. A spur rowel of five points in each quarter of the cross on the reverse. Three dots between the first and second letter of the King's name.

140. 89. 1 (T) ✠ JOHANNES DEI GRA
 CIVITAS SANDRE

Spur-rowel in each quarter of the cross on the reverse.

ANGLO-GALLIC.

| No. Tutbury. | | No. Wyke. |
|--------------|--|-----------|
| 141. | King's head full-faced, slightly inclined to the right ; a lion passant on his breast. | 107. 4 |
| | ✠ EDWARD REX ANGL | |
| | Reverse, a cross, each limb of which is terminated by a small flower ; a coronet in each quarter. | |
| | DUX AQV ITA NIE | |
| | Same as Ducarel, pl. vi. No. 71 ; and Ruding, Part ii. pl. 10. No. 20. There is also in Ducarel one resembling it in every thing but shape of cross, pl. iii. No. 37 ; which is also in Snelling, pl. vii. No. 14. | |

IRISH.

| | | | | |
|----------|---|---|------|---|
| 142. 90. | 4 | EDW R' ANGL DNS HYB | 108. | 2 |
| | | CIVITAS DVBLINIE | | |
| | | Letters large ; two dots below the King's bust. | | |
| 143. 91. | 8 | Legends same as last. Letters small : one dot below the King's bust. | 109. | 1 |
| 144. | | Small letters. Two dots below King's bust. | 110. | 1 |
| 145. | | EDW. R. ANGL. DNS HYB | 111. | 1 |
| | | CIVI TAS WATE RFOR | | |
| | | Letters small : a pellet before E, after w, R, and L, on the obverse. | | |
| 146. 92. | 2 | (T) EDW R ANGL DNS HYB. | | |
| | | CIVITAS WATERFOR | | |

Amongst the Wyke coins there might be blundered and obliterated about

1467

35

850

In the preceding Lists, it will be observed that at Wyke have been found, in addition to those at Tutbury,

The Anglo-Gallic coins,

One of Louis IV. of Bavaria.

Five varieties of Galcher of Chatillon, Count of Porceiu, together with many varieties of coins of the Edwards and of the Counterfeits, or more properly, Foreign Sterlings. A coin of Chester was found at Wyke, and none at Tutbury; a coin of Exeter at Tutbury, and none at Wyke.

It is rather a curious coincidence that there should be two findings so exactly resembling each other in their general features. The Wyke coins were probably concealed within a very few years of the time when those of Tutbury were lost.

As we are most likely to come to the date of the English coins by referring to the Foreign Sterlings, we enumerate first,

One of *Louis IV. of Bavaria*, who was made Emperor in 1314, and reigned along with Frederick of Austria until 1332, when Frederick was taken prisoner by Louis; after which the latter reigned alone; and died in 1347. The coin in question was struck at Aix-la-Chapelle, after his being crowned at Rome in 1329.

Gualeran II. of Luxemburg and Lord of Ligny, was made Lord of Ligny in 1288, after the death of his father Gualeran I. at the battle of Vara. The coin of this Prince which was found at Tutbury, was much obliterated, but in the large type of letters; that found at Wyke was in the small type, and had the E on the obverse in the English character, that on the reverse in the Roman.

To which of the members of the house of *Luxemburg* we must attribute the coins 94 and 95, beginning with a *very distinct* e, we are at a loss to determine. They do not occur in Snelling, nor does he mention any Prince of that house whose name begins with e. The obverse of coin 96 was completely illegible; the reverse bore the inscription of SER ENE DVG ONE. Have these been genuine coins, or are they counterfeits? If genuine, to what Prince and period may they be ascribed?

Galcher of Chatillon, Constable of France, was presented with the County

of Porcieu, in Rethelois, by Philip King of France in 1308. When, in 1314, he married Isabel, or Elizabeth, of Rumigny and Floriens, the widow of Theobald II. Duke of Lorraine, he obtained as her dowry the city of Neufchatel in Lorraine, and insisted on the right of coining money there, independently of Frederick IV. her son. Albert the Emperor had, in 1298, granted to Frederick II. Duke of Lorraine, the privilege of coining at *Ivè*, money which should be current in Lorraine and on its frontiers, but not in France. The coins, therefore, belonging to him may have been struck as early as 1318, when the differences between Frederick and the Count were amicably adjusted; for by right of his wife he coined money both at *Ivè* and *Neufchatel*. Of the five varieties of this Count's coins, mentioned in our list, the first is mentioned by Snelling as one of the commonest of the class of Foreign Sterlings, and is figured in his plate iii. No. 25. The other four are minute varieties of the same.

John, King of Bohemia and Poland, was crowned King of Bohemia at Prague in 1310, took Silesia from the Poles in 1321, and, after a long war, renounced his claim to that kingdom in 1345, and was killed at the battle of Cressy in the following year. This coin therefore must have been struck between 1321 and 1345.

Robert Count of Flanders commenced his reign in 1305.

| | | |
|---|---|--------------|
| The Scotch coins were those of Alexander III. | . | 1249 to 1292 |
| and John Baliol | . | 1292 to 1306 |

The Episcopal coins struck at Durham are

| | | |
|--|---|---------------|
| Of Bishop Beck, who presided between the years | . | 1283 and 1311 |
| Of Bishop Kellow, between | . | 1313 and 1316 |
| Of Bishop Beaumont, between | . | 1317 and 1333 |
| Gualeran of Luxemburg and Ligny | . | 1288 |
| Galcher of Chatillon, Count of Porcieu | . | 1308 |
| Robert Count of Flanders | . | 1305 |
| John of Bohemia and Poland between | . | 1321 and 1345 |
| Louis of Bavaria between | . | 1314 and 1347 |

From the above table of dates, it will appear that the Wyke coins could

not have been secreted previous to 1329 (the third of Edward III.), that in which Louis was crowned at Rome, and of course for the first time could assume the ROM. IMPR.

There are a few of the *Anglo-Gallic Coins* also, which Ruding, Snelling, and Ducarel agree in attributing to Edward III., and, indeed, their appropriation to him is much strengthened by their being found with this Sterling of Louis (not of earlier date than 1309), and none of either description being found at Tutbury.

It is, however, a singular fact, that these are the only coins we observed which can be at all called English, and can, with any degree of probability, be ascribed to Edward III.; but, as probably not so much as one half of the coins found passed under our observation, there may possibly have been others (although particular inquiries were made, but none found) on which the name EDWARDUS could be distinctly read.

With respect to the *Irish Coins*, none were discovered which could be attributed to Edward III. either from the shape of the letters or weight of the coins. Simon ascribes those with one dot below the bust to Edward I., and those with two to Edward II.

Of *Scotch Coins* we have only those of Alexander III. who began to reign in 1249, and John Baliol in 1292, both of which occurred also among the Tutbury coins. None were discovered either of Robert Bruce, who began his reign in 1306, nor of David II. in 1329; so that we cannot gather any particulars of the date of concealment either from these or from the Irish Coins.

To the date of concealment, therefore, in the first place, we must come to a positive conclusion from that of Louis, which could not be struck earlier than 1329; in the second place we must assume negative evidence, that there was not any coin of David II. who came to his throne in the same year; which necessarily fixes it to some period in the early part of Edward the Third's reign. Could the Sterlings with A DOMINUS DE LINI be appropriated, it might be fixed with greater accuracy.

The reason of the concealment was undoubtedly the unsettled state of Yorkshire during the reigns of the first three Edwards. In that of Edward II. the Scotch made repeated inroads into the county, even spending

the winter of 1322 at Morley, ten miles south of Wyke, after which they penetrated still further south. When Edward Baliol was driven from Scotland in 1333, he took refuge at the castle of Harewood (distant not more than two or three miles from Wyke), where his arms, together with those of Aldborough, the governor, who received him, yet remain over the entrance. During the latter part of this, and the beginning of the following reign, the county continued in a very turbulent state on account of the Scottish wars. The treasure might either have been secreted by its owner, to prevent its falling into the hands of some party of marauders; or he may have been enrolled amongst the troops, and have been slain in the war.

VI. *Remarks on the Manner of the Death of King Richard the Second.* By P. W. DILLON, Esq. of Paris; In two Letters addressed to Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H., F.R.S., Secretary.

Read 15th and 29th November, 1838.

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE read with a deep interest the able Dissertations of two of your learned colleagues, Messrs. Webb and Amyot, on that oft controverted point of English history the death of Richard the Second.^a Both reject the popular account of his murder, by Sir Piers Exton and accomplices, as comparatively unfounded; and maintain, with Thomas of Otterbourn, Hardyng, and, it must be confessed, nearly all the contemporary chroniclers, that he died of starvation.

So far Messrs. Webb and Amyot agree in their conclusions, but so far only. When they proceed to inquire whether this starvation was voluntary or not, each adopts a different hypothesis. Mr. Amyot adduces a variety of arguments, in order to shew that it was completely voluntary on the part of Richard; while Mr. Webb attributes it to the cruel mandates of Henry the Fourth alone.

Nor are these the only opinions to which this subject has of late given rise. Mr. Tytler,^b in his History of Scotland, a work of considerable talent and research, hesitates not to pronounce all the accounts of Richard's death in the castle of Pontefract, whether from voluntary or compulsory starvation, from the sword, or otherwise, so many fables; he having escaped into

^a Archæol. vol. XX.

^b See Appendix to vol. iii. of Hist. of Scotland.

Scotland, where he was maintained for several years at great expense, by the Regent of that kingdom, the Duke of Albany. A statement of so novel and startling a nature required evidence of no ordinary kind; and it is but justice to Mr. Tytler to admit, that he has enrolled several respectable authorities in its favour. Even Sir Walter Scott, we are assured, looked upon Mr. Tytler's account as much more credible than any other on the same subject.^c

Having enumerated the different hypotheses which prevail with regard to the manner of King Richard's death, it only remains for me to proclaim my own. Nor do I fulfil this duty without a degree of hesitation; for, however strongly convinced of the authenticity and truth of the evidence I am about to adduce in support of my opinion, the very fact of its being directly opposed to such respectable authorities makes me fear lest it should be received with contempt or mistrust. As, however, the premises with which I start, are totally different from those of my forerunners on this question, it may appear less presumptuous on my part to come forward with different conclusions.

I shall begin by proclaiming myself a decided partizan of the old, though now almost exploded opinion, that Richard was assassinated in his prison by Sir Piers Exton. But, before I proceed to my proofs, I must beg leave to avail myself of a privilege which has been unsparingly exercised by all who have discussed this topic before me, namely, that of subverting, or doing my utmost to subvert, every statement opposed to my own.

We have just seen that these statements have been reduced in these latter times to three. Richard died of voluntary abstinence—Mr. Amyot's statement. He died of compulsory starvation—Mr. Webb's. And, lastly, he escaped into Scotland—Mr. Tytler's version. In order to refute the latter hypothesis, with which I shall begin, one thing alone is necessary: it must be shown that, at the very period when the reports of Richard being alive in Scotland were strongest, an inquiry was set on foot, with a view of ascertaining the fact, by the King of France; and that this inquiry, although conducted by one who knew Richard well, and who believed, himself, in the

^c See *Archæolog.* vol. XXV.

reports, ended in disappointment. This refutation I am able to give from authentic and irrefragable evidence.

I had the good fortune to discover, a few weeks ago, in the Royal Library of Paris, two documents connected with Creton, the author of a metrical history of the deposition of Richard, of which a transcript was published by Mr. Webb, in the twentieth volume of the *Archæologia*. The first is an order or mandement from King Charles the Sixth of France to Jehan or John Creton, his valet-de-chambre, prescribing the payment of 200 francs to the said Creton, for a voyage to Scotland, in order to see if Richard the Second were alive, as was reported.

The second contains Creton's receipt for one hundred of the two hundred francs specified above, which he acknowledges to have been granted to him as a recompense for having gone to Scotland to ascertain whether Richard were alive in that kingdom, "*comme on disoit*," as had been reported. Both documents are on parchment; both are of unquestionable authenticity.

We have here a proof, than which nothing can be more irrefragable, that in 1410, for the documents in question bear that date, a messenger had returned from Scotland, whither he had been sent by the Court of France, for the express and sole purpose of inquiring into the truth of the reports of King Richard's being alive. And who was the messenger selected for that mission? Jehan Creton, the King of France's valet-de-chambre, who had formerly been a member of Richard's household; who had followed him into Ireland on the occasion of his fatal expedition against the tribes of that country; who had heard his piteous lamentations, when betrayed into the hands of Henry of Lancaster; who had published on his return to France a circumstantial account of all these events; and, lastly, who disbelieved from the beginning the various stories of Richard's death. It must be admitted that Creton was of all others the most fitting person for such a mission.

But, were Creton's expectations realized? Did he find Richard alive and in safety in Scotland? With regard to these points our documents are silent; at least, they contain no direct information. It may indeed be inferred from their very silence, that Creton's voyage ended in disappoint-

ment. Had he discovered Richard, some trace of the discovery would have remained; the indemnity granted to him would have been greater, and that poetic spirit with which he was so deeply imbued, and of which there are memorable records still extant, would have burst forth anew, and embodied itself in some congratulatory Ode or Ballad. We have nothing, however, of the kind; on the contrary, Creton's conduct, as well as that of Charles the Sixth, seems to announce, that the individual who personated Richard in Scotland, turned out to be an impostor; for we find Richard's widow, Queen Isabella, granted in marriage to the Duke of Orleans shortly after Creton's return. Indeed I am inclined to think that it was not a chivalrous feeling of affection alone for the deposed monarch that prompted the French Court to take such pains in order to sift the matter to the bottom. The marriage of the Duke of Orleans with Queen Isabella, which was on the tapis so early as 1403, was ratified, as I shall show hereafter, immediately after Creton's return; a proof that political motives had something to do with his mission to Scotland.^d

But, as I have other and more positive arguments to bring forward, I can afford to sacrifice such indirect evidence as might result from an ingenious twisting of these striking considerations. If I can appeal to the express and positive testimony of Creton himself; if I can shew that he declared on his return that Richard was no more; I shall have given a demonstration which scepticism itself cannot cavil with. This I am fortunately able to do. In the manuscript volume of the Royal Library, which I have already alluded to as containing Creton's epistle to Richard the Second, we find another addressed by the same to Philip Duke of Burgundy, in which it is positively asserted that Richard met with a violent and bloody end. Indeed, his object in this new epistle is to incline the Duke "to avenge the death of that good Catholic King Richard, whose blood was shed so traitorously and feloniously, that it is a lamentable thing to hear."^e

But here a difficulty presents itself. Philip Duke of Burgundy, whom

^d This conjecture is confirmed by the authority of Biondi and Sir James Mackintosh. See *Archæol.* vol. XXIII. p. 293.

^e See page 95.

Creton addresses on this occasion, died in 1404, six years before the date of those documents which attest that Creton made a journey to Scotland. Consequently, this epistle addressed to the Duke cannot contain any evidence relative to the information which Creton may have gathered in that country. Moreover, his letter to Richard, in which he apostrophises him as still alive, was written in 1405 : how then are we to reconcile so many and such palpable contradictions ?

I confess that these objections startled me a good deal at first ; it was only after having carefully analysed the different documents alluded to, that I was able to discover a satisfactory explanation. In the first place, Mr. Tytler has committed a palpable error, in asserting that Creton's letter to Richard was written in 1405. Had he perused it attentively, he would have seen that it bears *primâ facie* evidence of having been penned prior to 1404. We have in the thirty-sixth volume of the French Collection of Manuscripts, known by the appellation of Brienne, a marriage contract between Queen Isabella, Richard's relict, and the Duke of Orleans, bearing date 1404 ; whereas Creton speaks of her, in this letter to Richard, as being still a *pucelle*, that is, a virgin, " aussi chaste et entière que lorsque tu partis d'elle à Windsor pour aller en ton voyage en Irlande." † (She is as chaste and pure as when you left her at Windsor to go into Ireland.) This passage evidently proves that the memorable expression of Creton's belief in Richard's safety was anterior to Queen Isabella's marriage, and consequently before the year 1404. On the other hand, the second epistle, addressed to the Duke of Burgundy, as is obvious from one or two sentences, was written in 1402. Creton speaks therein of the inhabitants of Brittany as disposed to recognize the Duke of Burgundy for their Regent. He also alludes to the lamentable state of the church, rent and torn by internal dissensions. Now these two allusions can only correspond with the year 1402, § when Philip of Burgundy, immediately after the Duchess of Brittany's marriage with Henry the Fourth of England, was promoted to the regency of that State, and the Pope, or Antipope, Benedict XII. resumed

† See page 89.

§ Dom Morice, Hist. de Bretagne, tom. i. p. 432.

the pontifical robes, which he had resigned, and threw the whole Christian world into a state of confusion.

I think myself justified in drawing the following conclusions from the premises which I have laid down. 1°. Early in 1402, it was believed by Creton and the French Court that Richard was alive in Scotland; the first letter and congratulatory ode were written about that period; at any rate they were written prior to Creton's voyage, for he announces at the end of his first epistle his intention^h to undertake a voyage soon, in order to see his beloved lord Richard once more. 2°. Creton returned from Scotland about the latter end of the same year; on which occasion he addressed the Duke of Burgundy in a second epistle, beseeching him to avenge Richard's death; an infallible proof of his having discovered that the individual who personated Richard in Scotland was an impostor.

There only remains one point to explain. Why, it will be asked, if Creton returned from Scotland so early as 1402, was he compelled to wait so long as the year 1410 for the payment of the indemnity due for his trouble? Surely the King of France would never have allowed his faithful valet-de-chambre to be treated with so much neglect. This difficulty can be easily explained. Charles the Sixth had only occasional glimmerings of reason. During his habitual state of insanity, the administration of affairs was wholly in the hands of a factious band of relations, who were engaged in an incessant and sanguinary struggle for superiority, that prevented them from attending to other concerns. History tells us, that, about the period alluded to, *id est*, from 1401 to 1410, Charles was tormented by one of those fits of mental aberration which we have just noticed. Thence the apparent neglect with which the just claims of Creton were treated.

^h This fact suffices alone to prove that Creton's letter to Richard was written before his pathetic appeal to the Duke of Burgundy, in which he beseeches that Prince to avenge Richard's death. It would be absurd to suppose that any thing short of ocular proof could have effected such a total revolution in Creton's feelings as these two letters indicate. In the first he seems confident of Richard's safety, and declares that he is on the point of crossing the sea to offer him his homages, when, lo! we meet on the very next page another epistle, written about the same time, in which he calls upon the French nobility to avenge his death.

But if we turn for a moment to the two important documents in which Creton's name is mentioned, we shall find a further confirmation of this view of the matter. In the first, King Charles speaks of the voyage as having taken place a long while ago (*piéça*.) The word *piéça* is always used in this sense by the writers of the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries, as may be shewn by a multitude of examples. The two following will suffice:—

Or vous dirai que vous ferez,
Une grant piéça vous tiendrez,
Du fort Chastel allez voir.

Roman de la Rose.

Et si vous di bien sans mentir,
Qu'Amors fut grant piéça perdue,
Si par un clerc ne fust maintenue.

Fabliau du Jugement d'Amors.

But this is not all. In the letter itself this meaning is clearly pointed out. The following sentence which I transcribeⁱ may be viewed as a commentary on the word *piéça*.—"Pour lequel voyage faire, nous ne feïsmes aucune chose pour lors, ni depuis au dit Creton bailler, ni aussi n'a eu de ce de nous aucunes lettres, si comme de ce avons été souffisamment informés." (For which voyage we granted nothing to the said Creton at that time nor since; neither has he obtained from us on that account any letters, as we have been sufficiently informed.)

I think it unnecessary to dwell at greater length on Mr. Tytler's statement, nor to call your attention to an additional *Complainte* by Creton, in which he expresses, in still more energetic terms, the conviction he acquired, during his journey to Scotland, of Richard's death. I send you a faithful transcript of all the documents I have alluded to, leaving it to the learned Society I am addressing, to say how far the conclusions I have drawn therefrom are conformable to the strict rules of historical evidence.

With regard to the systems of Messrs. Webb and Amyot, I own I cannot combat them with the same advantages. With the exception of the testi-

ⁱ Page 94.

mony of Creton, I have not as yet discovered any new evidence in opposition to their ingenious statements. However, I think that even this discovery will be considered as militating strongly in favour of the old Shaksperian version of Richard's death from violence in the castle of Pontefract.

In Creton's epistle to the Duke of Burgundy, which we have shown to have been written about the year 1402, *i. e.* after his return from Scotland, he distinctly and emphatically declares that Richard's blood was shed in a violent and cruel manner :^k “Après mon très redoubté Seigneur veuillez que vengeance ou punicion soit faicte du noble sang du bon Catholique, le Roi Richart, lequel a esté espandu tant villamment, tant traîtreusement que certes c'est molt misericordeuse et piteuse chose à oyr la fin de ses jours, lesquels par la vray et loyal amour qu'il avoit pardeça ont esté finis avant que son aage deust estre accompli.”—(And then, my most redoubtable lord, please to avenge and punish the death of that good Catholic, King Richard, whose noble blood has been shed in so villanous and traitorous a manner, that it is a lamentable and piteous thing to hear the end of his days ; which for the true and loyal affection he bore this kingdom were shortened before his natural term had expired.)

In reading this passage we must bear in mind that the writer formerly disbelieved the current report of Richard's death from starvation in the castle of Pontefract, thinking him still alive. That at a later period he wrote to Richard, congratulating him on his escape, and telling him that he would cross the sea shortly to offer his homages in person ; that the sentiments expressed in this paragraph were those he entertained after having visited Scotland, and ascertained that the personage who personated Richard in that kingdom was an impostor or a fool. If we bear these circumstances in mind, and recollect that Creton was sent by the French Court with full powers for sifting this matter to the bottom, we cannot but admit that his testimony bears with it greater weight than the whole mass of vague and conflicting authorities which the researches of Messrs. Webb and Amyot have arrayed in favour of their opinions. Nor should we forget that Queen Isabella was given in marriage to Charles, the eldest son of the Duke of Orleans, immediately after Creton's return from Scotland. This marriage

^k See p. 93.

would not have been consummated had there remained the slightest doubt concerning Richard's death. As I observed above, the chief motive of Creton's journey was to pave the way for this event.¹

There is not a single French chronicler, among all who wrote at this period, that does not declare that Richard died of a violent death. The monks of St. Denys,^m the best authority of the age, say, in express terms, that he was murdered by Sir Piers Exton. Le Laboureur,ⁿ who copied them in his history of Charles the Sixth, fully adopts their opinion. Cartier is equally positive.

Juvenal des Ursins,^o Archbishop of Rheims, whose life of Charles the Sixth was written about 1422, states that Richard was violently put to death. He adds, "But so many authors have given the particulars of this lamentable event, that I think it needless to dwell upon it at greater length." The testimony of Juvenal des Ursins is only second to that of Creton in importance. His father was Chancellor of France, and took part in all the leading events during the first ten years of Charles the Sixth's reign. It is chiefly with the particulars supplied by him that his son composed his narrative. No information could have been drawn from a more authentic or respectable source.

I shall not take up your time with an enumeration of the other contemporary authorities in France which I can appeal to in support of the popular

¹ Since the above was written, my attention has been called to an article by Mr. Amyot in the twenty-third volume of the *Archæologia*, in reply to Mr. Tytler's statement, in which he dwells at some length on the importance of the evidence in favour of Richard's death, afforded by the fact of Queen Isabella's marriage. It does not, however, appear that Henry ever made a formal demand of her hand for any of his children, as Mr. Amyot asserts. It was the Princess Mary, then in the convent of Poissy, that he demanded in 1406. See Monstrelet, tom. i. chap. 34, and MSS. of Brienne, tom. xxxiv. where Henry's instructions to his ambassadors are given at length. The Princess refused to quit her convent.

^m The MSS. of the Monks of St. Denys, Royal Libr. Paris, *passim*.

ⁿ Le Laboureur, tom. i. p. 423.

^o The words of Juven. des Ursins are very remarkable: "Henry fit tant que les serviteurs du Roy Richard et auxquels il se fixit le mirent à mort inhumainement. Et pour ce que plusieurs en ceste matière eu ont écrit on s'en passe en bref. Et trouve-t-on bien les Anglais ont fait autrefois de tels exploits." *Hist. de Charles VI.* page 142.

account of Richard's death. In 1402, seven French noblemen sent a formal challenge to the English Court, in which they accused the King of having traitorously put Richard to death, and demanded mortal combat against an equal number of Englishmen. The two parties met in Brittany, and the French were victorious.

We find in Brienne, vol. xxxiv. page 228, another important document relative to this controversy. It is a proclamation of Charles the Sixth, King of France, dated 1406, to the English people, calling upon them to avenge the death of King Richard. Speaking of Henry the Fourth, he says, "*Qui violentam manum in eum (Ricardum) fecit, et vita privavit.*"—(Who laid violent hands on King Richard, and deprived him of life.) In this passage we find a new evidence of the horror which the French entertained for Henry, in consequence of their conviction that he had put Richard to death. And here it may be observed, that no consideration could prevail upon the Court of France to give to Richard's successor the title of King during the negotiation for Queen Isabella's return. The ambassadors to the English Court are expressly enjoined to call Henry Duke of Lancaster, and not King, nor Cousin. I may refer to the valuable correspondence in the thirty-sixth and thirty-fourth volumes of Brienne, which I have often quoted, for some curious instances of this.

I think it unnecessary to allude to the various chronicles of Richard the Second, which are to be found in the manuscript department of the Royal Library at Paris. They have been often quoted, particularly by Messrs. Webb and Amyot, as the source from which such English and French historians, as represent Richard to have fallen by the treacherous blows of Sir Piers Exton, have drawn their statements. As long as we are in ignorance of the author of these chronicles, we cannot determine very accurately the precise degree of credibility that ought to be attached to them. That they have, however, always been regarded by the Kings of France as the first authority on this subject, is obvious from the care with which they have been preserved, and the multitudinous transcripts thereof which are still to be found in the Royal Library. One of these copies, that bearing the number 7532, formerly belonged to Charles the Ninth. It is interspersed with fragments of Creton's Metrical Account, which are quoted as so many

confirmatory proofs. I do not despair of one day discovering the name of the author of these interesting chronicles. In the mean time, I feel myself justified in asserting, that their authority, joined to that of Creton, and all the French writers of the fifteenth century, more than counterbalances the vague, contradictory, and, in almost every instance, partial testimonies of the English writers of the same period.

I have the honour to remain, my dear Sir,

Your very obedient servant,

DILLON.

Note. The opinion that Richard died of starvation was not unknown in France, although no one partook of it. The MSS. 10,212, 3 C, alludes to it in the following words, “ Pour couvrir la trayson de ceulx d’Angleterre, leur oppinion est qu’il ne mourut point par la manière devant dicte (*i. e.* par la main d’Exton) mais mourut aultrement.” The author then proceeds to give Thomas of Otterbourne’s statement: “ Now Richard, on learning the death of his partisans, abstained from food for four days, at the expiration of which two priests were sent to expostulate with him. They succeeded in prevailing upon him to change his resolution, but the orifices of his stomach being closed he could not eat, and therefore died.”

L E T T E R I I.

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE taken some pains in order to collect such documents as might impart any additional information relative to Creton. Although my researches have not led to as satisfactory results as I could have wished, they enable me to add a ray or two to the light which your learned colleagues,

Messrs. Webb and Amyot, have thrown around this interesting personage. The following act is copied verbatim from the original in the Cabinet of Gaignières, Royal Library, Paris.

“Je Jehan Creton escuyer ai reçu de Jehan Chauvel sur gaiges de moi seul ès présentes guerres en la compagnie et sous Robert de Clermont 15 livres Tournais. A Paris, 7 Oct. 1357.” *Cire rouge, un oiseau surmonte d'une rose.*

If we suppose Creton to have been only twenty years old when he signed the foregoing receipt, it will follow that he had attained the age of seventy-three when he was indemnified for his journey to Scotland in 1410. As this journey took place 1402, he appears to have been about sixty-five years old when his chivalrous affection for Richard prompted him to undertake it.

There is reason to believe that Creton had the misfortune to live long enough to witness the horrid anarchy into which the rivalry of two ambitious noblemen, the Dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, precipitated his country. Although a dependent of the House of Burgundy, he appears to have stood aloof from the quarrel; contenting himself with addressing to both parties sundry generous and patriotic appeals in favour of their common country. In one of the MS. volumes of the Royal Library at Paris, may be seen a ballad, or complaint, in which Creton points out the dire catastrophes that befel Rome, in consequence of the sanguinary rivalry between Marius and Sylla. He hints therein the necessity of King Charles awakening to a sense of his own interests and those of his people, and curbing at once his haughty relations. After this we hear no more of Creton. His warm-hearted account of the deposition of Richard will remain one of the most interesting records of the turbulent times he lived in. I am deeply indebted to Mons. La Cabone, the Keeper of the Genealogical Records of the Royal Library of Paris, a gentleman of the most distinguished acquirements, for the assistance he has afforded me in my researches relative to Creton.

I have the honour to remain, my dear Sir,

Your very obedient servant,

DILLON,

*Employé aux travaux historiques qui se font
par ordre du Gouvernement Français.*

*Epître par Creton, dans laquelle il se rejouit de ce que le Roi
Richard est délivré.*

“ Ainsi coïne vraye amour requiert à très noble Prince et vray Catholique Richart d’Angleterre je Creton ton lège serviteur te envoie ceste epistre et saches qu’en l’estat present l’ire de mon cuer espanoit mes larmes par mes jour pensant à ta douloureuse vie et touteffois mon esprit est moult reconforté et ay vertueuse esperance pour ta sainté. Et por ce qu’on dit par deça que tu es sains et allegies, desquelles choses Je pryé Nostre Seigneur qu’ainsi soit. Helas ! très redoubté Sire, et coïment a peu ton seul corps soustenir ne porter tant de douloureuse tristesse sans mort. Certes toutes les creatures qui en parlent ou ouient parler s’en esbayssent molt et la plus grant partie des hommes ne le peut croire : Mais pour ce leur peut apparoir que Nostre Seigneur Dieux qui est vrai juge toy estant es mains de tes ennemis ta tenu en sa sainte garde en toy demoustant et amères fortunes et paravanture pour esprouver la constance et l’estableté de ta ferme foy et toy congnoissant la puissance divine. Desirant parvenir à la gloire qui est sans fin les aie portées en vraye pacience en ly rendant graces et loenges de tout ce qui ly plaist estre fait : et par ainsy apparoint que tu es amy de Dieu ou autrement ta vie fust pieça finie. Et peutêtre que ces choses te sont predestinées devant ta nativité. Or ayes doncques ferme esperance en Nostre Seigneur plus qu’oncques mais, car je sais bien que si tu es vif, maugre le traistre de Lencastre et toutes ses batailles, tu seras retabli à grant honneur et à grant puissance en ton royaume, car ton corps et ta personne et plus convenable à Mars qu’à Jupiter ni à Venus : et Dieu t’a formi ad ce et sont tes fais dignes de batailles et de ce te portent les hommes temoignage. Il a très redoubté et puissant Prince quant il me souvient que toy conquerant terres deshabitees et pleines de desers en Hybernie, et coïne le lierre traistre de Lencastre entra en ton royaume et subvertist les cuers de tes subjes par son faulx art contre toy, tout mon sens s’esment à forsenerie : Et maudite soit l’heure quant il passa en Albion que Neptunus le dieu des vens ne fist ses batailles ou ses voiles non mie au hault pelage de la mer affin que sa nef fut rompue et qu’à celle heure les jours de sa mauvaise et honteuse vie fussent finis et que sa chair fust demourée viande à oyseaux ou aux poissons et son esprit foliable par diverses regions de l’air, et ses os sustraits en la rive de la mer dedans le sablon par le deboutement des eaux. Certes de telles sepultures étaient ils dignes et non d’autre.

“ Il a très redoubté Prince l’ardant affection d’amour que tu avois au très faulx Comte de Rotelant t’a esté molt cher vendue, car par luy seul fut ton passage de 18 jours d’Hybernye en Angleterre, sans avoir ay nouvelles de tes ennemis par son faulx enginment. Helas et porquoy te *Cons* tu plus que ceulx de ton conseil qui desiroient molt ta briève retournée. Et certes je m’esnerveille molt coïne les dieux de la mer te furent si fa-

vorables qui te manderent vent pour arriver au port de' Appleforde. Mielx eust éste pour toy d'estre arrivé d'autre region. Mais ce que est prédestiné du Createur ne peut nul contrester. Encore très redoubté Prince quant il me souvient du Conte de Northomberlant, je maudis sa vie, car il te vint jurer à Cornway sur le corps Nostre Seigneur que ton ennemy Henry de Lencastre ne vouloit que sa terre et qu'il se repentoit de tant qu'il estoit entré en ton royaume dont je suis molt esbahy comme la terre paternelle le peut soustenir en vie, car toutes ses convenances étoient faulces et plaines de traysons et par icelles t'en mena à Flint avec grant quantité de ses gens d'armes qu'il avoit laissies traiteusement tapis de robes à Cornuay et Rothelant : au quel Chastel de Flint cher sires la nuit te fu molt douloureuse et à bon droit, car tu te veoies environné de tes ennemis de toutes pars, lesquels desiroient ta mort plus que nulle autre chose, et moy-même Cuyday à celle heure fermement que la fin de mes jours fust venue, et avoie grant douleur au cuer tant pour toy comme pour moy. Et le lendemain le lierre de Lencastre te emena honteusement à Londres et te livra au turbe lesquels pour leur faux conseil te condamnèrent en chartre perpetuelle dont Notre Seigneur Dieu t'a délivré. Or penser donc de luy rendre graces de ferme entention et ajes vertueuse esperance de prendre vengeance de tes ennemys, et que ce soit par sy grant decision que de leur sang courent fleuves par ton royaume sy que la fin de leurs douloureux jours soit exemple à tous aultres traitres, à tous temps avenir. Et saichez que tous les maux et horribles trahisons qu'ils t'ont faictes j'ay manifestées par figures, par dis au Royaume de France affin que leur vie soit honteuse et pleine de reproches. Et certes très redoubté Seigneur je ne scais comme la représentation de ton image me vient si souvent devant les yeux de mon cuer, car de jour et de nuit toutes mes pensées imaginations ne sont aultres sinon pensées à toy. Et si la vouldté du Createur étoit telle que moy douloureux et triste eusse veu ta figure devant ma mort, tant mon esprit en seroit reconforté : mais combien que je ne la puisse veoir des yeulx de nostre chief sy est-elle tous dis présente devant les yeulx de ma pensée, et m'est aucune fois advis que je te vay et que je parle à toy ; ainsy medelictent les fausses joies puisque les vraies je ne puis avoir. Et pour ce je fais sacrifice de foi, d'oraisons et de prières tous les jours de cuer ententif a notre Createur que bien brief je te puisse veoir à telle joye comme je le désire. O très noble Prince et vray Catholique, ayes remembrance de ta noble et loyale compaignie qui espant ses larmes jour et nuyt en toy attendant, desirant oyr vraies nouvelles de ta santé : fais tes mandemens par deça affin qu'il appoie clairement que tu es sain et alegies, car tous hommes nobles et non nobles se rejouissent de ta vie : et n'ayes douleur ni vergongue aucune si ta vengeance n'a ésté faicte des pieça, car tu peux cognoistre clairement les adversités, douleurs et tribulations de cest royaume, et en espécial de ton beau père Charles Roy de France, et soies ferme et certain que nulle aultre chose ne l'a retardié ; et s'il te plaist venir pardeça tu trouveras la plus

grant partie de la chevalerie preste pour vivre et mourir avec toy et sy trouveras ta noble compaignie que ta belle mère t'a molt précieusement gardée depuis la restitution . . . de ton ennemy le lierre de Lencastre lequel delaie sa persecution par l'espèce de 22 mois sans la vouloir rendre. Affin telle qu'elle eust 12 ans accomplis et . . . que ce qu'il eust fait faire ou dire eust été ferme et estable: car sa faulce entencion estoit telle de le donner à son fils aîné, lequel tu feis chevalier à grant honneur et à grant joye en Irlande. Mais par ce peut appoir que diligeamment a été requise et sommée par le Conseil de France et tant qu'elle a été rendue ains que le jour de son aage fust accompli, et sachiez qu'aussy chaste et aussy entière qu'elle étoit partie et tu partis d'elle à Windesore pour aller en ton voyage d'Irlande elle est aujourd'hui, et de ce porte elle-même tesmoignage.^p Et pour ce très redoubté prince tu dois avoir très grand desir de la veoir, car molt précieuse chose est de cuillir la première fleur du tendre corps de si noble pucelle coïne de ta compaignie. Or viens doncques par deçà chers syres et mets tes voiles en mer, et Ypothades il doulx vent te feira arriver à bon port. Et suis certain que tous les dieulx des vents et de la mer te ferant ton passage et te sera l'estoile d'eau demonstresse de vray port car ta cause apparoit juste à Nostre Seigneur, veu qu'il t'a délivré de sy grant peril auquel tu as esté molt longuement. Il a, très redoubté Prince, quant nobles dames et chevaliers iroient à l'encontre de toy espaudant leurs larmes tant pour la joye de ta santé, comme pour les aimeres fortunes et douleurs que tu as souffertes. Certes, tu veiras tous les hommes louer Nostre Createur et mettre les mains aux armes ententiment pour aler avecque toy contre tes ennemys. Et si tu ne peux venir par deçà et qu'aucun empesche ton passaige, au moins sires qu'il te plaise mander l'etencion de ton couraige et tu trouveras la plus grant partie des nobles du sang de France tes vray amis et qui ne te fauldront jusques à la mort. Et certes si tu ne viens bien brief par-deçà j'iray à toy en quelque lieu que tu sayes, et te porteray par escrit et par figures une grant partie des amères fortunes et dolences coïne je les ny avenir, may estant avecque toy en Hybernien et en Angleterre. Or te prei je, mon très redoubté Seigneur et vray Catholique, en la fin de mon epistre que tu ne la veuille prendre en desdaing, et que la faulte de mon pauvre corps ne te deplaise point et ^q ententierement et paraventure que tu y trouveras chose qui te pourra aucunement plaire: et sy te promets par Dieu qui est puissant sur toutes créatures que l'ardant desir d'amour que j'ay à toy le me fait desirant de tou mon cuer l'accomplissement de tes bons plaisirs et desirs. Et certes si les dieux de la mer me sont favorables je la suivray tost et iray briefment après.

^p Ces lignes prouvent que ceste épître fut faite avant 1405, époque du mariage d'Isabelle avec le duc d'Orléans.

^q Il alla effectivement en Escosse et en fut de retour en 1410. ainsi que l'atteste une quittance donnée par lui Creton le dit au de la somme de 200 francs pour recompense de sa voyage.

BALADE PAR LEDIT CRETON.

O vous Seigneurs du sang royal de France
 Mettez la main aux armes vistement,
 Et vous avez certaine cognoissance
 Du roi qui tant a souffert de tourment,
 Far faulx Anglois qui traîtreusement
 Lui ont tollu la domination,
 Et puis de mort fait condamnation.
 Mais Dieu qui est le vrai juge es sains cieulx
 Lui a sauvé la vie main et tant,
 Chacun le dit par tout jeunes et vieulx
 C'est d'Albion le noble Roi Richard.

Et s'il est vray pour avoir accroissance
 De grant honneur faictes hastivement,
 Vos gens armer, car tante s'esperance
 Estoit en vous je le sais
 Car mantis fois pleurant piteusement
 Luy oy faire en Gales maint renom
 Du Roi François qui Charles à non,
 Et de vous touls quant faulx Anglois couculx
 Le chassoient pleins de couveulx art.
 C'est grant pitié aidies luy pour le mielx
 C'est d'Albion le noble Roy Richart.

C'est vostre sang de ligne et d'alliance
 Chacun le scet et cognoist clairement
 Vous ne pouvez donc trouver excusance
 Que ne soiez tenus très grandement
 De luy aidier n'atendes mandement.
 Nul quelconque car pour moins d'actroison
 Tu mis en feu le palais d'Ilion
 Et Priam mort et quatre de ses fils.
 Hâtez vous doncque d'envoyer celle part
 Sy en aurez bon renom en tous lieux
 C'est d'Albion le noble Roi Richard.

Princes n'ayes en indignation
S'il ne vous fait de son fait mention
Vous n'en deuez pas être merueilleux
Passez la mer et aydies le Liepart.
Se relever qui est molt doulereux
C'est d'Albion le noble Roy Richart.

La fragilité avecque l'inconstance de la chose publique doit ou doivent désirer par droit cours de nature chief sapient, prudent, et plein de bon gouvernement, et pour ce qu'en ce royaume le chief principal se peut-être dolo ou deult encore de bleceure merueilleuse et par aventure incogneue, et peut-être par la volenté du Createur, lequel peut avoir esté ou est indigne aucunement par la multiplicité d'aucuns péchés commis par luy ou par aultres de son royaume dont punicion lui est transmise de la Majesté Céleste, ou par le péché de nos pères lesquels l'écriture sainte dit. Nos pères ont péchié mais nous emporterans le mal, ou par aventure aucunes mauvaises oeuvres et detestables faictes par sort ou autrement pour le bien publicque très redoubté prince et vray Catholique Philippe fils de Roy de France, duc de Bourgoigne,^r que tu ajes regard à son pauvre et miserable peuple duquel tu as une fois recue la chairge par le consentement et mandement de ton beau frère Charles jadis Roy de France; auquel mon très redoubté Seigneur tu as été molt prudent et favorable jusqu'aujourd'hui: et en poursuivant l'œuvre que tu as commencée tu peux estre son seul successeur en terre, car Suetonius dit au livre des xii Cesarres qu'il fut sy habondant en humilité, en chasteté, en sens, en prudence, et en toutes autres operations vertueuses qu'il en passa tous les autres. Et avecque ce il fu de sy grant cognaissance et especial cultivement de cérémonies aux Dieux que ce fu grant merueille et tant que du commencement de son empire et pris jusqu'à la fin il ne vult souffrir nom d'Empereur ni surnom de Père de Paix, ni à peine vouloit-il souffrir qu'on se agenouillast devant luy, et reprenait aigrement ceulx qui le faisoient et espalmit ceulx qui le blandissoient ou flattoient, et oit-il mortellement laquelle chose est aujourd'huy molt pruchaine collateral et familière d'aucuns grands seigneurs dont est pitié et dommaige. Et par aventure peut-être qu'aucuns en perdent la cognoissance d'eulxmes il ne faisoit le mal à nul pour chose qu'on dist de luy, feust bien ou mal, mais qu'en franchete toutes laingues devoient être frainches. Il parloit sy bel à chacun et honoroit aussi tous ceulx qui parloient a luy que a pou qu'en ce faisant il ne passoit les mectes d'humanité. Et lors quand les Romains virent son très especial gouvernement, et qu'il avoit si aspre regart à la chose publique il y ot daucuns ardans en convoitise qui luy conseillerent qu'il creut les *threus* et redevances du pays, de

^r Il était fils de Jean Roi de France et frère de Charles V.

quoy il repondit à ceulx molt *covreusement* qu'ils n'aimoient pas le bien publique, et que ce n'estoit pas fait de bon pastre de vouloir transglantir, ou mengier sa beste, mais de la tondre justement, et tout fist de biens qu'il monstra en luy par exemples cōme chascun se devoit gouverner et vivre. Et pour l'influence des grands biens habondans en ycellui Tybère Cesaire du commencement de son empire jusqu'à la fin, je te puis bien avoir comparé à luy, car encores depuis naguères tu as molt habondamment essuy les vertus de sa succession de tant que tu as voulu demeurer pastour des pauvres bestes comme il fut et n'as pas voulu souffrir leur transglantissement mais as très vigoureusement mis la main aux armes vainqueresses pour les garder. Pour laquelle chose, mon très redoubté Seigneur et vray Catholique, la prudence de toy sera esaucée et divulguée entre tous les Chrestiens de cest monde et entre les aages à venir. Et saichez qu'en faisant telles œuvres tu peux acquerir une vie seconde qui est appelée gloire perdurable, car la gloire qui vault aultant à dire cōme bonne renommée donne à tous prudhommes une vie seconde après la mort, et la renommée qui renaist de leurs bonnes œuvres fait sembler qu'ils soient encores vifs. Encores deffend la gloire que ceulx ne soient mors qui sont dignes de loenges. Et pour ce mon très redoubté Seigneur veuillez soustenir vertueusement le œuvre qu'as commencée, car tes armées ne sont pas *aimées* ni persecutoires, mais sont doulces et reluisantes comme l'estoile de Jupiter pour le bien publique, et tu le peux appercevoir clairement, car entre tous les aultres princes des Chrestiens tu es désiré en plusieurs lieulx et plusieurs maisons, mesmement des Bretons lesquels singulièrement et seulement à toy veulent baillier toute leur seignorie et garde et gouvernement : laquelle chose est molt honorable veu la^t noblesse et force d'iceux et de leur pais. Et pour ce que ta force et puissance est force après celle du chief de ce royaume surmonte les aultres comme je puis appercevoir qu'il te plaise mectre ententive à deux choses lesquelles feront vivre ta renommée pardurablement, c'est que tu ayes regard à la très crueuse et miserable discord de nostre mère sainte eglise afin que par toy elle puisse estre unie et mise en paix et en repos, car certes je crois veritablement que toutes les tribulations et maulx qui aucunement ou sont venus en ce royaume depuis long temps ne viennent sy non des péchés commis par nous et par la descognoissance ou desobeissance que nous avons de Notre Createur. Molt de beaux exemples lu montre Valerius ou il traite des fais des Romains en disant ainsy. Ce n'est pas merveille si indulgence ou bonne volenté a été ferme et constante de garder et accroistre l'empire de Rome, lequel a vouler par si scrupuleuse cure estre examinés

^s Ce point peut aider à fixer la date de la pièce voir en quelle année les Bretons faict cette offre au duc de Bourgogne. Le duc Philippe de Bourgogne fut déclaré regent de Bretagne en 1402, le 19 Octob.

^t En 1402 le Pape Benoît XIII fut assiégé dans le Château d'Avignon par le Maréchal de Boucicault et se sauva déguisé. C'est evidemment à cette époque qu'il fait allusion.

les petits meffaits encontre leur honneur ou service ; car on ne doit pas cuydier que nostre cité eust oncques les yeulx arrièrre du très espécial cultivement de cérémonies aux dieux, et ils le monstrèrent bien par plusieurs exemples entre lesquels je t'en veuille raconter un duquel nous devrions bien en avoir la souvenance. Il fu ordonné à Rome deux Consules dont l'un fu appelé Scipio Nasica et l'autre Gaius Siculus, lesquels furent envoyés pour faire guerre l'un en Corsique et l'autre en Gale, lesquelles terres ils soubmirent à la Seigneurie de Rome. Mais non obstant leurs armes vertueuses furent-ils remandés à Rome, et furent privés de leurs estats ou offices pour ce seulement que Tyberius Graccus avoit escript au Collège des Augures à Rome qu'il y avoit fait assemblées de gens dedans le temple ou tabernacle aux dieux pour oyr questions de petites choses et inutiles desquelles la noyse paravanture pouvoit avoir empeschés le sacrifice des dieux. Ceste exemple devons bien imiter et avoir les saints lieux et esglises en grande révérence, car sy comme dit Ysidore au xv. livre des Thymologies si les paies faisoient ausy grant honneur aux tabernacles ou temples non pas de leurs dieux mais de leurs idoles bien devroient les Chrestiens grant vergaigne avoir de faire se pou de révérence au vray Dieu qui est Nostre Createur. Molt d'autres grants mistères en racoutent Titus Livius et Valérius Maximus touchant ceste matière, par lesquels il semble qu'ils veulent dire que la grande indulgence et bonne volente des Romains les dieux ont esté favorables et aydans. Après mon très redoubté Seigneur veuillez que vengeance ou punicion soit faicte du noble sang du bon Catholique le Roy Richart, lequel a esté espandu tant villainment tant traicteusement que certes c'est molt misericordieuse et piteuse chose à oyr la fin de ces jours lesquels par la vray et loyal amour qu'il avoit par deça ont esté finis avant que son aage deust estre accomplie. Helas ! si tu sauries bien les tristes complainctes et les piteux regrets qu'il faisoit à tous les Seigneurs du sang de France, et especialement à toy et à Monseigneur de St. Pol, quant il étoit fuitif en Gales pour la craincte des traîtres ses ennemis qui le chassaient de toutes parts pour le mettre à mort. Certes tu ferais assembler de batailles pour passer en leur ilse ; car la longe demeure de paix fait les bons hommes à rudir et devenir paresseux. Et pour ce sires ne soies consentant de leur plus donner treues, mais que vengeance en soit prise telle comme il appartient au meffait. Et vrayment je cuide que depuis le temps que les Gauls detruiserent le souverain empire de Rome, et qu'ils ont passé les Alpes froides rudes et incertables qu'aucun homme paravant n'avoit passées que Hercules seulement, ne fu plus honorable conquête faicte que ceste, ne dont il fut plus parlé, et ne doubte point leur force forcenée, car nostre Seigneur Dieu qui est vray juge cognoissant leurs maulx, ne les pourroit souffrir ni soustenir les armes victorieuses, comme on le peut clairement appercevoir. Car depuis le temps de leur rebellion, ils n'ont en gaires que fortunes de descomfitures. Et pour ce sires s'il te plaît mettre tes voiles en mer, mais que temps convenable soit venu, et tes enseignes au vent, lesquels

furent envoyés à ton sang par la puissance divine, tu verras la plus grande partie des nobles hommes mectre la main aux armes ententivement pour aler avecque toy desirant la vengeance du noble sang espandu en Albion. Or te prie je, montrès redoubté Seigneur et vray Catholique, affin de mon epistre que si j'ay aucunement mepris en parler, qu'il te plaise le moy pardonner et supporter l'ignorance de moy qui ne suy que homme lay et pou sachant, et est mon entendement de pou de cognoissance; mais la vraie amour que j'ay à toy le m'a fait faire, desirant de tout mon cuer ton service ycellui Dieu qui ses richesses eslargit et donne habandamment à la vie des saiges te vueille accroier vie victorieuse. Amen.

Ordonnance du Roi Charles VI. pour qu'on donne la somme de 200 francs à Jean Creton, son valet de chambre, pour un Voyage par lui fait en Ecosse, afin de savoir si le Roi Richard était en vie, retiré en Ecosse comme on disait.

“ Charles, par la grâce de Dieu, Roy de France, à nostre ame et feal chevalier, conseiller, maistre de nostre hostel, Pierre des Essars, prevost de Paris, et souverain gouverneur des finances, des aides, ordonnances pour la guerre, et les généraulx conseillers sur le fait des dis aides. Nous voulons et vous mandons et expressement enjoignons que par nostre ame Alexandre le Boursier, receueur général d'iceulx aides, vous faictes paier, bailler et delivrer des deniers de sa recette à nostre amé varlet de chambre, Jehan Creton, la somme de deux cens frans, que nous lui avons ordonné et ordonnons par ces présentes prendre et avoir pour une fois des deniers d'iceulx aides, pour et en recompensation d'un Voyaige que par nostre commandement et ordonnance il fist pieca au pays d'Escoce pour savoir et enquerir la vérité de nostre très cher et très ame fils le Roy Richart d'Angleterre que l'on disoit lors estre en vie audiet pays d'Escoce, pour lequel voyaige faire nous ne feismes aucune chose pour lors ni depuis audit Creton bailler ne aussi n'a eu de ce de nous aucunes lettres, si comme de ce avons été souffisamment informés. Et par rapportant ces présentes et quittances dudit Creton tant seulement, nous voulons la dite somme de 200 frans estre allouée ès comptes et rabattue de la recette du dit receveur général par nos aamés et feaulx les gens de nos comptes à Paris. Ausquels par ces mesmes lettres mandons que ainsi le facent sans aucun contredit, non obstant quelconques ordonnances, mandemens ou deffences ad ce contraires. Donné à Paris, le 29 jour de Juillet, l'an de grâce mil quatre cent et dix, et de nostre règne le xxx.

“ Par le Roy en son conseil, auquel le Roy de Navarre, Messeigneurs les Ducs de Guienne, de Bourgogne, et de Brabant, et autres, estoient,

BAUREGART.”

Jehan Creton que le roi avoit envoyé en Ecosse pour savoir si le feu Roi Richard estoit en vie, comme on disoit, reconnaît avoit reçu la somme de 200 francs pour le dit Voyage.

“ Jehan Creton, varlet de chambre du Roy Nostre Seigneur, confesse avoir reçu de Alexandre le Boursier, receveur-général des aides, ordonnances pour la guerre, la somme de cent frans sur la somme de deux cent frans, que le dit seigneur, par ses lettres données le xxix jour de Juillet derrenier passé, lui avoit a ordonné prendre et avoir pour une fois des deniers des dis aides pour et en recompensacion d’un Voiaige que par commandement et ordonnance d’icelui seigneur il fist pieca au pays d’Escoco, pour savoir et enquerir le vérité de feu le Roy Richart d’Angleterre, que l’on disoit estre en vie au dit pays d’Escoco, si comme plus à plein est contenu ès dites lettres. De laquelle somme de cent frans le dit Jehan se tient content etc. quitté etc. promet etc. oblige etc. Fait l’an Mil quatre cens et dix, le Jeudi vii jour d’Aoust.

TOUSSAINS.

LE HARDUIN.”

VII. *The Life of Sir Peter Carew, of Mohun Ottery, co. Devon.*
Communicated by Sir THOMAS PHILLIPPS, Bart., F.R.S., F.S.A. in
a Letter to Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H., F.R.S., Secretary.

Read Nov. 29, 1838.

DEAR SIR HENRY,

Middle Hill, Nov. 1838.

I BEG to send you an article for the *Archæologia*, which contains some curious traits of the Manners in the reign of Henry VIII. as well as illustrations of some passages in the general history of this country. I trust you will find it of sufficient interest to be printed in the Society's next Volume.

Believe me, yours very truly, T. PHILLIPPS.

The Lyffe of Sir Peter Carewe, late of Mohonese Otrey, in the countie of Devon, Knyghte, whoe dyed at Rosse, in Irelande, the 27th of November, 1575, and was buryed at the Cettie of Water Forde, the 15 of December, 1575; collected by John Vowell, al's Hoker, of the Cetie of Excester, Gent. partly upon the credyble reporte of others, and partly w^{ch} he sawe and knewe hyme selffe.

This Sir Peter Carewe was boren and descended of the honorable and aunciente howse and famylie of the Carewes, who firste were barones in the countie of Pembroke in Wales, and afterwards of Mohones Otrey in Devon. His proper and auncient name is Mongomeroye. But, by reason that one Eugenius, his auncester, dyd marye one Engharthe, the daughter to Ræsius Prince of Walls, and thereby made Baron of the Castle of Carewe, in the countie of Pembroke, the name of honor, in course of tyme, became to be the name of the famylie; and so the naturall and proper name of Mon-

gomeroye grewe into the name of Carewe. This Sir Petter Carew was the younger sone to Sir William Carewe, Knighte, the sonne and heire to Sir Edmond Carewe, Knight, and the laste named Baron of Carewe, who was slayne at the seege of Tyrwen, with the shott of a gunne, in the fyveth yeare of Kinge Henrie the 8th, 1513; and was borne at Mohones Otrey in the yeare of our Lorde 1514. This Peter in his prymer years beinge very perte and foreward, his father conceived a greate hope of some good thing to come of hime. And, haveinge then other sonnes, he thought beste to employe this his youngest sonne in the scholes, and so by meanes of learninge to bringe hime to some advancemente. Wherefore, he brought hyme, beinge aboute the age of 12 yeares, to Excester to schole, and lodged hyme wth one Thomas Hunte, a draper and an Alderman of that cetie, and did put hyme to schole to one Freer's, then master of the grammer schole there. And whether it weare that he was in feare of the sayd Freer, for he was compted to be a verie hard and a cruell master, or whethere it weare for that he had noe affection to his learnynge, trewe it is, he woulde never kepe his schole, but was daylie trewant, and all wayes ranginge; whereof the schole-master myslykinge dyd oftentymes complayne unto the fore saide Thomas Hunte, his hoste, upon w^{ch} complayntes soe made, the sayd Thomas woulde goe and sende abroad to seeke out the sayde Peter: and emonge manye tymes thus seekinge hyme, it happened that he founde hyme aboute the wales of the sayde Cetie, and he runnyng to take hyme, the boy clemmed up upon the tope of one of the higheste garrettes of a turret of the sayde walle, and woulde not for anye requeste come downe, sayeing moreover to his hoste that if he dyd presse to faste upon hyme he woulde surely caste hyme selfe downe hede lounge over the wall; and then, saiethe he, I shall breake my necke, and thou shalte be hangued, because thou makeste me to leape downe. His hoste, beinge afreyed of the boye, departed, and lefte some to wache hyme, and soe to take hyme assone as he came downe. But forthe wth he sente to Sir William Carewe, and dyd advertise hyme of this, and of sundrye other shrewde partes of his sonne Peter, who, at his next comynge then to Excester, callinge his sonne before hyme, tyed hyme in a lyem, and delyvered hime to one of his servauntes, to be caryed aboute the towne as one of his houndes, and they led hyme home to Mohones Otrey, lycke a dogge; and after that, he beinge come to Mohones Otrey, he copled hyme to one of his

howndes, and soe contynewed hyme for a tyme. At lenghte Sir Williã myndinge to make some further proffe of his sonne, caried hyme to London, and there did put hyme to schole unto the schole master of Paules, who beinge earnestlie requested to have some care of this younge gentleman, he did his good endeavour therein. Nevertheles, he beinge more desyrouse of libertie then of learnynge, was desyrose of the one, and carelese of the other, and, doe the schole master what he coulde, he in noe wise coulde frame the younge Peter to smell to a bocke, or to licke of anye schollinge. Not lounge after, Sir William Carewe beinge agayne come to Loundon, and desirose to understande howe hys younge sonne prospered, hade conference with the fore sayd schole master, who advertised hyme of the untowardness of his sonne, and perswaded hyme to employe hyme to some other thinge, for that he neither loved the schole, nor cared for learnynge. It happened that the saide Sir William, walkinge in Paules at his then abode in London, he mete wth a gentleman of his olde acquentaunce, who then served in the Frenche courte, and after y^t they had renewed their olde famyliaritie and acquentaunce, the saide gentleman seeinge this younge Peter Carewe attendinge and awaytinge upon his father, dyd aske hyme what he was, and then understandinge that he was the sonne of Sir William, and percevinge hyme to be verye forewarde and of a pregnant will, asked Sir William whether he woulde put his sonne unto hyme, to be brought up in the Courte of Fraunce, promysinge that yf he woulde so doe, he woulde brynginge hyme upe, and use hyme lycke a gentleman, and doe as myche for hyme as if he weare his owne sonne. Sir Wyllyam, seeinge that he coulde not frame hys sonne to lycke of hys booke, was contented, and did accepte the offer. And furnyshinge his sonne with apparell, and all other things necessarye for a gentleman's page, delyvered hyme unto the saide gentleman, whoe for a tyme was verye daynty and made myche of hyme; but as the younge gentleman's apparell was sone worne and spent, soe the master's whote love sone waxed colde and feynte, and of a page he was made a lackye, beinge turned out of the chamber to searve in the stable; there, as a mulett, to attende hys master's mules, and soe in the order of a mulet dyd attende and serve his master. Howe be ytt, the younge boy, havinge by these meanes some libertye, and trayned upe in the companye of suche as he lyked well, he was countentyd with his estate. It happened y^t at the same tyme one John Carewe, of Haccombe

in the countie of Devon, Esquire, a kynsman to Sir William Carewe, they bothe beinge cossen germeynes in the fyveth degree, a gentleman of greate corage and valewe, and desyrose to serve in far countreis, was by Kinge Henry the 8th recomended to the French Kynge, with his letters of comendacions, who presentinge hym self to the Kinge, was receved, and had interteynemente, havinge the chardge of a bende of horsmen. This gentleman, as he was rydinge to the Courte, and beinge come before the Courte gate, there were sundrye lackeys and horse boyes playeing together, and emonge theym this Peter Carewe beinge one, a boye called out unto hym, "Carewe Angloys! Carew Angloys!" at which wordes the sayde John Carewe looked aboute, and asked who it was that was called *Carewe Angloys*, w^{ch} is to saye, *the English Carewe*; and then percevinge that it was one of the muleter boyes, called hym, who was then all to-ragged and very symple apparelled, and he examened what he was, whose sonne, and what was his name, who aunswared hime y^t he was an Englishe boy, the sonne of Sir Wylliam Carewe, of Devon, Knyghte, and that his name was Peter, and did serve firste as the page, but nowe as the muleter of a certeyne French gentleman in the Courte, who brought hime out of Englande. Then the sayde Mr. John Carewe, haveinge a good naturall affection to this his kynnesman, comaunded one of his men to take the chardge of the mule w^{ch} this Peter before kept, and takinge this Peter with hime, wente throught out the court and sought the gentleman, whome when he hade founde, he soe talked hym, and soe reproved hym for the harde handlynge of this younge Peter, that he was contente to forgoe his page, and to seek a newe lackey. Immediatly this younge gentleman by his kynnesman is newe apparelled, and for a space trayned upe under his kynsesman in the courte of Fraunce, licke a gentleman, and in rydinge and other suche excercises as moste meete for one of service. Not longe after, the warres beganne betwyne Charles the Emperour and the Frenche Kinge, whose name was ———, and the French Kynge, myndinge to give an attempte to the recovery and conquest of the Cctie of Pavia in Italye, sendeth a great armye thether, and emonge others this John Carewe of Haccombe was one, whoe in his journye travellinge thetherwards dyed. Then a nobleman of Fraunce, named the Marques of Salewe,* who was of a greate acquentaunce and famylearitie with the foresayde John

* Saluces.

Carewe, knowinge by that meanes this younge Peter, and the forewarde dysposicon of hyme, toke hyme and gave hyme interteynemente. And so he attended hyme, and was at seege of Pavia, at w^{ch} the said Ffrenche Kinge was taken, and this Marquesse, with the shott of a guñe, slayne. Then this younge gentleman, percevinge fortune to frowne upon the Ffrench syde, and the armye beinge dyspersed, he coulde have noe longer interteynem^{te}, he goeth hyme self to the Emperors camp^{te}, and then founde suche favour, that the Prince of Orenge fantysaied and receved hyme into his interteynemente, and counsydered hyme verye lyberallie. And this Peter, lykinge well of his service, countynewed with his Lorde in his Courte about a yere and half, and untill the sayde Prynce dyed; and after his death countynewed with the Pryncesse, who gave hyme verye good and honorable interteynem^{te}. At lenght this younge gentleman beinge nowe grown to rype yeares, and some what languyshinge in desyre to see his frendes and countrie, maketh his humble suit to the Pryncesse for her lawfull favour and leave soe to doe, who soe favored hyme, y^t at the firste she was not willinge there unto, for soe honeste weare his coundicions, and soe courtuouse was his behavoure, and soe forewarde in all honest exercyses, and especiallye in all prowys and vertue, y^t he had stollen the hartes and gayned the love of all persones unto hyme, and especiallye of the Pryncesse; nevertheles in the ende shee yelded unto his requeste, and provided all thinges necessarye and meete for the furnyshinge of hime not only as one borne of an honorable lynage, but also as one departinge from a noble Pryncesse. Firste, theirefore, she recommendeth hyme by her letters to Kynge Henrie the 8th, gevinge hyme such comendacions as both he deserved and the Kynge well lyked. The licke letters also she sente by hyme to Sir William Carewe. Then she appoynted too of her gentlemen, with ther servauntes, to accompanye and attend hyme home; and at his departure gave hyme a chayne of golde aboute his necke, and store of monye in his purse, promesinge hime y^t, yf he woulde retourne agayne to her, he shoulde have suche a gentleman's interteynem^t as he shoulde be well contented and licke well of; for w^{ch} her gentle offers and many curtesyes, when this younge gentleman had given his moste humble thanckes, he toke his leave and departed.

As sone as he was arryved into Englande, he with his compenye repeyred forthwith to the Courte, (the Kinge then lyeinge at Grenwiche,) and then

they presented theymeselves before the Kinge, and made delyverye of theire letters, w^{ch} when the Kynge hade perused and reede, he very thankefullie accepted theyme, and forthwith examenethe this younge Peter Carewe, and fyndinge hyme to be awnswereable to the Princesse reporte and commendacōn, taketh good lykinge and joye of hinne, receveth hime into his service, and makethe hyme one of his henchemen ; and the Pryncesse men he commaundeth to be interteyned, and at theire departure gave theyme fyve hundrethe crownes, as also letters of commendacions and thaunckes to the Pryncesse. This younge gentleman beinge thus placed, and in favour with the Kinge, desirethe leave y^t he might visitt his fathere, whome he had not sene in 6 yeares, and unto whome he had also letters frome the Pryncesse ; w^{ch} beinge obteyned, he, with his fore sayde companye, roade to Mohone's Otrey, where his fathere dwelled ; and beinge come to the howse, and understandinge his fathere and mother to be within, wente into the howse without further delaye, and fyndinge theym syttinge together in a parler, forth with, with out anye wordes, in moste humble manner kneled downe before theyme, and asked ther blessinge, and therewith presented unto hyme the Pryncesse of Orenge's letters. The sayde Sir Wylliam and his Ladye at this sodayne sighte weare astonned, miche musinge what it shoulde meane, that a younge gentleman, soe well apparelled and so well accompened, should thus prostrate himeselfe before theym ; for they thought noethinge lesse then of theire sonne Peter, who havinge benne awaye from theyme about 6th yeares, and never harde of, dyd thincke verelie that he had benne dedd and forelorne. But Sir William havinge redde the Pryncesse letters, and so perswaded that he was his sonne Peter, were not a litle joyefull ; but receved hime with all gladnes, as also wellcommed the gentlemen, whome he and his wiffe interteyned in the best manner they coulde. After a fewe dayes spent at Mohones Otrey, the sayde Peter prayed his father's leave to retourne to the Courte, and the gentlemen to theire countrie, whome he not onelie conducted onewardes in ther journye, but also liberally rewarded the gentlemen, and by theym sente his moste humble letters of thanckes to the Princesse.

Peter Carewe beinge returned to the Courte, the Kinge had great delight and pleasure in hyme ; for he had not onely the French tounge, w^h was as rype in hyme as his owne naturall English toũge, but was also verye wyttie,

full of lyfe, and altogether geven to all such honest exercyses as doe apper-
teyne to a gentleman, and especially in rydinge, for there in he hade a spe-
ciall love and desire. After that he hade benne a henchman about too
yeares, and he beinge aboute the age of a gentleman of that service, was
removed from a henchman, and made one of the prevye chamber. And the
Kynge beinge mynded one a tyme to goe to Calis, and theire to meet with
the French Kyng, woulde often tymes talke with this Peter Carewe of the
Ffrenche Courte, whoe coulde and did awnswere soe full in every thinge, and
coulde name everye noble man in Fraunce, in what credyte and countenance
he was in the courte, that the Kynge the more he talked with hime the more
he delyted in hyme. And therefore when he passed over to Calice, this
Peter Carewe was one of the cheffest about the Kynge, and was one of the
gentlemen who was appoynted to attende when the great Lorde Admyrall of
Fraunce was made Knight of the Garter; and suche was his behavoir at
that tyme, that the Frenche gave hime greate commendacion and prayse. After
the Kynge his retorne into Englande about too yeares, being the 27th yeare
of his raigne, the Lord Wylliam Hewarde was sente to Scotlande to Kynge
James the 5th, to offer and presente unto hyme the order of the Garter; and
emonge others, this gentleman, Peter Carewe, was one apoynted to attend in
this service, who behaved hyme self in suche good order in the courte there,
that the Scotcs perswaded theym selves, by the reason of his rypenes in the
Franche tounge, and his behaviour after the Fraunch manner, that he hade
benne some Frenche lorde, for of all otheres he was moste praysed and com-
mended; w^{ch} beinge reported to the Kynge his master, he was at his retourne
well commended and rewarded of hime. Aboute three yeares after this, a
marriage was concluded betwyne the Kynge and the Lady Anne of Cleve,
namely in the 31th yeare of the Kyngs raigne; and for the recevinge of her
at Calice, and for the wafting of her frome thense into Englande, was
apoynted Sir William Fitzwilliams, Erell of Southampton, and Lord Great
Admyrall of Englande; and emonge soundrey other lusty gentlemen meet for
this service, this Peter Carewe was one, who soe well acquitted hime self,
that he reaped that prayse and commendacion as he well desearved.

Not lounge after this, the warres were begonne betwyne the Turke and the
Kinge of Hungerye; and upon that occasion the mooste common speches in
the courte were of the Great Turke, and of the royaltie of his courte, and what

a mightie prince he was, and howe that he had conquered the stronge cetie of Buda in Hungarye; w^{ch} soe perced the younge lustie gentlemen of the Courte, that manye of them were desirose to travell and see the same; but none more forewarde nor more desirose then this Peter Carewe, whose cheefe desyre was to travell countres and to see straunge fashions. And conferringe herein wth a kinseman of his, then alsoe servinge in the courte, named Iohn Champernowne, the sonne to Sir Phillip Champernowne, and of the Lady Katheren his wiffe, and awnte to the sayde Peter, who, as sone as he hade harde of the mocion, the other was noe more willinge then he was readye and forewarde, they thinckinge every one daye to be tenne before y^e journye were taken in hande. Wherefore, manye and sundrie conferences had betwyne them, they agreed y^e matter shoulde be broken to the Kinge, and there with they to make their humble suetes for his lawfull leave and faviour. The Kinge, acceptinge their sute, dyd like well of their myndes, but noethinge lyked to adventure theyme in soe perellouse a journye, wherein more feare was to be thoughte of looste of their persones then proffyte of their travells, and therefore he woulde not at the firste graunte there unto. Neverthelesse, by often suetes and soundrye medyacions, the Kynge at lenghte, consyderinge the noble myndes of the gentlemen, was contented to graunte their requestes; where upon they prepared alle thinges meet and necessarye for soe lounge a iournye, towardes which what soe ever they procured emonge their fryndes, none was more bountyfull unto theime then the Kynge hymeselfe, whoe not onely furnished theyme with monye, but also gave theyme letters of comendaçõn to sundrye noblemen, as well in Fraunce as in Italie. Wherefore in the next springe tyme folowinge, and haveinge alle thinges in redenes mette for their journye, they, with one Mr. Henrie Knolles, toke there leave of the Kinge and of their fryndes, and passed over into Fraunce, and frome thense into Italie, and haveinge spent the whole sommer in travellynge throught those too Realmes, they mynded to travell into Venice, and there to reste alle the nexte winter, w^{ch} they did; and then, haveinge procured a salf conduite of the Turks imbassador their, they in the nexte springe, leavinge Mr. Henry Knolls and others, who had accompaigned theyme soe farre, toke shippinge, and passed frome thense to Aragosa, the same beinge the course of aboute fyve hundrethe leagues: and beinge their arryved, they passed by lande to Constantynople, w^{ch} is

about a thousande myles : and all thoughte they hade a sufficient a salffe conduyte from the Turkes bassado in Venyce, yet they weare examyned what they were, and what busynes they had to doe, whoe beinge loth to be knowen to be gentlemen, and that there travellinges should be onely to see the Turkes Courte, for so they mighte have put theym selves in great perell, they alledged that they were merchauntes, and came to seeke for allume, under w^{ch} coulour they remayned there about 6 weekes or too monethes ; and in that tyme they visited the Turkes Courte, and saw hyme twyse or threse in his greateste royaltie and glorye : as also entred into acquentaunce with the French Kinges ambassador, whoe hade greate affection to theyme bothe, but especyally to the sayd Peter Carewe, by reasone y^t his Frenche tounge was so perfecte, as also his behaviour tastinge after the Frenche manner. Howe be it, they beinge not hable to dyssemble their owne estats, were in the ende hade in greate suspection, and lycke to have benne taken and apprehended, had not the Frenche ambassador stode their good frynde ; for he did not onely advertyse them of the same, but also did healpe to convey theyme awaye in a merchauntes shippe, then their in redynes to passe awaye from thense unto Venyce ; and with theyme they caryed a gentleman of Spayne, who hade bynne a captive or a prisoner in Turkey aboute 6th yeares, and whome by meanes they recovered or redemed. At ther arryvall unto Venyce they newe appareled this Spaynerd, and bestowed great chardges upon his promyse of repaymente, to be made wth great thanckes ; but he havinge libertie, and all thinges at will, stole awaye from them with out takinge leave, or gevinge once *graunde mercyes*. At there beinge in Venyce, they were advertysed howe that the Kinge of Hungerye was layinge at the seege of Buda, w^{ch} standeth upon the Ryver of Danubius, and w^{ch} the Turke a too yeares paste had recovered frome the sayde Kynge. And they beinge desyrose to see the manner of these warres, and the manner of that countrie, they dyrected there journye thether wards. And in their journey they wente unto the Duke of Feraria, who before at their firste beinge in Italye had receved by theyme letters in their commēdacion from Kynge Henrye the 8th, and he dyd verye honorablie receve, wellcome, and interteyne theme, callinge theyme his felowes, and usinge them as his companyons : for he hade a yearly pencion of the Kynge of Englande. From these they wente to Myllayne, where they had the lycke interteynem^{te} of the Marquesse of de

Gashayes, who was alsoe a pencionarye to Kynge Henry ; and from thense they wente streighte unto Buda, where Kinge Ferdinando laye then at the seege. Within this cetie was the wyffe and the sonne of Vaoida, who made the clayme to the same cetie, and in whose behalf the Turke recovered yt, and with theyme within was a myghty armye, whoe made sundrye assayles upon the hoste of Ferdinando ; as also in the ende, the Turke with a greate armye came to rayse the seege, wherewith the sayd Kynge beinge not hable to prevayle, removed the seege, and departed. And then, there beinge noe further service to be donne, they wente to Vienna in Austria, and ther they meet with one Mr. Wyngelfelde, their olde frende and acquentaunce. But they contynewed not manye dayes together before they felle all sycke in the bluddye flixe, in which desease Wyngelfelde and Champernowne dyed. Immediatlie whereupon, this Peter Carewe, havinge the desease upon hime, toke his horse and travelled backe agayne unto Venyce, and there stayed for a tyme, untill he recovered his healthe, and then retourned homewardes and came into Englande. Immediatlye upon his arryvall he roode to the Courte, and there presented hymeself before the Kinge, and recounted unto hym the whole course and successe of his iourney : but the Kynge firste demaunded for John Champernowne, and understandinge of his deathe, was verye sorye for the same ; and yet havinge this gentleman, of whome he made accompte, was the lease sorofulle, as he was the more glade and willinge to heire of the newes of his iourney ; where upon he reported unto the Kynge the whole order of his iourney as it was : the orders of Fraunce, the manners of Italye and his interteynemente theire, the govermente and state of Venyce, the maiestie of the Turkes Courte, the warres of the Hungarynnes, the discription of Vyenna, wth manye other thinges ; but noethinge was more lyked then the dyscription of the Turkes Courte, and the manner of his warres, w^{ch} the more rarer, the more delectable and pleasaunte they were bothe to the Kynge and nobilitie to be herde. When he had sayde all that he coulde, the Kynge and nobilytie lyked so well thereof, that from tyme to tyme they woulde be styll talkinge with hym, and especially the Kynge hym self, who had such a lykinge of this Peter, that he miche delited to talke with hime. And by that meanes the sayd Peter contynewed styll in the courte, and spent his tyme in all such honeste exercises as do apperteynenge

to a gentleman, and wherein he excelled ; for in singinge, vaultinge, and specially for rydinge, he was not inferior to anye in the Courte ; and what soe ever maches were made for anye of these exercyses, he for the most parte was alle wayes one.

Aboute a yeare or more after his retourne, the Kynge, joynynge with the Emperour, sent his defiaunce to the Frenche Kynge, and procleymed open warres agaynste hym, and forth with sente over Sir John Wallop with vi M men, and wth hime were sente this Peter and his eldeste brother Sir George Carewe, the elder beinge the leave-tenaunte of the horsmen, but the younger made capteyne of 100 footemen, and theyse he clothed and apparelled at his owne chardge alle in blacke, and they weare named the blacke bende. Both these brethren dyd righte noble and good service. As they were marchinge from Callyce to Landersaye they were to passe by the towne of Tyrwyne, and beinge come neere the same, a trumpeter came out of the towne, declaringe unto the generall y^t there were certeyne gentlemen wthin the towne w^h were redye to offer theymselves, soe manye for soe manye, with sharpe stafes one horse backe, to doe some feates of armes, and to trye the valewe of the Englyshe gentlemen. The generalle, lykinge very well the offer, called fourth all his capitaynes, and advertiseth theyme of this message. But, as all men are not all one woman's children, no more are they all of one dysposicion ; but, as the common proverbe is, "soe manye heddes, soe manye wyttes." For some were of one mynde y^t they thoughte it not good to put in perrelle the loose of anye capiteyne or gentleman in and for a vayne braverie, when a further service of necessitie was to be donne. Neverthelesse Sir George Carewe and this gentleman weare of soe haulte myndes and great corages, y^t they requested the contrarye ; and forthwith one Shelley and one Calveley, wth other gentlemen, offered sixe for sixe to awensweare the chalenge the next morninge ; and they were noe more forward then the generall was willinge ; and soe the trumpeter was wylled to retourne with his awensweare, that the offer of the Frenche gentlemen was accepted. Accordinge to w^{ch} conclusion, both parties one the nexte mornynge mete in a place for the purpose apoynted, where this Peter shewed what valewe there was in hym ; for in the firste course w^{ch} he rode, he toke suche advantage upon his adversarie, that he had all most overthrowen both horse and man, and in the secounde course he brake his staffe upon his adversarie. And soe, this chalenge per-

formed, they wente forth in their iournye, and came to Landersaye, and their joyeninge themselves unto the Emperors armye, the layed seege to the towne, and ther countynewed about 4 monetheis, untill they removed the seege, and wente to Cambrasia, where the French Kynge was then, and with whome they thoughte and determyned verelye to have joyened the battelle. But the Frenche, myndinge noethinge lesse, secretlye in the nighte raysed his campte, and departed awaye with as miche speede as he coude. In the morninge, his flighte beinge dyscoverede, greate purseutes were made after hyme, in w^{ch} chase, Sir George Carewe beinge more forewarde then circumspecte, was taken prisoner; but this gentleman Peter his brother toke a Frenche gentleman, whome he caried with hime unto Gallis, myndinge to use hime for the redemyng of his brother, Sir George. And when he was com to Galyce, there he newe apparelled this gentleman his prisoner, and concluded with hyme that he should either sende home Sir George Carewe, or to paye hyme certeyne hundrethes of crownes for his rawnsome, at a certeyne daye, then betwyne theyme prefyxed, w^{ch} the sayde gentleman upon his faith promysed to performe, and was soe sett at libertie; but as he litle regarded his faithe, soe as slenderlye dyd he performe his promyse, to his reproche and shame, as in the ende felle out.

The nexte yeare folowinge, or very shortly after, beinge the yeare of our Lord 1544, the Emperor and the Kynge countynewinge their warres agaynst the French Kynge, they apynted to invade Fraunce agayne. The Kynge, therefore, sente over too armyes, th'one unto Bullyn, under the conducte of Charles Brendon, Duke of Suffolke, who was generall untill the Kinge hime selve came in person; the other unto Muttrell, under the conducte of the Duke of Northfolke and Sir John Russell, then Lorde Prevy Seall. Under the Duke of Suffolke, emonge otheres, was this gentleman, Peter Carewe, he beinge the captayne, and havinge the chardge of a bounde of horsemen, and who dyd, in that service, acquite hime self verye well, beinge as forewarde as the foremoste, and who was one of the firste that entered into Base Bulleyne, at w^{ch} tyme alsoe, he had commytted unto hyme the chardge and coustodie of the Castle of Hardselowe, w^{ch} is aboute fyve myles from out of Bulleyne, and he marchinge thetherwardes to take the chardge thereof, the Frenche men whoe kepte the same beinge advertised of his comynge, and hyringe of his name,

dyd forsake the same and fled awaye, and soe at his commynge thethere he founde the castle desolate. At his beinge, and duringe his abode therein, w^{ch} was untill the Kynge retourned into Englande, he keppe as lyberall a howse, and as greate a porte, as never more bountyffully in all his lyfe. It chaunced that at his beinge at this castell, the Duke of Suffolke sente for hyme to come to speke with hyme, whoe forthwith repayred unto hyme, leaueinge the whole chardge, as well of the castle as of his men, unto his leuetenante, named Richarde Reynolds of Weste Ogwelle, in the countie of Devon, Esquire, and whyles he was with the Duke, occasion soe served that the Duke requested hyme to goe unto the Kynge in a certeyne message, who, accordinge to his commaundemente, wente to the Kynge, unto whome when he hade donne his message, the Kynge asked hyme why he came from his chardge, and what warraunte he hade for the same, who awnswere that, the Duke beinge the generalle of the feelde, had donne yt. To whome the Kynge sayde, y^t that was no sufficiente warraunt for hyme; for, sayeth he, learne this for a rule, soe lounge as we our selves are presente, there is noe other generalle but our selves, neither cann anye man departe frome his chardge with out our speciall warraunte. And, therefore, you beinge thus come hether with out our commaundemente, you are not hable to awnswere for the same, yf we shoulde mynester that w^{ch} by lawe we maye doe. At which wordes, the sayde Peter, humlinge hime self, desired pardon. The Kynge, after the conqueste of the towne, havinge sett all thinges in good order, retourned into England, whom, emonge otheres, this gentleman dyd attende.

It was not lounge after but that the Kynge was advertised howe that the Frenche Kynge was preparinge a great navye, myndinge to scower the seas, as also invade some parte of Englande. The Kynge, noethinge likinge suche newes, and doubtinge the worste, commaunded a certeyne number of his shippes to be wth all speed made redye and prepared, and to be forthwith sente unto the seas; of w^{ch} one very talle shippe and well appoynted, named the _____, was appoynted to this Peter Carewe, who was made Capyteyne there of, and attendinge to Lord Admyrall, dyd kepe the seas all that wynter, w^{ch}, beinge for the most parte foule and full of stormes and tempestes, their service was the more payne full, and yet to noe greate purpose, for that the enemye keppe hyme selve styll with in the harborowe; and

then the Admyrall, percevinge all thinges to be quyet, retourned home. The next somer then folowinge, the French Kynge sente his galleys to the seas, whereof the Kynge haveinge some fore knowleadge, commaunded a navye of 45th shippes to be likewise sente unto the seas, of which one named Francisco Bardado, a Venecian shipp, was appoynted unto this Peter Carewe, the same beinge very well apoynted both with men and munytion ; and soe, under their Admyrall, the Vycecount Lysle, whoe was latelye retourned from Bulleyne, they ranged and skowred the seas, and beinge coasted over neere unto Newhaven, they had escried the Frenche Kyngs galleys, which weare in number about 21 or 22. Then this gentleman, who was one of the firste that hade the sight of theime, was also one of the firste who desyred to geve the onesytt, but the Lord Admyrall and all the resydewe beinge of the lycke myndes, dyd all, wth one consente, give the adventure. The fighte betwyne theyme was verye hoote and sharpe, and the victory doubtfull, and wherein fourtune seemed to favor and frowne one both parties alycke, for some tymes the wether was calme, and then the gallyes had the advantage ; sometymes the wynde blewe a good gale, and then the ships prevayled. Twyse in too dayes either parte assayled the othere, and cruell were the fightes one both sydes ; but in th'ende, the seas waxinge some what roughe, and the gallyes not brookinge the same, retyred to the shores, reapinge the loste, and leavinge the victorye ; and the Englyshe navie beinge all of shippes of greate burden, beinge lothe to adventure after the gallyes upon the flattes and shallowes, dyd retourne and came backe agayne into Portesemouthe, and forthwith the Lord Admyrall landed and resorted unto the Kynge, who then laye there languishinge, and lystenynge to heare newes of his navie, to whome he then recounted the effecte of all that service. Not longe after, the seas beinge waxed calme, and the weather verie fayre, the Frenche gallyes, havinge wynde and weather at will, they woulde also needes raunge and scower the seas, and fyndinge theyme cleare, and the Englishe navie to be lede up in harborow, they came alonge alle the southe coostes of Englande, even unto the Isle of Weight, where some of theyme landed and did miche harme ; and some of theyme came unto the haven of Portesemouthe, and their rowed up and downe : their beinge never a shipp at that instante in that redynes, nore anye suche wynde to serve yf they hade bynne in redynes to empeache

theyme. The Kynge, who, upon the newes here of was come to Portesemouthe, he fretted, and his teethe stode one ane edge, to see the braverie of his enymyes to come soe neere his noose, and he not able to encountre wth theyme, wherefore immediatly the beakens were sett one fiere throughte the whole coases, and forthwith suche was the resorte of the people as were sufficiente to garde the lande from the entringe of the Frenche men, lykewise coñiaundementes were sente out for alle the Kyng's shippes, and all other shippes of warre w^{ch} were at Loundon and Queneborow, or eles where, that they shoulde with all speede posyble make haste and come to Portesemouthe, w^{ch} thinges were accordinglye performed. The French men percevinge that they could doe noe good by tarienge theire, departed agayne to the seas. The Kynge, assone as his whole fleet was come togethere, willeth them to sett all thinges in order, and to goe to the seas; which thinges beinge donne, and every shippe crosse sayled, and every captayne knoweinge his chardge, it was the Kyng's pleasure to apoynte Sir George Carewe to be Vyce Admyrall of that journye, and hade apoynted unto hyme a shippe named the Marye Rose, w^{ch} was as a fyne a shippe, as strounge, and as well apoynted as none better in the Realme. And at theire departure, the Kynge dyned aborde with the Lorde Admyrall in his shipp, named the Greate Henry, and was theire servid by the Lorde Admyrall, Sir George Carewe, this gentleman, Peter Carewe, and theire unkle, Sir Gawen Carewe, and with suche others onlye as weare apoynted to that voage and servyce. The Kynge, beinge at dynner, willed some one to goe upe to the topp, and see whethere he coulde see anye thinge at the seas: the woorde was noe soner spoken but that Peter Carewe was as forewarde, and forthwith clymmythe upe to the tope of the shipp, and theire syttinge, the Kynge asked of hyme, what newes? who tolde hyme that he had syght of three or foure shippes, but as he thoughte they were marchauntes; but yt was nott lounge but he hade ascryed a greate nomber, and then he cryed out to the Kynge that theire was, as he thought, a fleete of men of warre. The Kynge, supposinge them to be the Frenche men of warr, as they weare in deede, willed the borde to be taken upe, and every man to goe to his shippe, as also a longe boote to come and carrye hime one lande. And firste he hath secreat talkes with the Lorde Admyrall, and then he hath the licke with Sir George Carewe, and at his departure frome

hyme, toke his chayne from his necke, with a greate whistle of gold pendante to the same, and did put it aboute the necke of the said Sir George Carewe, gevinge hym also therewith many good and comfortable wordes. The Kynge then toke his boote, and rowed to the lande, and every othere captayne wente to his shippe appoynted unto hime. Sir George Carewe being entered into his shippe, commaunded everye man to take his place, and the sayles to be hoysed, but the same was noe sonner donne, but that the Mary Roose beganne to heele, that is, to leane one the one syde. Sir Gawen Carewe beinge then in his owen shipp, and seeinge the same, called for the master of his shippe, and tolde hym there of, and asked hym what it mente? who awenswared, that yf shee did heele, she was lycke to be caste awaye. Then the sayd Sir Gawen, passinge by the Mary Roose, called oute to Sir George Carewe, askeinge hym howe he did? who awnsewred, that he hade a sorte of knaves whome he could not rule. And it was not lounge after but that the sayde Mary Roose, thus heeling more and more, was drowned, with 700 men whiche were in here, where of very fewe escaped. It chaunsed unto this gentleman, as the common proverbe is, "the more cookes the worse potage." He had in this shipp a hundrith maryners, the worste of theyme beinge hable to be a master in the beste shippe within the realme, and these soe maligned and dysdayned one the other, that, refusinge to doe that w^{ch} they should doe, were carelesse to doe that that they oughte to doe, and soe contendinge in envie, perished in frowardnes. The Kynge this meane whyle stode one the lande and sawe this tragedie, as also the Lady the wiffe to Sir George Carewe, who, with that syght, felle into a soundinge. The Kynge, beinge oppressed with sorowe of every syde, comforted her, and thancked God for the other, hopinge that of a harde begynnyng, their woulde folowe a better endinge. And notwithstandinge this looste, the service apoynted wente forewarde assone as wynde and weather woulde serve, and the resydewe of the fleete, beinge aboute the number of one hundreth and fyve seales, toke the seas. The Frenche men percevinge the same, licke as a sorte of sheepe runnyng into the foolde, they shifted awaye, and gate them into their harborowes, thinckinge it better to lye there in a salffe skynne, then to encontre with theyme of whome they shoulde lytle wyne. The Lord Admyrall, fyndinge the seas alle cleare, and very loth to retourne withoute doinge of some

service to the acquittall of the former braveryes of the Frenche men, dyd, by the counsell of one Roybodo, dyrect his course to the baye of Freyporte, beinge promysed by the said Roybodo that theare was good service to be donne to recompense the Frenche men. Assonne as they were com to the baye, and beinge knowen to the whole fleete that they shoulde theare lande, and to doe some servyce, it was who coulde firste sett foot one lande. The foremoste in that service was one John Courtenaye, the sonne of Sir William Courtenaye, of Powderham in the countie of Devon, Knighte, and then capytene of a shipp named . This man clemmynge up the cleffe or rocke in a certeyne narowe foote pathe, recovered firste the toppe of the hylle, and theire sett upp his ensigne, and nexte after hyme folowed this gentleman Peter Carewe, and soe then a greate number. The Frenche, who before stode upon the cleffes and sawe the fleete, seemed to make a great shewe of some greate matters; but the Englishe men were not so sone one lande to goe as they were in haste to runne awaye. Not farr from theare landinge was the towne of Freyporte, w^{ch} forthwithe was spoyled, the countrie prayed, and all the Frenche shippes in that harborowe burned. When the countrei was lefte deserted of the people, and spoyled of their goodes, everye manne was commaunded to retyre and retourne to their shippes. The Lord Admyrall, whoe, bothe at this tyme as also before, had sene the good service of this gentlemanne, Peter Carewe, and of a greate parte whereof he hymeselffe was *testis oculatus*, and consideringe the great valewe and prowes w^{ch} was in hyme, called for hyme, and would have dubbed hyme Knight, the same of righte (as his Lordshippe then saide) to hyme, for his good desertes and service apperteynenynge. This gentleman, humblinge and abasinge hime self, made sundrye excuses, and emonge others alleadged that he hade ann unckle in that place who hade servid the prynce in all suche places as he had, and that he, yf anye, had best deserved it, as his Lo^p. well knewe it. The Lord Admyrall, counfessinge the same to be trewe, seemed to myslicke wth hime selve for his forgetefullnes here in, and called for hime also. And then they both beinge before hyme, he gave theyme greate commendacons and prayse for their services, as also perswaded theyme to contynewe in the same, and soe with the sworde he dubbed theyme with the guyrde of chavellrie, and honored theyme with

the order of knighteholde. This donne, the hole fleet hoysed theire sayles, and retourned to Portesemouth.

And here is to be noted, by the waye, of the nobilitie of this Sir Peter Carewe, whoe seeinge the death and losse of his elder and onely brothere, and he as nexte heire then to succede into his enheritaunce, many a man woulde have geven over the service, and have gonne home to enter into the possession of those greate lyvelehodes as w^{ch} were then lefte unto hym. Notwithstandinge, he preferringe the service of his prynce, the doinge of his duetie, and by his good endeavor to purchase credyte and honnor, never made accompte of anye suche thinge, but folowed to performe the service commytted unto hym, w^{ch} in the ende turned to his greate credyte and commendacion. Assone as the Lorde Admyrall was come into Portesemouth, he forthwth dyspatched this Sir Peter Carewe with letters unto the Kynge, advertysinge hym of the whole order, manner, and successe of that voyage. When this Sir Peter was come before the Kynge, and hadd presented his letters, the Kynge was soe glade and joyefull of his commynge, that assone as he sawe hime, he asked whether all weare well: Sir Peter awnswered verye well. Then the Kynge, before he wolde open the letters, did talke with hym, and examyned hime of all the whole matter; who when he had dyscoursed unto his grace the same at full, the Kynge called for his sworde, myndinge to have dubbed hime knyghte, but in the meane tyme perusinge and readinge his letters, perceived that he was all reddie advanced to that degree. The Kynge then tourned aboute, commendinge the service then donne, commended this Sir Peter Carewe also, and promysed hym that he shoulde not be forgotten. From this tyme he contynewed for the mooste parte in the courte, spendinge his tyme in all courtely exercises, to his greate prayse and commendacion, and especially to the good lykinge of the Kynge, whoe had a greate pleasure in hym, as well for his sundrye noble qualyties as also for his singuinge. For the Kynge hime self beinge miche delited to synge, and Sir Peter Carewe havinge a pleasaunte voyce, the Kynge woulde very often use hym to synge with hime certeyne songes they called *fremen* songs, as namely, "By the bancke as I lay," and "As I walked the wode so wylde," &c.

About a yeare after this retourne from Freporte, their was a peace

concluded betwyne the Kyng of Englande and the Frenche Kyng; and, for the establyshinge thereof, and to receve the Frenche Kyng's othe, the Vicecont Lysle, Loorde Admyrall, was appoynted to be the imbassador, and, emonge others to accompanye and to attende hyme, Sir Peter Carewe was one. At theire beinge in the French Courte, it fortuneth that the Erelle of Worcester, who, beinge then a younge gentleman, was sente over to be trayned up in some knowleadge, and to learne fashions, was by a Frenche man verie coursely handled and intreated, and the younge gentleman, beinge but verie younge, had not the sprite to revenge. But the Lorde Embassador beinge advertised thereof, dyd soe storme, and was soe greeved therewith, that, callinge suche gentlemen unto hyme as he well lyked, he soe opened the matter unto theyme, that they perceived his mynde was, that such an injurie should not be closed up without some acquittall. Sir Peter Carewe was then presente, and one unto whome, as he thought, the speches were specially directed unto; and, indeed, he beinge also some what warmed therewith, deviseth how to compasse the matter. It was not lounge after but that the Lorde Embassador was apoynted and had a daye to come before the Kyng and his Dolphyn in to the chamber of presentes, at w^{ch} tyme, he beinge attended with all his trayne, was verie honorably conducted unto the Kyng, whose pensioners and yeoman of his garde stode one eche syde wth their partysones, as the manner was then in that courte. In goinge up to the chamber, Sir Peter Carewe espyed the mann who had offered the injurie to the Erle, and fourth with goinge unto hyme, picked such a quarrell with hyme, that he gave hyme a boxe or blowe under the eare; w^{ch} beinge donne in the chaumber of presence, the Kyng and Dolphin seemed to be offended there with, but yet dissembled the matter for y^e tyme; and yet, beinge after wardes advertysed of the truth, they were in doubte whether they mighte better dyslyke the evell behaviour of their owne servaunte or comende the stoute corage of the knyghte. Duringe the Embassador's beinge there, the Kyng, to show hyme some pleasure, woulde carye hime abrod to hunte the harte. The Kyng soe earnestly one a tyme folowed his game, that he was lefte alone, and beinge in a greate swete, sought for his handkerchef to wype his face, and coulde not fynde hit. Sir Peter Carewe, who onely folowed hyme, was at hande, and perceving the same, road unto him, and in moste humble manner, toke out his owen handkercheffe, and delyvered it

to the Kynge, w^{ch} the Kynge dyd not onely accepte verye thankefully, but also stayed there withe hime, usinge verye pleasante and famylear speches with hime, untill suche tyme as more companye came, and the Kynge had then soe good lykinge of hyme, as he did after wardes use his companye both in huntinge and other licke exersises. At his beinge and duringe his aboade in the Frenche courte, he meete theire with the Frenche gentleman whom he hade taken prysoner at Cambraia, and theire required the comebate of hyme for his untruth, be cause at the tyme when he was sett at libertie at Calice he promysed upon his faithe and credyte eithere to redeme Sir George Carewe, whoe was then a prisoner, or eles to delyver a certeyne number of Frenche crownes, w^{ch} promyse he performed in noe parte. This thinge beinge noysed in the Frenche courte, the gentleman was greatly myshyked of all men, but Sir Peter Carewe well commended for his chalenge, and miche lyked for his stowtenes. In th'ende, the gentleman condemninge hime selffe of to miche follie, yelded hime self to the devotion of this knyghte, whome he in the ende released and forgave. At his beinge in the courte, the French Kynge and the Dolphyn, havinge as good affection unto hyme, did deale verye lyberally with hime, and gave unto hime many good and riche gyftes. But he was not so apte to receve as he was more lyberall to geve; for suche was his liberalitie, that he gave not onelye awaye that which he receved theire, but what soever he brought of his owne with hime, in soe much that he lefte scarce either jewell, horse, or apparell beinge worth the guyfte, but that he gave it. These and other his doinges in the French courte purchased unto hime not onely a good reporte and fame theire, but also thancks at his home commynge. At his retourne home he styll contynewed at and aboute the courte, being wrapped in Venus bandes, and stryken with Cupide's darte; for he hade benne and was a sueter to a ladie in the Courte, beinge the wydowe of a baron decessed. In w^{ch} his suete he hade manye agewe dayes, as sueters in suche causes are wonte to have. But he havinge used all the meanes he coulde to obteyne his purpose, and myndinge not to have the repulse, he wente unto the Kynge, and openinge unto his grace his suete, dyd mooste humblye beseche his highnes to stand his good Lorde. The Kynge at the firste seemed to strayne courtesie at the matter, neither woulde have anye good likinge there of; neverthelesse in th'ende he did so

counsyder of the worthines and nobylitie of the gentleman, that he did not onelye graunte his requeste, but also wrote his moste eneste letter unto the lady in his behalf, and promysed also to geve wth that mariage a hundreth poundes lande to theyme, and to the heyres of their bodies. This ladie, howe soever her likinge of hime was before, she nowe yelded, and was contented. But before anye mariadge coulede be solemnysed, the Kynge died; nevertheless a daye was councluded betwyne theyme when the mareige shoulde be, w^{ch}, as it felle out, was at the coronation of Kynge Edwarde the 6th. Upon the same daye there was a chalenge made by this newe married knyghte with fyve others, in honor of the coronation, ageynste all commers at the tylte barres & turnyes; and their this Ulisses, in honor of his Penelope, wore her sleve upon his heade pece, and acquitted hyme self very honorably. At the turnyes there were certeyne strangers defendentes, and with theyme did Sir Peter moste desire to encounter, and to trye their valewe: and supposinge that the stemme and course of one of theyme was come to incounter with hime, he made hime selfe redie their unto. But before he hade entred into his course, it was advertysed unto hime that it was no straunger, but one Mr. Cooke, who was to take that course; where upon this knyght stayed and sente unto the sayde Cooke, prayeinge hime that he woulde fore beare for that tyme, and geve place to one of the straungers, who denyed yt. Then he sente unto hime agayne, desiringe hyme verye earnestlye that he woulde yelde and graunte unto his request, but he woulde not. Then sayde Sir Peter, "Well, if he will not, then lett it fall out as it maye." And so then eche one encountringe th'othere, he overthrewe the saide Cooke, bothe horse and man. After this feaste ended, and the sayde Sir Peter havinge gotten what he soughte, and obteyned what he desired, was nowe of the mynde to sequester hyme self from the Courte; wherefore he and the Ladye his wiffe did counclude to ryde into Lyncolneshere, where her lyvinges laye, and there to sojorne for a tyme, where they reamayned all moste three yeares, and untill the Commotion in Devon, at w^{ch} tyme he was sente for to come to the Courte, and then, by the Kynge and counsell, he, together with his unkle Sir Gawen Carewe, were sente downe into the countrie for pacyfyeinge of the same, and hadd a commysion under the Kynges hande and signett for their doinge of all suche thinges as to this ser-

vice did apperteyne, and as they shoulde thincke good. At their comyng in to the cuntrye, they made their presente repayre to the cite of Excester, and their resort unto them Sir Pers Courtenaye, then shiriffe, and the justices of the whole sheire, and then and their counferringe together, they did the best y^t they coulde to satisfie the truste comytted unto them; but suche was the obstynauencie of the people, and were so miche addicted to the Popishe reigion, then to be reformed, and where in they had the countenance of some suche of the beste, as whoe did both favour their cause and secretly encouraged them therein, that they were thoughtlye bent to manteane their quarell. And they hyringe that these gentlemen were assembled at Excester, to the ende and purpose to reforme theyme, a greate number from out of Sampforde Courtenaye, where the stur firste begane, and from other places there aboutes, came and assembled them selves to the towne of Credyton, w^{ch} is aboute 7th myles from the cite; w^{ch} thinge beinge advertised unto these gentlemen and justices, it was then agreed and concluded amongst theyme that Sir Peter Carewe and Sir Gawen Carewe shoulde with a competente companye ryde thither, and to doe what they might for the pacifyinge of the people. But when they came to the towne's ende, the highte way was soe intrenched, and the same, as alsoe the barnes of both sydes of the wayes, were soe replenished with men well apoynted with bowes, arrowes, and other weapons, that there was noe passage nor entry for them into the towne, nor yet any conference or speches to be had with theyme. Whereupon some one servinge man of that companye, unware of the gentlemen, did sett one of the barnes afyer, and then the comoners, seeinge that, ranne and fled away out of the towne, leavinge onelye women and aged people behinde theyme. The gentlemen then wente fourthwith into the towne, wher they founde noe bodie, and therefore leavinge all thinges, as they thoughte, in some quyetnes, they returned to Excester. But the fame and rumor of the burninge of the barnes was soe sprede thoughte out the whole cuntrye, y^t the nexte daye the people, lycke a sorte of waspes, were up in sundrye places, amongst w^{hc} some toke the towne of Clyste St. Marye, aboute too myles from Excester, and their fortyfied theyme selves, havinge placed trees and ordynance upon the bridge, soe that none coulde come upon theyme from the cite. This thinge beinge advertysed unto the jus-

tices, it was thought beste emongest theme that the foresayde too knightes, beeing the cheif commysioners, together with Sir Thomas Dennys and Sir Hugh Pollerde, should ressorte thether to pasifie and to perswade theme to quyetnes ; but beinge come to the towne, and fyndinge the bredge rampired, Sir Peter Carewe alighted from his horse, and mynded to have gone over a foote, he mistrusting noe harme. But the people were so bente agaynste hime, and he soe hatted for his religion, that the gonner, haveinge his peece chardged upon the bridge, dyd levell the same to have shote unto hyme, and w^{ch} he had verely donne, if one standinge by hime had not stayed hime. Neverthelesse, in the ende the comoners were countented to have some privat conference with Sir Thomas Denys and Sir Hughe Pollerde, but all w^{ch} came to noe effecte ; for they woulde yelde to nothings but as it pleased theyme selves. Whereupon they all retourned agayne to Excester, and fourthwith the nexte mornynge Sir Peter Carewe roade to Loundon wardes, and by the waye roade to George Henton, where the Lorde Previe Seale was then, beinge latelye come from Loundon for the same purpose ; whoe beinge advertised of the broyles and rebellyon towardes, did by his letters unto the Kynge and Counsell advertyse the same, as also prayed a supplye for men and monye.

Sir Peter Carewe postinge in haste to the Courte, advertysethe the Kynge and counsell of the whole matter. But the Duke of Somersett and the Lorde Ryche, who was then Lorde Chaunceler, percevinge that the alteraçon of religion was the cause of this stures and rebellion, and y^t greate troubles were licke to ensewe there of, they woulde have rejected the whole faulte upon Sir Peter Carewe ; the one layeing unto his chardge the burninge of the howses at Kyrton, w^{ch} was more then his commysion, and th'other sayde that, althoughte he hade the Kynge's letters for his doinges, yet the same were noe sufficiente warraunte for hime, oneles he had the broode seale, and therefore he haveinge donne more then he had good warrantie for his dischardge, he well deserved to be well rewarded as the author and cause of that rebellyon. These woordes beinge verye sharpe and touchinge the quick, he asketh pardon, and that he maye have leve to awnsweare thereunto, w^{ch} beinge graunted, he dyd, in suche order and pythei manner, and not without a reasonable stowtnes, soe awnsweare the Duke and the Lorde Chaunceler, and

also both satisfie the Kynge and counsell, that he was well allowed and commended for the same; and in the ende, accordinge to his petiçon, order taken that both mony and menn should be sente with speed to the Lord Previe Seale, and he willed to retourne with speed into the contrie, and there to folowe the service for the repression of that rebellion. The Lord Previe Seale beinge removed from George Henton unto Hunyton, had remayned there a lounge tyme, styll lokinge for the supplye of men and monye promysed, and at lengthe doubtinge to be assayled of the enymye, and he havinge noe force to withstande theyme, was perswaded by the gentlemen of Dorsetshere to leve Honyton, and to goe into Dorsetshere, and there to remayne, untyll he had some greate force aboute hyme. Assone as he was thus departed from Honyton, Sir Peter Carewe, havinge knowleadge thereof, toke his horse at Mohones Oeterye, and road up to the Black Downe, and there mett with hime, and then havinge some speches and counferences withe hime, declared what inconvenyences were lyke to insewe to the incoraginge of the enymye, the undoinge of the whole cuntrye, and greate dishonor unto hyme self, if he shoulde nowe leave the cuntrye, and geve the enymye scope and lybertie to goe fore warde; w^{ch} when his Lo^p had well counsidered, he retourned back agayne to Honyton, and never removid from thense untyll he gave the onsett upon the enymyes, and subdued theym. And trewe it was that yf he hade departed accordinge to his firste determynaçon, theire hadd growen thereby a greater fyre than all the waters in fyve shores aboute woulde have benne hable to have quenched. But concerninge this rebellion, and the good service this gentleman did therein, the same allredy at large beinge sent forth in a pamphlet thereof, it is not partynente to this matter to intreat theareof. After this commocion was ended and all thinges pacified, the sayde Sir Peter remayned for the mooste parte in his cuntrye, and was one of the chefeste and in moste credytt duringe the tyme of Kynge Edward.

Immediatlye after the death of the sayde Kynge, there was a proclamaçon conceived by the counsell, and sente into the cuntrye for the proclaymynge of Queene Janne. Sir Peter Carewe, all be it he knowe very well y^t there was licke to ensewe a greate alteracion in relygion yf the Lady Mary shoulde be proclaymed Queene; and as he was well affected, so she utterlye dyd

abhorre yt, yet respectinge his faythe, dewte, and allegaunce to his naturall Prince, and lytle regardinge what had bynne donne by a former proclamation, dyd cause the sayd Lady Mary to be proclaymed Queene in too markett townes neere to the place where he then dwelled—the one in Dartmouth, and th'other at Newton Abbot. And it was not lounge after but yt the sayd Lady Mary was proclaymed Queene thought out the whole realme; and all be yt there were none who dyd coundeme this gentleman for his doinges, yet there were some of greate countenance and in high authoritie, which weare offended withe hym because he had not advertised unto theyme his owne bente, and the disposition of the people in these countreis. Queene Mary being ons quietly posessed of the crowne, it was not lounge after but there was an embassador sent unto her frome the Emperor, for a mariage to be hade betwyne her and his sonne Kynge Phyllyp, w^{ch} was soe myslyked, that certeyne gentelmen conspired together agaynste the same, and manye trobled, more of suspection then of anye juste cause, and emonge others Sir Peter Carewe was soe farre suspected, that he, together withe Sir Gawen Carewe, Sir Arthur Champernowne, Knyght, and Wylliam Gybbes, Esquire, were proclaymed traytores, and a commyssion forthwith was sente in poste unto Sir Thomas Dennys, then Shiriffe, and unto Sir John Sentleoger, Knyghtes, for the apprehendinge of theyme; and accordingly forthewth Sir Gawen, Sir Aurther, and Mr. Gybbes were taken and commytted to pryson; too of theyme to the Queenes Gaole of the Castle of Excester, and the othere to the Guylde Hall of the cetie; and from thense were removed to the Tower of London, and beinge examened there, they were chardged to have benne counfederates of w^{ch} (*sic*) Wyett and with the Duke of Suffolke; butt they awnswered soe well for theyme selves that they weare aquytte, and founde to be trewe and faythfull subjectes. But Sir Peter Carewe, havinge some secrett intellegence frome one who was then bothe of countenaunce and in authoritie, (and whoe, if Sir Peter shoulde have benne apprehended, did doute of his owne case,) toke his horse and sayde that he would ryde to the Courte, and theare stande to his awnswere and purge hym self; but by the waye, and not farre from his howse, he mete wth his man whome he had before sent to tooe of his dereste fryndes, the one in Wiltshere, and the othere in Dorsertshire; and fyndinge by hime that no

fryndship was to be hade at their handes, he roade to a fryndes house of his not farre of, and there lodged hyme selve secretlye, sendinge one in the meane tyme unto Excester, for the borowinge of a peece of monye, without w^{ch} he coule not helpe hymeself, and one other he sente to Waymouthe to provyde a barke for hyme to passe over the seas. And haveinge his monye and all thinges in readynes, and the barke redy for hyme, he roade unto Waymouthe, beinge apareled lycke unto a servinge mann, and attendinge upon one of his companye as his servaunte. In the meane while his house was ryffled, his goodes spoyled, and in the ende his landes geven to one James Basset, of the Previe Chamber, Esquire. The same nighte that he embarked, the Ladie his wiffe dreamed that as he was goinge aborde his barke he shoulde fall into the seas and be drowned, where withe she fell into suche a sodeyne freighte or feare, that shee awoke therwith, and beinge verye pensyve, and myche troubled wth her dreame, she sente one to the sea syde to make inquire for Sir Peter. The messenger beinge come to Wayemouthe, was advertysed howe that Sir Peter Carewe, as he was goinge out of the boote to enter into the barke, his foote slyded or slipped, and he therewith fell into the seas, and had bynne drowned, if one standinge by hade not taken holte of hyme. Assonne as he and his companye were all aborde, he caused the sayles to be hoysed, and to the seas they went. But they had not scearsely crossed the half seas before there aroose a teryble storme and tempeste, and they in great daunger to have benne all drowned, and in the ende they were all dreven backe agayne to Waymouthe; where if they had landed, as some of theyme were willinge, they had benne apprehended; for all the countrie was layd for theyme. But Sir Peter, mystrustinge the worste, kept hime selffe and all his companye close aborde untyll a better wynde served, and then they toke the seas agayne, and arryved at Roan. And from thense he roade streight to the Courte of Fraunce, where he was well receved, and had verye lyberall interteynem^{te} offered unto hime if he woulde have accepted it; but he utterly refused it, sayeing that he was never trayter to his Prynce nor countrie, and he would never receve intertaynemente to serve agaynst any of theyme, soe lounge as he lyved: wherefore, leavinge the Courte of Fraunce, he wente unto Venyce; but he was no sonner come thether, but that one Peter Avanne, then a leiger or orator of Queene Mary

to the Duke and Estate there, had knowleadge thereof, who forthwith soughte all the wayes he could howe he mighte have hyme to be taken or apprehended; and firste he maketh his petition to the Highte Courte of Estate, advertisinge yt a treatour to the Queene of Englande, his maystres, was fledd out of Englande, and come thether for refuge, whiche noble and famose cetie all thoughte yt were a free cetie, and a sanctuarye for all suche as were dystressed, and resorted thether for succour, yet not for suche as were traytors to there Prynce, and false to there countries. Sir Peter Carewe havinge some intellegence of the matter, did forthwth sende for one Francisco Foscarinus, who was then an Advocate or Attourneye Generall for the whole state of Venyce, and with whome the sayde Sir Peter had benne very well acquainted when he was at the Courte in Englande, in the tyme of Kynge Edwarde the VI.th This Francesco beinge forthwth come unto hyme, he declared unto hime all his whole matter and presente estate; whoe, when he hadde herde the same at full, willeithe hime to be of good comforte, and not to be afreyed, "for I will," sayeth he, "repayre to the Courte, and see whether anye matter be put in agaynste you, w^{ch} yf yt be soe, I will awnswere it for you; butt in the meane tyme take you heede to your selve, and goe not abroode, oneles you have good companye with you, and that you be all well armed and apoynted." This Francisco forthwith goeth to the Courte, and theire fyndeth the Bylle of Peticion w^{ch} Peter Avanne had exhibeted unto the State agaynste Sir Peter, whereunto he made suche an effectuall and pethiee awnswere, that Peter Avannes bylle was rejected. Then Peter Avanne devysethe another waye, and hyreth certeyne ruffyans w^{ch} shoulde watche Sir Peter, and then takinge hime at an vantadge, they shoulde dispache and murther hime; w^{ch} Sir Peter remembringe the good counsayll of his frynde Francesco, did accordinglye provide for hit. It chaused that Sir Peter beinge one atyme abroade, must needes retourne home agayne to his lodginge by a certeyne corner in a strete called Ruga Gausa, w^{ch} Peter Avanne knoweinge, did besett that place with suche ruffyans as he hadd hyred, who watched there wth their goonnes and weapons for hime. Sir Peter beinge come neere to the place, and percevinge the same, prepared himeself and apoynted his companye to goo too and too, and he, with one goeing with hime, kepte the mydle, and soe passed by the courner. The companions

w^{ch} wayted for hyme, and not knowinge w^{ch} he was of theyme whome they would have, (for there peces were chardged to have shot onely at hime;) and the eveninge beinge some what demme, they asked one the othere of themselves (*le quelle*) w^{ch} is he? But Sir Peter beinge then passed the courner, the hynder moste of his companye, havinge also there pystolls chardged, tourned backe and asked what they would; who, when they perceived that he was paste whome they would have, they retorned, and soe he escaped; for w^{ch} as he hadd greate thanckes to geve to God, soe then he determyned noe lounger to tarrye there in suche daungers and perells; and sendinge then agayne for his frynde Francisco, dyd by his meanes take up a pece of monye, and soe departed frome thense, and wente unto Strauseburghe in Germanye, where at that tyme there laye Doctor Poynet, late Bishoppe of Wynchester, and certayne othere Englishemen beinge fledd out of Englande for religion. And emonge these he countynewed and stayed untill he harde newes from his lady and wyffe.

It happened whyles he laye there, that the howse of Mr. Poynet fell to be one fyere, and suche monye and thresuire as he had was in a cupporde in the walle, and the fiere soe encreased that noe mann durste adventure into the howse to fetch it. Sir Peter, counsyderinge the distresse and heavenes of the man, and hiring hime to make some move for his monye, ranne wth all his force and myghte to the cupporde, and with his foote gave suche a strooke that immediatlye he brake open the cupporde, toke out the monye, and caryed it awaye; but he was noe sonner come out of the dore but the howse fell downe, and soe, as it were by a myracle, he was preserved and saved; and soe, from that tyme, he contynewed a sojourner in a straunge lande. In the meane tyme, his ladye and wyffe was a contynewalle suter and traveler to Kynge Phillip and to the Queene for her husband, and havinge but cold suetes in England, was dreven to travell to the Kynge lyeinge at Brusells in Brabante, and in the ende obteyned her purpose; w^{ch}, assone as shee had advertysed unto Sir Peter, he came downe frome Straseborghe unto Andwerpe, and beinge advertysed that the Lorde Pagett was then lately come over in a message frome the Queene unto the Kynge, he, together with Sir John Cheeke, came to the Court at Brusells to salute and to yelde unto hyme suche offices as became theme, w^{ch} the Lorde Paget semed to accepte

in verye good parte, and gave theyme verye good interteynemente. These gentlemen, mystrustinge nothings, attended hyme whyles he was theire, and at his departure, woulde have brought hyme onewardes in his journye, but he woulde in noe wyse suffer theyme, but takinge theyme verye courteouslye by the handes, bede theyme both farre well : they, lytle suspectinge that under the fayre greene grasse was hydden the venemost serpent, or under soe manye feare woordes was cooched anye poysons. For the Lorde Pagett hadd soe practysed the matter wth the Knyght Marshall or wth the Shiriffe of the countrie, that these too gentlemen, as they were to retourne unto Andwarpe, shoulde be intrapped by the waye, and as traytors be caryed perforce into Englande. Theyse tooe gentlemen havinge thus taken their leve, toke their iourneye backe towardes Anwarpe, and by the waye the hyered bootcherlye shiriffe laye in ambushe for theyme, and as they weare to passe that waye, he intrapped and toke them, and, perforce, as sheepe apoynted to the slaughter, blyndfolded theme, and caryed theyme to the saye syde, wheare as was a scallarde fysher boate provyded for theyme to carry theyme into Englande. The gentlemen of the countrie greatlye myslykinge shuch a dysordered or treytroose kynde of apprehension, chalenged the Shiriffe for the same, but he, to cover his corrupcion, and to excuse the matter, alledged that he hadd receved a commaundmente from the Kynge for the apprehendinge theyme, because they hadde practysed anewe tymulte and conspiracie agaynste the Kynge and Queene, and that he was wylled with all speed to execute the same : how be it, as it was moste untreue, soe the Kynge, when he harde there of, was verye miche offended, and woulde have delyvered theme yf they had not bene before caryed awaye. Theyse thus apprehended and broughte to the seas syde, they were blyndfolded and put into the boote, the one at the one ende, and th'other at the other ende of the boate, fast chayned, not knowinge where they were, or whethere they shoulde, nor what shold become of theyme; well, they myghte speke th'one to th'other, but other comforte there was none. Howe be yt, Sir John Cheke, all thought verie well learned, but not acquainted wth the croosse of troubles, was styll in greate dispeare, greate anguyshe and hevyness, and woulde not be comforted, soe greate was his sorowe ; but Sir Peter Carewe, whose harte coulde not be broken, nor mynde overthrowen with anye adversities, and yeldinge to noe such

matter, comforted the othere, and encoraged hime to be of a good stomacke, perswadinge hime (as thought he had benne a devyne,) to pacience and good contentation. When they had crossed over the seas, they arryved into Thames, and beinge come neere unto the Tower, they herde the bell of the Tower, and then Sir Peter, knowinge where they were, were gladde that they were come to suche salffetie, for they verely suspected that they shoulde have benne caste into the seas, and never more to be harde of. When they were sett one lande, they weare forthwith caryed into the Towere, where the Counstable, accordinge to a precepte before sente unto hyme, receved theyme bothe, and did then put theyme asunder. Sir Peter was shutte up in a cloose prysone, and of a small ease. The lady his wiffe beinge hereof advertysed, the newes was not soe straunge as greveous unto her, that th'ende, as shee thoughte, of all his and her troubles shoulde now be the begynnyng of newe; but, seeinge noe remedye, she preparethe her selfe to rune in her olde course of newe suetes, and consideringe her husbände was in verie extreame duras, havinge neither bedd to lye upon, nor anye to repeare unto hyme, she is a suetor for the redresse of bothe, and did obteyne it; soe that he hadd a more counvenyente rome, a bedd to be brought unto hyme, and that she myghte have accesse unto hyme, and then prosecuted her mooste earnesteste suete that he mighte come to his awnswere; w^{ch}, thoughte it were lounge firste, yet she in the ende obteyned it, and he beinge sundry and often tymes before the counsell, he did in suche wyse order, awnswere and acquytte hymeselffe, that they coulde not justlye chardge hyme or justifie anye matter agaynst hime, savinge in the ende it was founde that his graunde-father, Sir Edmonde Carewe, the laste Baron of Carewe, did awe to the Queene a certeyne pece of monye, to the paymente whereof his lande was lyable, and that some beinge payd he shoulde be dischargd and sett at lybertie. Soe then all his troubles beinge broughte to a monye matter, he founde the meanes for the paymente thereof, and soe was realeased out of prysone. It was not lounge after but that he presented himeself before Queene Mary, who gladly conferred with hyme of all his troubles, and seemyd to be verie sorye for the same, and gladd that he hade soe well acquytted hyme selffe, promysinge hyme that shee woulde stande his good ladye and frende to do hime anye pleasure; and, accordinglye, offers of

prefermente were made unto hime yf he woulde have accepted theyme, but beinge contented, after lounge troubles, to leve at some reste, dyd contynewe in a pryvat state duringe all her raigne. After her deathe, the Ladie Elizabeth beinge proclaymed Queene, he resorted to the courte, and for that his former troubles were susteyned partely for her sake, he was hade in greater favore, and in place to have benne advanced to great honore and credet, yf he hade benne as redye to have receved as she wyllynge to have geven ; but as the comōnd proverbe is, “he that will not open the bagge when the pygge is offred, muste needes goo without yt,” neverthelesse, the Queene consydered hyme very lyberally, and gave hime verye goode thinges, and w^{ch} were as lyberally, yf not wastfullye counsumed. He laye, for the moste parte, in the beginnyng of her raigne, at Loundon, and in the secounde yere of her Ma^{tes} raigne, the Scottes were verye earnest suetores to her for her ayde agaynste the Frenchmen, who then made suche repayre into Scotlande as thoughe the whole govermente shoulde reste upon theire dyrection : where upon she sente the Duke of Northfolke thether and the Loorde Graye wth an armye, but theyse tooe noble men dyd some what jarre th’one withe th’other, whereof she beinge advertysed, did forthwith sende Sir Peter Carewe thether, both to knowe the causes, as also to certyfie her, and in the meane tyme, to compounde the varyaunce yf he mighte. At his commynge unto theyse noble men, and havinge advertysed unto theyme his message, dyd lykwyse advertyse backe agayne to her highnes his awnswere, and the state of all thinges as it stode theire, and where of he hime selve, all be it a bade skryvener, was his owen secretarye, he fearinge and not durstinge to comyte the same to anye other persone. Whyles he remayned there, in the campe, there was a peece of service to be donne, and the same by meanes of the jarre betwyne theyse tooe noble men lyke to be dysorderly donne, where upon the sayd Sir Peter toke the matter in hande, and dyd forthwth so skylfullye and speedely set the arnye in battell arraye as dyd further the service, appease the quyettnes, and purchase great credyt and the commendacon of a skylfull warryer. When he hade donne, and performed the message and service w^{ch} was comaunded and enjoyned hyme, he retourned backe to the courte, and was commended with thanckes by the Quene for his good servyce, and she, beinge somewhat pleasante wth hime, thanked

hime for his letters of his owen pennyng, commendinge hime to be a very good seecretarye, for in deede he wrote theym with noe more payne than she hade labour to reede theme : for as he spent a night in wrytinge, soe she spent a whole daye in readinge. After this he gave over London, and came to his howse at Mohonese Oterye, where, and at other places in Devon, he spent his tyme to his greate credytt with her and wth the whole cuntrye, savinge her highnes semed to counceve some unkyndnes agaynste hime, because, at the Parliamente hoolden in the firste yeare of her raigne, he was thoughte to favor the byll put in, concerninge the mocion for her mariege, as also because he refused to be one of the Parliament Howse in the 13th yeare of her raigne, when, as she sayde, he myghte have donne her some good service. Neverthelesse, it pleased her to use his service as occasion served ; and when the Duke of Northfolke was to be arraygned at Westminster Halle, he was made the chef officer for that tyme, and counstable of the Tower, bothe to bringe hime and to carry hime backe agayne from the Tower to Westminster.

It was not lounge after but that he retourned home in to his cuntrye of Devon, and theare rested himeselve, attendinge suche affayres for the coniond wealthe as the tyme required ; and beinge nowe at some leasure, he be thoughte hime self of suche landes as he was perswaded that he shoulde have by inheritaunce within the realme of Irelande, and althoughte he had soundrye wrytinges of evydences for the same, yet they beinge olde, and he unlearned, he coulde neither reede theyme hyme self, nor was acquented with anye who coulde and woulde sufficiently instructe hyme ; and havinge countynewall speches thereof unto his frendes and acquentaunce, bemonyng, as it were, the wante of some experte and skylfull mann to instructe hime, it was at lenghte advertised unto hyme, that the writer hereof, beinge to hime then unaquented, was a man greatlye geven to seeke and serche old records and auneyente wrytinges, and was verye skylfull in reedinge of theyme, and that he was beste hable of anye in the cetie of Excester to doe hime pleasure in this behalf. Sir Peter, beinge very earnest and desyrouse to have his humore to be satisfied, seeketh meanes of acquentaunce with hime, and haveinge obteyned the same, he dyd forthwith shewe and imparte unto hyme too or three olde wrytinges of evydens concernynge the sayde his landes, and

of w^{ch} one was verye olde, and hade benne trodden under the feete, and by that meanes the letters were all mooste worn out ; neverthelesse, this man dyd reed them and declare the effecte of theme unto hym, w^{ch} he dyd lyke soe well, that then he commytted unto hime the viewe and serche of all his evydences, of w^{ch} he sorted and chose out soe manye as he thoughte did apperteynyng to this matter, and all theyse he wrote out into a feare boocke, and there of, as also out of his other evidences, he drewe out his pedegree and dyscent ; and then Sir Peter Carewe, beinge satisfied of his tytle, and instructed of his righte, dyd, by the advyse of this wryter, make his repayre to her highnes and to the counsell, layeing before theme and gevinge theme to understande whate tytle and ryghte he had to sundrye peeces of landes in the realme of Irelande, mooste humbly requestinge that he mighte have the lybertie to travell over into that realme for the recoverye there of. Her Matie and counsell seemed to be glad there of, and dyd not onely graunte his requeste, but also sente their severall letters to the Loord Deputie of that realme, and to all her offecers for his furtheraunce and healpe therein. When he had obteyned all these thinges accordinge to his owne mynde, he commethe downe into the countrie, sendeth for this writer, and imparteth unto hime the whole successe of his journeye, and then conferreth with hime what were beste to be donne. At lenghte, upon advyse and conference betwyne theime, it was concluded that some one should be firste sente over to learne and understande howe the same, and in what case the righte of the matter was their, and whether anye attincture, statute, or alyenacion were made by anye of the auncesters of this gentleman, by w^{ch} his ryghte were extincte. And there beinge none whoe woulde, or whoe was meete to take this matter upon hime, then he intreated with this writer to doe it, who, notwithstandinge that he was verye lothe, yet at lenght he yelded there unto ; and forthwith he toke shippinge at Illfercombe, beinge then the begynnyng of Maye, and arryved to Waterforde, and frome thense, takinge his journeye to wardes Dublyne, he passed through the countrie of Odrone, w^{ch} was a baronye and percell of the inheretaunce of the sayd Sir Peter's, and sundrye of whose auncesters had benne Barones of the same.

At his commyng to Dublyne, and as soon as he had presented his letters to Mr. Robarte Westen, then Lorde Chaunceler, and to Sir William Fitz

William, Knighte, they tooe beinge then Lordes Justices in the absence of Sir Henrye Sydaneye, Lord Deputye, and lykewyse his letters to the Mr. of the Rolls, he had the lybertie to have accesse, and to make his repayre to all suche recordes as were withe in the Castle of Dublyn, and in serche of w^{ch} he spent a fewe wekes, fyndynge manye recordes to meanteyne and justifie the tytle w^{ch} Sir Peter Carewe hade to sundrye seigniories and peces of landes, as well in the province of Leynster, where the baronye of Odron lyeth, as also in the province of Mounster, in w^{ch} he had greate seignyories, and where his auncesters were some tymes Marquesses, and in the province of Meth, in w^{ch} are the Lordshippes of Dewlycke and of Maston Twete, some tymes named Baly mar lethan; and sundrye othere partyculer peces lyeinge there aboutes. But as for anye atteyndures, statutes of absences, or anye alienacion or dyscontynuaunce, there appeared none in all the recordes. When he sawe all thinges to frame soe well, and that nothinge coulede be founde to prejudice or impeache his tytle, but onely perscription, w^{ch} in that lande holdeth not, he sendeth forthwith his letters of advertysemente unto Sir Peter Carewe, who, not lytle rejoyssinge there of, imbarkeeth hime selfe at Ilfercombe, in the begynnynge of Auguste, 1568, and arryveth at Waterforde, where he stayed untill he hadd sente for the auther hereof, who then laye in the baronye of Odron, at the howse of one Henry Davells, Esquire, and borne in Devon, who forthwith repayed unto hyme. Assone as it was knowne that he was thus arryved, there resorted also unto hime Thomas Stukeley, Esquire, the Counstable of Leighlyn, and Seneschell of Wexforde, and the fore sayd Henry Davells, and congratulatinge his commynge, they provyded horses for hime and all his companye; and conducted hime firste to Leighlynge, where he had very lyberall and honorable interteynemente of Master Stukely, and thether resorted unto hime sundrye of the chef of Kevenaughes, who then were occupiers of the baronye, and shewed unto theyme that he was their lorde, and that he was come to make clayme, and to recover the same, his baronye: w^{ch} speches were not soe harde unto theyme, but they more hardly dygested them. From thense (he havinge their made an entry upon the baronye,) the sayde gentlemen counducted hyme to Dublyn, where he remayned untill All halowtyde wthout doeing of anye thinge, because as then Sir Henry, then Lorde Deputie was

not yet come out of Englande. Duringe his abydinge theire, he laye at a howse named S^{te} Mary Abby, where he kepte a verye lyberall and a bountyfull howse, and greate resorte daylie was unto hime, for w^{ch} he was had in greate admiracion ; but noe thinge was soe straunge, as that he was come to make tytle, and cleayme for suche greate landes as was thoughte woulde never have benne claymed ; for all be it they knewe all, that the Carewes, whome they name in theire tonge Garoues, were great possessors and noblemen in that lande, and that there were many as yet remaynyng in mooste parte of the realme of the same name and famylie, yet they lytle thought that, the name havinge beinge all mooste extyncte certeyne hundrethes of yeares, anye was lefte one lyve, or remeyninge, to whom the inheritaunce of the same shoulde descende unto ; butt beinge knowen that he was the mann who of righte ought to have it, they coulde but marvell at it, and yet confesse his righte. It happened that one a tyme as he was rydinge one his feete clothe throughe the streetes in Dublyn, an olde gentlewoman satt at her dore as he passed by, and talkinge with one of her neighbours, sayeth, “ you have harde that it is an olde sayeing, that a deade man should ryse agayne, and loe ! ” sayeth she, poyntinge her hande to Sir Peter, “ younder he is ; for his ancesters were great Lordes, and had greate possessions in this realme ; but, havinge not benne harde of these 200 or 300 yeares, it was thoughte they hadd benne all dedd, and none lefte one lyve to clayme the same ; but nowe this man is rysen as itt were frome deathe and awaketh, and myndeth to sturre theyme out theire nestes, w^{ch} thought to lye all at their restes.” And this was not onely her talke ; but it was also the comon skealte and speache throught the whole lande, and the mooste parte generally were gladd, and rejoyced that soe noble, so worthy, lyberall, and valyant a gentleman, and some tymes of theire owen nacion, was come to dwell agayne a mongest theyme. Whyles he laye at leasure at Dublyn, he bethought hime selve, whether it were better to begynne in the suete for his barony of Odrone, or with Sir Chrestopher Chyvers for his lordshipe of Maston : for as concerninge his clayme to the greate seignyories in Mounster, the same beinge of a greate weighte and importaunce, it was not yet to be dealed with. At lenght, he sendeth for Sir Chrestopher Chyvers, who dwelled at Maston, about 15 or 16 myles from Dublyne, and within

the Englishe pale, and advertiseth hime that the howse and landes w^{ch} the sayd Chrestopher then held was not his, but the sayd Sir Peter's, and that he hade good chartes to shewe for the same, and was therefore come to make clayme theireunto. Sir Chrestopher at this mocion was astoned; and allbeit it tooched hime neere the quicke, yet beinge very courteouslye intreated and interteyned by Sir Peter, he thanked hime for it, and requested a tyme of respecte to geve his awnswere, w^{ch} in the ende was, that he would not departe from it otherwise then as by lawe the same should be recovered. Upon this awnswere, Sir Peter was resolved to begynne with hime, because he was a gentleman of good contaunce and wealth, and well ayded, especially with lawers sayeing, he woulde begynne with the beste, and yf he dyd prevayle agaynste hime, then the resydewe woulde the sonner yeld; but, before this awnswere, he was perswaded to have begonne his seute agaynste the Kevenaughes for the baronye of Odrone, because the same was of his auncient inheritaunce, a greate terrytorie or countrie, and w^{ch} caried the tytyle of honor. Sir Christopher Chyvers percevinge that he shoulde be called unto the lawe, dothe soe imparte his case unto the lawers that there was not a lawer within that lande of anye countenaunce w^{ch} woulde be in counsell with Sir Peter Carewe, savinge one John Synnet of the towne of Wæxfforde, in the provynce of Lyenster; wherefore he sente forth with into Englande for one Mr. William Periam, an utter baryster of the Myddle Temple, and borne in the cetie of Excester, who beinge come over, they framed a bylle agaynste Sir Christopher Chyvers, and exhibited the same agaynste hime before the Lord Deputie and Counsell, and forthwith a precept was sente unto hime for his apparaunce, and at the daye apoynted he with his eight counsellers appered, but they refused to awnswere the bill, because they sayde first, *that* Courte was noe ordinarye Courte for tryall of landes, and therefore the Lorde Deputie and Counsell were noe competente judges; secondarely, that noe persone shoulde be impled for anye landes but by the order and course of the comon lawe, and not otherwyse; 3, and lastely, that the common lawe beinge everye manne's inheritaunce, noe man ought to be abrydged there of; and to this the tooe Cheefe Justyces did consente; but Mr. Periam repleyng, awnswere, — firste, that the Queenes M^{tie}, by her perogatyve, myghte and dyd use to call before her all matters

what soe ever dependinge in anye courte ; secoundarelye, that everye manne, beinge driven to an extremitie, or wantinge juste tryall, maye brynge his cause before her Mat^{ie}, eithere in the Chauncerie, or before the Counsell ; lastelye, that there were sundrye presydenes to be shewed howe in the licke causes before this the lycke matters had benne decyded there in that lande before the Lord Deputie and Counsell. But this awnswere not suffysinge, and they styll denyeing the auctoritie of that Courte, the Queenes prerogatyve was called in question, and there upon the tooe justices and the Queen's learned counsell were comaunded by a daye to advertyse to the Lorde Deputie whether he mighte proceade to hyer and determen anye suche matters, who accordinglye takinge advyse with the learned men, and perusinge their boockes, gave a resolute awnswere that forasmiche as Sir Peter Carewe for sundrye causes coulde not have his juste tryall at the common lawe, that therefore his matter was determynable before the Lorde Deputie and counsell : upon w^{ch} there determynacion Sir Christopher Chyvers was commaunded and hade a daye to put in his awnswere to the byll exhibeted agaynste hym, w^{ch} he dyd, and then seeinge that he was abyrdged from all such dylatories as his counsell learned were mynded, and mighte have used at the common lawe, and fyndinge also that Sir Peter had suche good and substaunciall chartes to shewe, as w^{ch} they coulde not avoyde, they make request the matter might be ended by compromise, where unto Sir Peter would never yelde, untill Sir Christopher hime selfe dyd in most humble sorte pray and desyre the same, alledginge the undoinge of hime selfe, his wyffe, and children, yf the lande shoulde be evicted of hime. Sir Peter beeing overcome wth his requestes, and partely pytieinge the state of the Knyghte, was contented, and yn the ende y^e arbytrators fyndinge that Sir Christopher had nothinge to shewe for his tytle, but onely a lease for some parcell of the lande whereof were a hundreth yeares then to come, they sett a pryce betwyne theyme, w^{ch} allbeit it were noethinge in respecte of the valewe of the lande, yet a greate deale more then was for Sir Christopher's ease to paye, wherefore submittinge hime self wholly to Sir Peter's devocion, he soe intreated with hime, and by intretie soe preveyled with him, that in the ende he hade the whole lande realeased unto hime allmooste for noethinge, savinge a drynkinge nutte of sylver, worth about twentie

pounds, and three or foure horsse worth about 30^{li}. Sir Peter Carewe himeselve makinge more accompte of the requeste and that he hade made hym to confesse before the Lord Deputie and Counsell, and the chefe of the realme then present, that he hade noe tittle to the lande, then he dyd for the valewe of the lande, thoughe it were a sufficiente lyvinge for a right worshipfull mann. This matter thus ended, he followeth his suete agaynst the Kevenaughes, agaynste whom he had exhibited his byll, and they awnswered to the same, and in the'nd judgmente was geven for hime agaynste theyme, and by a decree of the Lorde Deputie and Counsell he pronounced to be the righte Loord of the barony of Odrone, as of his lawfull and auneynt inherytaunce; and before the feaste of Chrystemas he was in full possession of the same, by a warraunte dyrected from the Lorde Deputie and Counsell to Henrye Davells, Esquyre, then Shiriff of the countrie of Catherloghe. Immediatlye, or not longe after, Thomas Stukelye was dyschardged of the coustodie and garrison of Leighlyn, and Sir Peter Carewe apoynted to the same by a commyssion from the Lorde Deputie bearinge date the 27th of February, 1578.

All these thinges thus beinge compassed, Sir Peter Carewe toke his leave of the Lord Deputie and Counsell, and departed to Leighlyn. At his comynge thether and beinge there he endeavored hime selve to doe all thinges as myghte be done upe rightelye without repperch, and wherein he was noted specially in three thinges; the firste was for his howse-kepinge and hospitalitie, w^{ch} was soe lyberall and bountyfull as none lycke unto hime in that countrie; the secounde was for his govermente, w^{ch} was donne with suche equitie and uperightnes as none coulde or dyd complayne of hime, that either for favor, affection, or displeasure he dyd or woulde denye to execute justice and trewe judgmente; and by that meanes he broughte that countrie to suche a quiet state, as that it was rydd from all oppressours, kernes, and other lose people, w^{ch} lyved upon the spoyle and rapen of others. Thirdly, he soe courtuoslye dealed, and soe frendly interteyned his tenaunts, the Kevenaughes, and soe lyberally bestowed upon them, that albeit it were some greeffe unto theyme to be dyspossessed of the possessions w^{ch} one lounge tyme they had helde and enjoyed; yet they moste gladly served hime and became to be his tenauntes, and toke of hime suche poorcions of landes by wrytinge as pleased

hime to devyse unto theyme, yeldinge suche rentes, dewties, and services as it playseed hime to reserve; and then also he erected certeyne courtes barone in sundrye places within his baronye, for meantenaunce of peace and quyetnes emonge them, accordinge to the lawes and usages of Englande, w^{ch} to them before that tyme was not knowen, and by these meanes his name and fame soe increased that the moste parte of the people thought theme selves moste happie that soe good a man was come emongest theme; neverthelesse some there were who lovinge and beinge accustomed to reepe what other men doe sowe, and spende what other men do geyte, coulde not abyde the neighbourhode, nor licke the dwellinge so nere suche a worthy man, and therefore they, beinge gorged with envye, coulde not abyde hime nor licke of hyme; but in secreet manner practysed and devysed the dyscredyting of hime, w^{ch} when they coulde not compasse, they imagyned his destruction. For one a tyme he beinge to come from Dublyne towardes Leighlynge, and beinge come to a place called Blacke Raghey, it was advertysed hyme that there were certeyne horsemen and there kernes w^{ch} laye at Bolton Hyll in an ambushe, to intrappe hime as he shoulde passe that waye. This Bolten hyll is a place not farre frome Tresselderment w^{ch} lyethe south from it, and not farre from a howse of the Errell of Kyldare's called Kyllmanyne, w^{ch} lyeth one the weste syde thereof, in y^e vallye betwyne it and the River of the Barrowe, and one whiche hill lyeth the highe waye from Dublyn to Leighlynge, and upon w^{ch} a man maye escrye afarre of. Sir Peter Carewe understaundinge by his espyalls that the advertismente was trewe, he turned downe towardes the Ryver of Barrowe and passeth by the howse of Kyllmanyne aforesayde unto Carloughe, levinge Bolden hyll upon his lefte hande, and soe escapeth his enymies for that tyme. Sundrye suche conspiracies hade benne and daylye were contrived agaynste hime, and for noe other cause but because he dyd not onely abolishe in his owen countrye, but also inveighed agaynste the wicked and detestable usages of the Irysherye, in conye and lyverye, in cessheries and cesses, and suche other Ireshe customes, the same beinge but the spoylinge of the honeste subgetes and trewelaborer, and the meantenaunce of theeffes, murders, and all lose and dysordred people. The cheffeste and greatest adversarie that he hade was supposed to be Sir Edmonde Butler, brother to the Errell of Ormonde. He pretended and alledged that Sir Peter

dyd make chalenge to some parcell of his lande w^{ch} he helde, and was geven unto him by the Erelle, his ffathere. Trewe it is, that in the Dulleghe, beinge a parcell of the baronye of Odrone, and lyeinge one y^e weste of the Barrowe, this Sir Edmonde Butler had a porcion of lande called Cloghgrenam, w^{ch} his father, James Erle of Ormonde, had taken from one Mereghe Geyre Kevenaghe, and havinge expulsed hime dyd geve the same to his sonne Sir Edmonde; but his conveaunce beinge nothings in lawe, nor sufficient to cutt of or to barre the tittle of Sir Peter, who had recovered his whole baronye agaynste the Kevenaghys, yet neverthelesse havinge sundrye conferences with Sir Edmonde here in, dyd counclude with hime, that, thoughe he supposed his tittle to be good and sufficiente, yet for the honor he dyd beare unto the Erle, and the good will w^{ch} he dyd beare unto the sayde Sir Edmonde, he woulde neither dyspossesse nor troble hime at all, untyll such tyme as both theire tytles were opened and dyscovered to the Erle, and then yf it dyd appere that the tittle of Sir Edmonde were good and sufficiente, he shoulde quietly enjoye the same; but, one the contrarye, yf the righte laye in hime, the sayd Sir Peter, yet he would deale soe well, soe frendly, and soe licke a gentleman wth hime, y^t bothe he and the Erell his brothere shoulde well lycke of; yet neverthelesse Sir Edmonde, whose bente was an othere waye, coulde not broocke Sir Peter, digeste his manners, nor allowe of his offeres, but as one maligninge at his good successe and envieinge his govermente, did what he coulde to supplante hime, as it dyd appere, manye wayes, whereof theise tooe examples are sayde to be verye trewe. It happened that Sir Peter Carewe beinge one a time at Waterforde, and returninge home he was to come throughte a towne named Thomastowne, and before he was come to the towne he had ascryed a certeyne companye of horsemen lyeinge at the farthere ende of the towne, not farre frome the waye throughe w^{ch} he was to passe, where upon he commaunded all his men to prepare theme selves in a redynes to withstande the enymyes, yf they shoulde assayle theme, and soe, leavinge the towne, roade in the open feeldes. Sir Edmonde Butler, percevinge the bente of Sir Peter Carewe and of his men, departethe awaye, and gate hime to the woode syde not farre frome thense, and soe Sir Peter passed by without anye further offer made. At one other tyme Sir Peter Carewe beinge at Dublyn, and havinge stayed theire about 10th or 12th dayes, he sendeth one

of his men a daye before hyme to Leighlynge to advertyse of his comynge. In the meane whyle Sir Edmond Butler had a conference withe certeyne Englishe men, and they not brookinge Sir Peter Carewe, because he soughte that generall reformacion, as w^{ch} if it might take effecte a greate parte of their gayne wold be cutt of, dyd counspire wth Sir Edmonde agaynste Sir Peter ; and beinge advertised what daye and tyme Sir Peter was apoynted to retourne from Dublyn, dyd lye theym selfs in an ambushe by the waye where he shoulde passe to entrappe hime, and myndinge verelye yf he dyd come to make an ende of hyme. Sir Peter Carewe lytle knewe here of, and yet neverthesse beinge stayed at Dublyn upon other occasions, he came not out of Dublyn the daye w^{ch} he apoynted : whereupon they mystrustinge that eithere he shoulde be advertysed of this counspiracy, or distrustinge their owen shadowes, returned home and gave over that attempte. And yt was not lounge after but that they fallinge at debate and varyaunce emonge theme selves, some one of them dysclosed and advertysed the matters unto Sir Peter, whoe, all be yt he chalenged them verye deepelye, and proved the matter before theyme, yet in the ende, as well for the compoundinge of the variaunces growen by this dyscoverie, and partlye moved with the shame w^{ch} some of theyme had conceived of ther folyes, he was more redy to forgeve then hastie to revenge. And surelye some of theme soe bethoughte them selves of their folyes, that they never after were or woulde be offensyve unto hime. Not lounge after this ensewed the rebellion named the Butler's warres, the cheffe and pryncipall guyde whereof was Sir Edmonde Butler, the iiith sonne of James late Erle of Ormonde, and brother to Thomas nowe Erle of Ormonde, whoe lytle accomptinge that he was an Irelandeman, and descended of an honorable parentage, was enterred into suche a follie or rather a phrenysie, that he became not onely a meare Irysheman, but also an Irishe kerne in aparell, behaviour, and all other salvage manners of Irisherye, and beinge all together caryed and ledd by theme, he ranged and spoyled the whole countries wth sworde, fyer, and all hostilitie : his colloured excuse and false pretense was because Sir Peter Carewe dyd make clayme to some parte of his lande, w^{ch} if yt hade benne soe yet noe sufficiente cause of rebellyon : but trewe it is a generall conspiracie was made and hadd benne a workinge a lounge tyme, to have prevented and withstanded the generall reformacion, w^{ch} was supposed shoulde have benne stablyshed

throughe out the whole lande, for the suppressinge and reformynge of the lose, barberose, and moste wicked lyffe of that salvage nation, w^h rather then they would yeld unto, they woulde wth the Lacedemonyans strike out one of Lycurgus eyes, and put the Queene's maties crowne and dignitie in perell; neverthelesse, the matter beinge attempted, they proceade therein, w^{ch} had the worse successe because the serpent of this devisiion had hatched her egges this treason out of season, and before her tyme. For as it fell out the confederattes of this rebellyon kepte not teouche. The warres beinge thus begonne, and the Lorde Deputie ther of advertysed, he used all the good meanes and wayes he might to dysswarde and to revoke Sir Edmonde from this wicked attempte; but when neither courtesye, letters, nor frendly perswacions coulde prevayle, then by open proclamacion he denounced bothe hime and all his associates to be traitors, oneles by a daye they dyd come in and yelde theym selves; and when this notwithstandinge they dyd persiste in this hostilitie, then the Lorde Deputie meaninge with force to subdewe theyme prepareth for an hostinge, and in the meane tyme sendethe 3 or 4 ensignes of soylders unto Sir Peter Carewe, beinge then at Leighlyn, under the counducte of Humferye Gylbert, esquire, Nycholas Malby, esquire, both w^{ch} are sithence dubbed knyghtes, and Capteyne Bassenet, wth others, who beinge all come to Leighlyn, and Sir Peter beinge apoynted the generall, dyd wth ther counsente send one unto Cloghe Grennam castle, w^{ch} is about iii myles from thense, to sommon the same; but Sir Edmonde beinge thense departed and leavinge it well fortyfied, gave theym in commaundmente yt they shoulde not in anye wyse yelde the same to anye man, and they accordinglye havinge geven that awnswere to the messenger, he returned therewith to the Castle of Leighlyng, where upon it was agreed that they shoulde all marche thether to lay seege theire unto. But Sir Peter used these tooe pollycies: the one was this: the castle of Cloghe Grennam is foure square and but lytle, as are the manners of the Castels in that land, and all suche lightes or wyndowes as were therein, they were stopped; onely in every quarter certen small loopes were lefte of theyme to shoot out wth ther calyvers, w^{ch} Sir Peter percevinge, dyd soe place his calyvers, that manye of his men were apoynted to wache, a fewe of theyme to everye one of those loopes, and by that meanes they soe dagged

at these loopes, that sundrye of theyme wthin were slayne, and none lefte whoe woulde, or durste to peepe and adventure anye more shootinge out. Then he caused sundrye menne, wth hurdells upon ther backes, to drawe neere to the walles, where they beganne to undermyne the castle; w^{ch} they with in percevinge, desired they mighte come out and talke with the generall, w^{ch} beinge graunted, he came forth, but concludinge noe matter, as he was goinge into the castle doore, and havinge made faste the inner dore, would have drawn the chayne of the outwarde dore, w^{ch}, as the manner of that countrye is, was all of iron; but one Baker, a soylder, dyd soe neere and shorte folowe hym, that before that he coulde drawe the utter doore, he had hurled a greate blocke betwyne the tooe dores, and soe they coulde not be closed, and by that meanes they made entrey into the castle and recovered yt. The spoyle where of was geven unto the soylders, and the custodie comytted unto Sir Peter, with the terryterie to the same apperteyninge, to the use of the Queene. After this, they havinge intelligence that Sir Edmonde was in the countrie of Kylkennye, and at or not farre frome the towne of Kylkennye, they marched unto that towne, w^{ch} towne beinge the Erle of Ormond's, the people were all affected and bente to the Butlers, and dyd leane towards theyme as miche as they mighte; but notwithstandinge, because theyse gentlemen came in the behalfe of the Queene, and for the suppressinge of suche as were both rebels and proclaymed traytores, they were admitted and receved into the towne, and their lodged. Duringe their beinge there, they were advertysed by ther skowtes and espyalles, that all, or the mooste parte, of the Gallowe-glasses of Sir Edmonde Buttler's, laye in a certeyne place aboute 2 or 3 myles frome out of Kylkennye; whereupon Sir Peter, assemblinge all his capteynes and companie, concluded to issue out and to geve the onesett upon theyme. And because they woulde not be escryed, they, by order, lefte all ther horse boyes behynde theyme, and beinge come wthin the viewe and sighte of theme, he then sett eche mann in his place and arraye, and gave the onesett upon theyme. Henry Davells beinge one of the firste that gave the entrey, and everye one of the gentlemen myndinge to shewe their goode willes in that service, dyd verye valyantlye acquitt theyme selves, and gave an utter overthrowe unto the enymyes, beinge in number aboute ii^c, fewe

or none of theym beinge escaped unkyllled. Sir Peter Carewe hyme selve hade with hyme a case of excellent snaphanuses, and at the firste entrey dyschardginge the one of theyme, hurled the same unto another, and overthrewe hime; the lycke he dyd with thother, of the w^{ch} he afterwarde had one agayne, and then drawen his sworde, dyd shewe that valyantnes, as everie one did geve hyme the commendacion, both for his experyence and wysdome in dyrectinge, and for his valyantnes in servinge. When the fighte was ended and the enymyes overthrowen, everye man toke a gallowe-glasse axe of theires who were slayne, and caryed wth theyme into the towne in signe of victorie. This overthrowe was not soe joyefull to the conquerors, but miche more grevose and dolefull unto Sir Edmonde Butler and to his adherentes, for in theyse did consiste his cheffeste hope and force. Neverthelesse, soe farre was the humor of rebellyon entred into him, that he was rathere hardened then broken to countynewe in his folye. Wherupon the Lorde Deputie folowed his hostinge, and journeyed throughte out the whole cuntrye and province of Lyemstre, Sir Edmonde beinge manye tymes within a myle or tooe of him, and makinge many braggies, but in the ende he was driven to geve over, and to crave *misericordiam*.

Sir Peter Carewe, whylest he was in Kylkennye, was in great perell to have benne murdred by a servant of the Erle of Ormond's, who, percevinge that Sir Peter dyd commonlye walke everye daye in the Erles garden nexte adjoynynge to his castle, provided a calyver, and beinge chardged, he watched in a wyndowe in the howse for Sir Peter's cominge; and havinge espied him standinge in the allye, wolde have dyschardged his pece, but it woulde not take fier. The nexte daye he dyd the lycke agayne, and lykewise the powder woulde not take fire; and beinge not yet satisfied, he woulde have donne the same agayne the thirde tyme; and it happened the Deane of Cashyll, who was chapleyne and stwerde to the Erle, was present, and percevinge that he was levellinge his pece to have dyschardged the same upon Sir Peter, was offended therewith, and strake the pece asyde, and therwth the matche gave fier, and the pece dyschardged. Sir Peter understandinge of that treacherye, mooste hartelye thancked God for his delyverye, and albeit this wronge tooched hime verye neere, yet he more redelye forgave the enymye then was hastie to revenge the injurie. And thus, by Godes providence, he was

myracoloselye preserved. After this service ended, Sir Peter returneth to his howse at Leighlynge, whose name and fame, for his nobilytie in everye respecte was soe spreede, that the gentlemen whoe dwelled in Monster, and who dyde holde theyre landes of his auncesters, ded sende their severall letters unto hime, wryten bothe in Iriche and Englishe, as namely the Lorde Courcye, the Lorde Barrye Og, the Mohones, the Mackeswynes, the Odryscoles, and the Odalyes, with others, requestinge that he woulde come to the cetie of Corke, and there they woulde resorte and come unto hyme and yelde theym selves, and become his tenauntes, for all suche landes as they helde, and whereof he was their lawfull & ryghtfull Lorde, and woulde also geve unto hyme those rentes and services as their predecessors dyd and were wonte to paye and yelde to his auncestors. Sir Peter Carewe, havinge perused these letters and well considered of theyme, dyd accepte their offers, and because he hadd not as yet obteygned that lybertie of her Ma^{tie} to deale in soe weightie a matter, gave the messengers verye good interteynemente, and promysed that assone as he myght convenyentlye, he would satysfie their requestes. Not longe after this, Sir Peter came over into Englande, and after a lytle staye made at Mohonese Otre, he repayed to the Courte, myndinge to be a suetor for leave to prosecute his suete for the recoverie of his lande and tytle in Mounster, but presentinge hime selfe before her Hightnes, founde not her countenance soe favorable unto hyme; for that she, upon advertysment made unto her, dyd conceive, and also chardge hyme, that he shoulde be the cause and occasion of the Butlers warres and rebellyon; and therefore he durste not to enter into his suete untill she were perswaded and resolved of the truthe, w^{ch} thinge in tyme he compassed, and then he made his suete, and w^{ch} at lenghte in some sorte he obteygned, and had her letters, and the counsells letters unto Sir William Fitzwilliams, then Lord Deputie, and to the Counsell there, to this effecte,—that they should consider of his tytle, and upon the apperaunce of the same in justice, they should deale with the parties whoe helde the said landes, by perswacions, to come to some composicions, soe as all tryall of lawe mighte be avoyded; w^{ch} thinge, if they could not soe bringe to passe, that then they shoulde forebeare untill her further pleasure knowen. These letters were forthwth commended to the writer hereof, and he put in truste to

folowe the suete theire in : but at his comynge over, the warres or rebellyon of James Fytzmorys, in Mounster, were but then ended, and the contrie theire not fully settled, by reason whereof the Lord Deputie and Counsell, folowinge the advyse of Sir John Perrot, then Lorde Presydent of Mounster, considering the matter to be weightie and of great impertaunce, and w^{ch} tooched the mooste parte of the noble menn and gentlemen in that province of theire lyveleghodes and possessions, thought it not good in anye wise to deale or intermedle theirewth, and to that effecte dyd retourne ther letters of awnswere to her Highnes and counsell, and soe this suete toke smale effecte.

The yeaere then nexte following, the Erell of Essex havinge a guyfte of her Highnes of the provynce of Ulster, and a commysson for the recoverie thereof, wente over into Irelande with a greate retynewe, and Sir Peter Carewe beinge one of his consortes, passed over with hime, where, when he hade remayned awhyle and considered the countynewall troubles, the dayely incountringes wth the enymyes, the excessyve expenses, and the doubtfull eventes, and for a soyle of lande, throughe fertile of it self, yet a salvage wylde and desolate countrie, and invyronned with deedlye enymyes, did thincke then of his owne estate, and how more necessarie it were for hyme to purchase the possession of his owne lawfull inheritaunce, beinge in the occupacon of suche gentlemen as who of theire owne ffree willes were countented to yelde the same into his handes, and to become his vassalls and tenauntes ; whereupon, assone as occasione served he toke his iournye towards Leighlyn, and from thense he sente his letters of earnest request into Englande to the wryter hereof, as also to the Ladye his wyffe, and to other his ffryndes, for the perswadinge of hyme to come and passe over unto Mounster, and theire to travell with the gentlemen his tenauntes for the counclundinge of his tytyle and ryghte emonge theyme. Who accord- inglie yeldinge to the same, toke his shippinge at Exmouthe for Corcke, but throughte foule and stormye weather, the shipp was dryven into the towne of Wexford, w^{ch} is aboute 15 myles from Leighlinge, where he landed, leavinge the ship, w^{ch} not longe after with foule wether was caste awaye both men and goodes, and then made his repayre unto Leighlynge, where, after he hadde conferred with Sir Peter Carewe, he, the said Sir Peter, gave over his howse wth the whole interteynem^{te} of the

garryson and chardge of the countrie unto his kynnesman Peter Carewe, and provided a howse at the towne of Rosse, where he determyned to remayne and lye untyll he did heyre from this his agente of his successe in Mounster. Immediatlie upon this conclusion, the sayd Sir Peter and this mann roade to Waterforde, and theire takinge his leave of Sir Peter, toke his joyrnye to-wardes Corcke, where, at his commynge, it happened the commysioners of that provynce then kepte sessyons, and by that meanes moste parte of the gentlemen of that countrie were theire, and then this agente havinge soe good a tyme and oportunitie offred, conferred wth theyme all. Who beinge perswaded that Sir Peter Carewe was determyned and mynded to come thether, and there to dwell emonge them yf they woulde yelde unto hyme his righte, seemed to be verye gladd and ioyfull thereof, and forthwth they all, namely, the Lorde Courcye, the Lorde Barrye og, Mac Artye rieghe, the Macke Swynes, the Mahones, the Odalyes, the Odryscoles, and sundrye otheres, dyd conclude with this agent in this manner: firste, that they woulde submyt theyme selves and theire landes wholly unto Sir Peter's devocion, and take the same at his handes for suche reasonable rentes as he shoulde assesse upon them, and for that w^{ch} was paste they woulde in recompense thereof geve hyme iii^M kyene or cowes, w^{ch} they accompted to be aboute one yeares rente of soe miche lande as they did holde over, and besydes the terrytories w^{ch} M^cArtye more, the Erle of Dessemonde, the L^d Fitzmorriss, the seneshall of Imokellye, the Lorde Barrye of Barrye more, Sir Gorman mac Teyge, and others dyd holde, w^{ch} farre exceded the reste; and these iii^M cowes, after a marcke a peece, amonteth to the valewe of iii^M marckes, and this to be payed unto hyme within three monethes, w^{ch} this his agent sayde shoulde be out of hande after his comynge, and dwellynge emonge theyme, and also that they frome tyme to tyme to furnishe hime w^t all kynde of vyttauls meett for his howse for his reasonable monye. When this agreement was thus concluded, and that yt was noysed throughte out the cetie of Corcke that Sir Peter Carewe woulde come and dwell in the countrie emonge theyme, the Erle of Dessemonde, the L^d Barry of Barrye more, the Lorde Roche, Sir Gorman mac Teyge, wth sundrie other gentlemen, whoe were then in the citie, hadd greate conference with this agente, and pretended great joye and myche gladnes that Sir Peter Carewe would come to

dwel emonge theme, and that they should have the neighborhede of soe good and noble a gentleman, promysinge that they woulde meete hyme by the waye at his commynge thethere wardes, and bydd hime well come to the countrie; and the Erle, extollinge hime verye myche, wrote his letters unto hyme to that effecte, requestinge that they myghte joyne in fryndshipp, and leve together as good fryndes, whereof he woulde be verye glade. Immediately this agente dyspatcheth awaye a messenger unto Sir Peter Carewe, with his letters advertysinge hime of the successe in his causses, whereof he rejoyced verye myche, and freighted forthwith a barke of one Andrewe Pyperdes for the transportinge of his howseholde stuf into Mounster, and returned the messanger to advertyse the same. This agent in the meane tyme, accordinge to the instructions geven unto hyme by Sir Peter Carewe, by th'advyse of Mr. Henrye Davells, provided one howse in Corcke, and then went from thense to Kensale, w^{ch} is x myles beyounde Corke, and there provideth one other, beinge newlye buylded after the Englishe manner by one William Gall, then sovereynge of the same towne; and havinge compounded with hyme for the same, he buyethe suger and spyces of a marchaunte of Bristoll, and seckes of a merchaunte of Excester, w^{ch} weare then in the haven of Corke, and by the helpe of the gentlemen of the country, accordinge to their promyses, he was at apoynte for beeffes and muttens, porkes, wheate, malte, and woode, and all other necessaryes for his howse, and soe there he stayed in that towne awaytinge daylye for the comyng of the sayde Sir Peter.

But God, whoe ys the dysposer and worker of all thinges, it was his pleasure to appoynte hyme to another journye; for when all thinges were in a redynes to be shipped, and he alsoe appoynted to take his journye, he fell sicke of an impostumacion in the bladder (w^{ch} was supposed to have growen upon hyme for wante of that ordynarye purgacion w^{ch} nature desyred), and this soe increased upon hyme that he was so extreame sicke that he laye for dead, and then of necessitye an incision was made upon hyme, and he by that meanes was somewhat eased, and yet percevinge that he could not endure nor countynewe, dyd sett his thinges in order, and caused a codycill to be made, and to be ennexed to his will. In his sykenes he shewed hyme selve what he was, for all thoughte the agonyes thereof were verye sharpe, and the paynes verye extreame, yet mooste constantly did abyde yt, and

moste pacientlye did accepte it, yeldinge hyme selve wholly to the good will and pleasure of the ever lyvinge God, before whome he poured out continually his prayers, and in prayeing did gaspe out his breathe, and yelde up his sprite. He was verye desirose to have spoken with the wryter hereof, and whome he wyllled to be sente for, but whether it were for neglectinge to sende one for hime in tyme, or for the slacknes of the messanger when he was sente y^t he came not spedylie, he came to late, Sir Peter beinge dead aboute tooe dayes before his comynge, for wante of whose beinge wth hyme he dyscovered not those secretes w^{ch} he was mynded to have put hime in truste wthall; as dyd appere by his often callinge and inquiringe for hime. This wryter, then, beinge come to a sorowefull howse and a mornefull companye, as he sawe the ende of a worthie and a noble gentleman, soe also he sawe the lyke of his lounge travells. And nowe their rested noethinge eles for hyme but to yelde these officies and dewties, to see his dere frende and an honorable gentleman to be honorably entered and buried. Wherefore his bodye beinge unbowelled and thoughtlye seared, he was then chested, and soe remayned, and kepte in the howse where he dyed frome the xxviith of November 1575, one w^{ch} daye he dyed, untill the 15th of December then next folowing, one w^{ch} daye he was by water caryed frome Rosse unto the cettie of Waterforde, and their buried, in all suche honorable order as to so honorable a personage dyd apperteyne; the Lord Deputie and Counsell of the realme, wth all his gentlemen and soylders attendinge upon hyme, and the mayer of the cetie, with all his brethren, and an infinite number of peopell being present theareat. The manner and solemnitie where of was as foloweth:—Foremoste wente all the soylders, namely, the calyvers and the peeke men by tooe and tooe, the mouthes of there peces and the sharpe endes of their peekes downewardes. Then the trumpeter, clothed in blacke, soundinge the deade sounde; after hyme one caried his banner, and then his men wente by tooe and tooe, all in blacke. Then folowed tooe carryeing his pynion and his standerd, and after theyme wente 4 gentlemen, whoe caryed his whole atcheuement, the first his helme and creste, the secounde his targett, the thirde his sworde, and the laste his coate of armes. After theyme was caried the corpes by 4 of his men, in blacke, garnyshed wth scogeons of his armes, and nexte to the same folowed

the mourners, and then the Lord Deputie wth the sworde before hime, and the Counsell, and the mayer and his brethren, and the resydewe of the companye. Assone as the corpes was broughte into the church it was placed in the myddle nexte before the pulpet, and all the foresayde ensignes placed arounde aboute the same, duringe the tyme of the sermon. After the same ended the corpes was caried in the lycke order to the grave, w^{ch} was one the southe syde of the chauncell nexte to the alter, and then all his attchement orderlye offered up to the Deane of the church, whoe then buryed the corpes. Assone as the earth beganne to be caste in, all the trumpeters, beinge 6 in nomber, sounded the whole tyme of the buryall, beinge allmoste the space of a quarter of an hower. Then as they hadd ended, the drummes strake up, and theirerewith all the soylers dyschardged ther peece 4 or fyve tymes together, wherewith the Church was soe full of smoke that one coulde scarce discerne another. Lastlye, a number of chambers, w^{ch} were in the church yearde, and all the greate ordynaunces in the towne, and yn the shippes in the ryver, and at the keye, were also dyschardged. All theyse thinges beinge performed, they returned all to the howse from w^{ch} they broughte the corpes in the lycke order as before they wente. The nexte daye his herse was sett up, beinge made after the forme of a felde bedd, covered wth blacke, and wth a lyste and rayle garnyshed wth scogeons and wth yelowe pynyons full of blacke lyons. And lastely, his whole attecheuement, with his standerd, pynion, and banner, were set up and hanged over his herse, theirer to contynewe for a memoryall of a right noble and a mooste worthie gentleman whoe lefte behynde hime manye testimonies of his synceritie in religione, of his truth to his prynce, faithe to his countrie, uprightness in conversacion, and juste dealinges with ech mane, and w^{ch} are worthie to be regestered in the boocke of fame. For as Sir Henry Sedney, the Lord Deputie, when he sawe his corpes putt into the grave, sayde, "Here lyeth nowe in his laste reste a mooste worthy and a noble gentle knyghte, whose faithe to his prynce was never yet stayned, his truth to his countrie never spotted, and his valyentnes in service never daunted. A better subjecte the prince never hade."

Thus, after my symple manner, and accordinge to suche instructions as have benne delyvered unto me, I have dyscovered and sett fourth the course of the

lyfe of this gentleman. Now it restethe that I doe declare and set downe his nature, coundicions, and dysposicion, wherein yf I shoulde write and sett downe as miche as was in hime, some, perhappes, woulde judge mee to speke more of affection then of truthe; and yet this miche I durste boldely to affyrme, that if the planetes have anye influences in the genesis and course of mannes lyfe, as the Genethliaci do seme to affirme, then certeynely it shoulde seeme that they dyd all consente and agree to power out of everye of their influences to the benefytte of this gentleman. For he was moste plentyfully endewed wth the gyftes w^{ch} nature yeldeth concernynge the bodye, and adorned plentyfullye wth such vertewes of the mynde as doe apperteyne and are incident unto a gentleman, without w^{ch} vertues there cane be no nobilitie, nor anye be a gentleman. For allbeit he were descended of a noble parentage, as well of his ffather's syde as of his mother's, th'one beinge of the aunciente lyne of the barones of Carewe, and the other of the noble howse of the Courteneyes, w^{ch} is a greате ornamente, and the firste degree of nobylitie; yet when verteue, the subsistence and grounde of nobylitie, fayelethe, the nobylitye also itself decayeth. Councernynge his bodye, he was of a meane stature, but verye well compacte, and somewhat broade, bigge boned, and strongly synewed; his face of a verye good countenaunce, his complexcion chelyryke, his heare blacke, and his bearde thicke and great. He was of good strenghte and agylitie, beinge apte and skylfull to all exercises as do belonge and apperteyneinge unto a gentleman. And as he wanted not these proportions w^{ch} nature commenly geveth to the bodye, soe was he adorned wth the vertewes of the mynde, w^{ch} are moste incedent to a gentellman, and without w^{ch} noe gentleman is to be accompted of, or to be reputed for a gentleman. And of these vertewes, because he hade dyverse and soundrye, I will reduce them all in to some pryncipall vertewes, namely, to justice, fortitude, prudence, temperaunce. Councerninge justice, w^{ch} is the mother of all vertewes, and the dyrecter of all mannes goode actions, whether youe meane of the justice towarde God, or towards man,—he was zelose in the one, and carefull in the other, an earnest promoter of Godes trewe religion, and a patrone to all godly preachers, in defense of whome he did oftentimes shewe him selve bothe stowte and hardye. For in the ende of Kynge Henrye the 8th raigne, and in the tyme of Kynge Edward the 6^{the}, when the gosple beganne to have his entrye, one

Mr. Symon Hayne, who was Deane of Excester, was miche maligned and envyed at, for his syncere and trewe preachynge of the gosple, and by his adversaries sundrie tymes accused and impeached for the same; but soe frendly and firmelye dyd this knyghte ayde and assyste hime, that lytle cold their malice prevayle agaynste hime. After hyme Mr. Alleighe, (who was after bishop,) beinge an earnest precher, and miche enveinge agaynste false doctryne, was soe dyspytfully dealed withall in the church that he durst not to adventure to come agayne into the pylpite; this knight then assumynge upon hyme to be his ayde and helpe, together wth his unkle Sir Gawen Carewe, guarded hyme, and brought hyme to the pulpet sundrie tymes, and their contenaunced and supported hyme agaynste all his adversaries; and althoughe he were not learned in the scriptures, yet such was his earnest storge and syncere affection to the furtheraunce of the gosple, that he was not onely a deere frend to all preachers, a great favorer of all protestantes, and moste godly affected to all good and godly men, but dyd also meanteyne a preacher of his owne to instructe his howse and famelie, and also to preache elles where in the countries rounde aboute hime; and this one thinge was noted of hime, that he woulde never sett downe to meate or meale, nor take his reste, but that he woulde geve allwayes thanckes unto God, and prayse his holy name. And yf it be trewe what S^{te} Augustyn sayeth, Seldome dyeth that man evell whoe hath lyved well, surely his death dyd reveale and utter his daylie lyfe and counversacion; for beinge sycke he yelded hyme self wholly to the good will and pleasure of Allmightie God. And percevinge that Lachesis had geven over her spynnyng, and y^t his ende drewe onnewardes, he dyd not onely sett all his thinges in order, but settinge also all cares asyde, he gave hyme selve whollye to prayer, lamentinge his synnes and cryeing for mercye, and soe in prayer he gasped out his breath and yelded up his sprite. And as towardes God he dyd observe this kinde of justice, soe did he the licke to the polytuyque goverment and to everie partyculer man: for he beinge a justice of the peace and of the quorum, and custos rotulorum in his countrie, dedicated hime self wholly to satisfie the credyte commytted unto hyme, and therefore wth all upe rightnes he woulde and dyd mynister to everie man accordinge to his deserte, punyshinge the evell, succoringe the oppressed, and favoringe the good; and soe precyse was he

herein, that noe corruption coulde take holde upon hime, nor anye effectiō seduce hyme, onely he was some tymes abused by suche as under simplicitie and smothe speches woulde bringe unto hime synester informaciones, and he, iudginge the beste, more hastiely credyted then tryed theyme. But when he ones had learned the treuth, he could not leightly brooke theyme anye more, nor shewe theyme his favor or countenaunce. And as for his pryvat delinges wth pryvat men, for as muche as the same consysteth cheefly in benefycence and liberalitie, their coulde not any man be more or better affected herein then he was, and whose dysposicion was suche that a man myghte saye he was boren to be fryndely to all men and lyberall to every man ; for his purse, his apparell, his horsses, or what soe ever he hadd, it was common to his frende and redye for every mann, and rather woulde lacke hime self then his frende shoulde wante : a countynewall gever he was, but never taker, havinge in mynde and in mouthe allwayes the sayeing of S^te Paule, “ It is better to geve than to take.” If a man shoulde partyculerlye dyscours the greates guyftes and leardge benefytted w^{ch} he in his tyme had bestowed, they shoulde not be soe infenye as straunge, onely it was to be lamented that he hade not respecte to the cautions whiche Cicero gave, that is, y^t noe man should geve to anye man whoe shoulde thereby be rather the worse than better, and that the lyberalytie shoulde be noe greater then the habilitie of the gever, and, lastly, to geve to eche man accordinge to his deserte, w^{ch} consideracions beinge not observed, their ensewe manye inconvenyences w^{ch} blemyshe soe noble a vertewe. Nexte unto this vertue of Justyce he was highly commended for his Fortytude as well for the mynde as of the bodye, for yf fortytude be a vertue w^{ch} subdeweth the mynde frome evell lustes, restreneth her from wrath and malyce, and makethe a conquiste over all wyckednes, and doe also indurate the bodye to abyde all labors, to susteyne all troubles, to shunne noe perelles, and to contenne dethe itself in good causes and for the common wealthe, then this worthie knyght wanted not his juste commendacion herein. For albeit he hadd his imperfections, yet was he not knowen to be wrapped in the dessolate nett of Venus, nor embrewed with the cuppe of Bacchus : he was not carryed with the blynde covetuosenes of Plutus, nor yet subjecte to malyce, envye, or any notoryese cryme, but hade a mynde free from all suche fowell vices and incumbrances. And as

concernynge the valyantnes of his bodye, there was not anye man lyghtly who could excell hime therein : for whether theire were any service to be donne at sea or at lande, at home or abroad, in tyme of warres or peace, he was one and the same man, alwayes moste readye and foreward therein, for noe paynes could dyscourage him, noe perrells dawnte hyme, noe feare quayle hyme, nor enemye appall hyme, but with the firste he woulde be foremoste, as sundrye examples are to be alleged hereof to his greate commendation and prayse. And surely he was noe more valyaunte but he was prudente, wyse, and circumspecte, as well in cyvell causses as in martiall affayres. For allbeit he were not learned, yett beinge verye perfecte in the Frenche tonge, and skillfull in the Italian, he was studiouse in all suche workes as were sett forthe in these tounes, or in the naturall speche of his countrie, and especially in sooche as dyd concerne the govermente of a comonwealth, or the teachinge of martyall affayres. If theire were anye question to be proponed, or anye argumeant to be dyscoursed, whethere it were in Geometrye or any of the mathematials, or in causes of pollyceis and govermente, or in the feates of martiall affayres, sharpe was his understandinge, pythey were his argumentes, and deepe was his judgements ; for w^{ch} he was had the more in admyracion, because the same came from a mynde not geven to vayne bragginge and folishe ostentation, but well affected, earnestlye bente, and moste desirouse to lerne, that he mighte understande, and in understandinge to performe in actions the effectes thereof. And w^{ch} in deed he did ; for bysydes his advise and counsell readye in all matters, suche was his skylle and experyence in martyall affayres that he could pytche a campe, martiall the felde, sett, arraye, and order the battell wth suche wisdom, dexteritie, and pollecie, as shoulde be to the beste advantage and safegarde of the armye and the moste annoyaunce of the enemye ; bysides the skylle he hade in dyrectinge the govermente, and knowledg what apperteyned to a generall, what to a capteyne, what to a soylde, and fynally to all other thinges incydente and apperteynyng to the course of warrs either at the seas or at the lande, it is apparant, and whereof in his lyffe tyme he gave and yelded manye proffes. And as councerninge Architecture, whether it were for the buyldinge of a howse, mouldinge of a shipp, devysinge of a forte, makinge of a platte forme, or for doinge of anye thinge what soe ever councerninge buyldinges,

his advyse was readye, and his skylle good; and wherein he toke suche pleasure, that he dyd not onely bestowe great masses of monye therein of his owne, as in makinge of howses, buyldinge of shippes, erectinge of mylles, and manye other licke, but would also edge, procure, and cause others to doe the lycke. And allbeit the moste parte of men w^{ch} are endewed wth soe manye good qualyties and excellent vertewes have comonlye suche faultes and folies as w^{ch} doe drowne the same, yet such was the Temperance of this knyghte, and wth suche circumspection he woulde order his doinges, that he would not attempte anye thinge but wth good devyse and descrecion, by w^{ch} appered that his reedinge of the workes of Cicero, wherein he had greate pleasure, was not all together fruteles unto hyme, nor without profytte; for, as he sayethe, Temperance is the vertue w^{ch} dyrectethe reason to make choyse of good thinges and to eschewe the evell, and to use all pleasures in suche mediocrytie as should be accordinge to reason, and awen-swerable to honestie, w^{ch} vertewe is not to be restrayned, (as some woulde,) to a moderacion consistinge onely in the use of meates and drinckes, because it hath manye other members, and consistethe in sundrye other partes, as in modestie, shamfastnes, abstynauce, chastitie, moderation, sobrietie, and suche lycke, w^{ch} doe councerne and tooche the whole lyfe and behaviour of man in all honeste actyons. And yf wthout offence I myghte counferr the lyffe of this worthie knyghte withe theyse vertewes, it shall apere that he was not alltogether voyde of theyme; for he dyd soe moderate the lustes of the bodie and the affections of the mynde by the rule of reasone, that he was not knowen at anye tymes to be outragiose in malyce, envye, angre, lustes, sensualities, and suche lycke; neyther woulde he in wordes utter any speches w^{ch} favored anye rybaudrye, fylthynes, or uncomelynes; nether in acte woulde doe the thinge w^{ch} was dyshonest and foule; lyckewyse he soe contented hyme self wth y^t w^{ch} was his owne, as that he neither inordinatlye sought other mennes goodes, nor unlawfully desyred another mannes wyffe, nor anye strange woman, whereof I the wryter hereof upon myne owne knowleadge cane this affirme, that duringe the tyme of my acquaintaunce wth hime I coulede never perceve nor see anye countenaunce, gesture, behavior, or anye signes at all of his likinge that waye; for he neyther woulde gladly be in companye with anye woman of a suspecte name, nor

whereby he hyme selve mighte be had or growe into anye suspeccion; and therefore in theyse respectes I maye wthout offense compare hyme with Paulus Æmylius and Publius Scipio, too noble Romaynes, mooste commended for theise vertewes. And as for honestie, (I meane not that honestum w^{ch} Cicero accomptethe and defynethe to be a perfecte and an absolute goodnes,) but that constancie of mynde to make choyse of good thinges, and soe to lyve in vertue, as whereof good repoorte and comendacion maye ensewe, and also so to moderate and kepe all thinges within their proper bondes and lymetes, as neither excedinge to farre by temerytie, nor to staye to shorte thought lethernes, wherein howe well he was bente and dysposed I will referre to the judgmente of theyme who knewe howe precyse he was therein. And lastely, concerning his Sobrietie, w^{ch} counsystethe in the moderat use of meates and drinckes, and w^{ch} is soe excellent and necessarye a vertue as without it all other vertewes lose their grace, he was soe moderate and temperat therin, that he was not knowen anye tyme to have benne dystempered nor to excede his bondes; for he abhorred glottenye and detested drunkenes. And yet for a faulte it was imputed unto hyme, that as he could not guyde his purse within the rule of lyberalitie, noe more colde he manye tymes satysfie his eye with sufficiencye; for yf anye personage of countenance were at anye tyme invited at his table, althoughe the same were suffyciently fraughted withe store and plentie, yet he thoughte he had never inough, but all was to lytle. Otherwyse of hyme self he was of a verie competente dyet, and contented wth that w^{ch} was suffyciente.

Thus, after my symple manner, I have descrybed the course of the lyfe, manners, qualities, and condicions of this noble and worthe Knyghte, accordinge to such instructions as have benne delyvered unto me, and as in some parte of myne owne knowleadge I have collected and gathered, w^{ch} I knowe is not soe effectually donne nor soe exactly performed as the matter ytselfe requireth, and as the worthynes of the persone deserveth; nevertheless, havinge donne my good will herein, I praye the good acceptacion thereof, hopinge that what by mee is omytted, by otheres shall be supplied and amended.

VIII. *Remarks on some Remains of Ancient Greek Writings, on the Walls of a Family Catacomb at Alexandria: by H. C. AGNEW, Esq. in a Letter to Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H., F.R.S., Secretary.*

Read 7th February, 1839.

SIR,

Mount Hotel, Grosvenor Street, London, Nov. 19, 1838.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to you herewith a paper containing copies of several ancient Greek Inscriptions discovered by me on the walls of a family catacomb at Alexandria in Egypt, together with a Plan and short description of the Tomb, and some remarks on the writings.

The *Inscriptions themselves* cannot fail to be interesting to all antiquaries; and I can have no better means of making them known than by submitting copies of them to the inspection of members of your Society.^a

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient humble servant,

H. C. AGNEW.

Within twenty minutes walk of the western gate of Alexandria, between the great canal Mahmoudieh on the east, Lake Mareotis on the south, the new palace and gardens of Ibrahim Pasha on the west, and a small canal on the north, is a hill of soft stone, in which have been cut numerous catacombs. Some of the larger excavations appear to have been public burying places, but many of them were private cemeteries. Of these latter, there is one in comparatively very good preservation. This family catacomb is exactly upon the summit of the hill, and is consequently only discoverable

^a See Plates IX—XIV.

to the eye when within a few yards of the entrance; a cavity of about thirteen feet square then appears, which is a chamber open to the sky. A flight of steps leads down to a small vestibule, communicating through a large doorway with the open chamber (marked 1 in the accompanying ground plan).^b To the south is a covered chamber, of equal size, (marked 2 in the plan), with the roof slightly arched; the walls plastered, and a cornice running round the upper part, about a foot and half below the spring of the roof. On each of the three sides, east, west, and south, are six bodies, three above and three below; but the niches have not all been excavated. There are two blanks on the east, one on the west, and two on the south. These blank places have a cornice round them like the rest, and being plastered over, lead the visitor at first to suppose that they have been closed up after the body of the dead had been placed within, and that they have remained unopened. Beneath the plaster, however, the solid rock appears. The places were left to be excavated as occasion might require. The north side of this chamber forms the south side of the open chamber first mentioned, the communication being above seven feet wide between them. On the west side of the first, or open chamber, are places marked for eight bodies, but three only on the ground tier have been cut out. To the north of this chamber is another large opening corresponding to that on the south, through which you enter a smaller chamber, nine feet and a half long by nine broad, with a cornice as in the south room, but with a flat roof (marked 3 on the plan). In the western wall of this chamber is a horizontal excavation, of about three feet and a half square, and eight feet and a half horizontal depth, in the floor of which is a pit, in which was placed the sarcophagus, containing the body of a person of greater distinction than the occupants of the common places in the two first chambers. North of chamber 3, is another small space (4), in the east wall of which is another excavation similar to the one just described, with a pit in the floor of the whole width and length of the excavation, sunk three feet deep, in which is a stone sarcophagus. In the north wall of the small chamber (4) is a door three feet and a half high, by two feet and three quarters wide, through which you enter the last chamber (5). This is an excavation of

^b Plate IX.

nine feet from south to north, by nine feet and a half from east to west, gently arched in the roof from east to west, and five feet and a half high. In the centre of the floor of this chamber is sunk a pit four feet deep, and of the same width, nearly nine feet long, lying east and west. In this pit is a stone sarcophagus, similar to the one before-mentioned. These sarcophagi are of white stone, well squared but not polished, twenty inches deep, of the same width, and six feet and three quarters long in the inside, the thickness of the stone being about five inches. The cover is arched. When placed on the pit, the interstice between the stone and the rock was filled up, and the whole then covered over with a firm and hard body of mortar or gyps, to a level with the floor, so that nothing was visible, and the chamber above appeared as if unoccupied. In the rock above the door of this last chamber is cut a place for a body of the usual form, about two feet broad, by two feet and a half high, at the opening, and diminishing gradually towards the further end. This excavation lies north and south. An inspection of the Ground Plan I. and of the west and east Sections II. and III. will give a clear idea of this tomb. The whole is very well lighted from the open chamber, into which the rays of the sun fall direct, so that even the last chamber (5) can scarcely be called obscure.

The hill in which these catacombs are excavated is out of the line of any great thoroughfare. A few Arab huts now stand near the top, within fifty yards of the tomb I have described; but the path which leads to them may be passed without the opening of the tomb being seen. I believe few Europeans have ever visited this catacomb; and of those who have gone down into it, none appear to have noticed the most interesting circumstance attendant on its comparatively good preservation, namely, the existence on the walls of several *Greek inscriptions*, more or less perfect, written, or rather painted on the plaster, in red ink or ochre.

I remember to have noticed this catacomb some years ago, and even to have remarked the writing from the ground above; but the passage was choaked with earth, and I did not go down. In one of my solitary rambles near the city, I lately, as by accident, again came upon the opening of this tomb. The writing now greatly excited my curiosity; much of the earth at the foot of the steps had been removed, and I descended into the catacomb.

The most conspicuous inscriptions are those marked 1 and 2 on the west

wall of chamber 3. Many of the words I could not immediately decypher, and some few appeared nearly obliterated, but I read enough to create a deep interest. The writer's prayer soon to join the departed object of his affection must have been heard near fifteen hundred years ago, and the death he then looked forward to as a future event, had been since succeeded by the appearance and departure of more than forty generations of mankind.

During the month of December, 1836, I visited this tomb a great many times, passing each day two or three hours there in copying the different writings on the walls. The forms of many of the letters were at first not familiar to me, and some of the words required close and long inspection to trace the faint remains of letters more or less obscured by dirt and the saline incrustations which have formed on some parts of the mortar. In the annexed drawings I have given a faithful copy of all the words, and parts of words, which I could make out, imitating the character of the different writings and giving an exact copy of every letter which appeared to me at all peculiar in formation.

There is another tomb in the same hill, more to the west, the entrance to which is in the ditch of the redoubt thrown up there in the time of the French. This catacomb is in less good preservation than the one just described. The plaster has fallen off every where except on the wall on the right hand in the outer chamber, and on parts of the rock to the left. There is an inner chamber in this catacomb having three of its sides cut into recesses, in the floor of which are excavations for the reception of the bodies of the persons of most consequence in the family. In the outer chamber, the left hand wall, on entering, is occupied by eight common horizontal excavations, in two rows. In this catacomb the only writings legible are those copied in No. 21 and 22, and are, like the rest, in red paint or ochre.

Many other family burying-places in this hill are in utter decay, fallen in, or filled up with earth and rubbish, the plaster destroyed and the soft rock honey-combed with time. There is, however, one which may be entered through a breach to the north, its proper entrance being choked up. It consists of a square chamber, on the roof and walls of which the plaster remains. The roof is gently arched and painted in squares of a pretty pat-

tern, the colours being still very fresh, but I could find no traces of writings any where.

Having been unable to make any further discoveries myself, I one morning took my servant with me, in the hope of finding among the neighbouring Arabs some one who might be able to point out further excavations in which writings might exist. We made acquaintance with the inmates of the small house near the first tomb. This happened to be the dwelling of a certain Hagi Ali, a Beddouin, and chief of the body of Beddouins in the pay of the Pasha, who keep guard along the southern coast of the harbour of Alexandria, to prevent the escape of deserters from the fleet. He had been many years there, had married a Fellah wife, and was well acquainted with all the holes and excavations around. He could not, however, show me any further writings than those with which I was already acquainted, but he said he had a large stone at some distance towards the west with the head of a man, but as to the body, he could not comprehend what it was. I persuaded him to take me to the spot, and after going about a mile to the west, he brought me to a small cavity in which I discovered a sphinx of red granite of large size and very perfect preservation. It is now in my possession. The head is that of a woman, but the body of the animal is very perceptibly a male.

On returning from the sphinx, Hagi Ali mentioned that, in a tomb near his house, there were two stone coffins, or boxes, as he called them, the lid of one of which was broken in two, but the other was perfect. I begged him to conduct me to the place, and to my surprise he took me down into the same catacomb that I had so often visited. Going into the innermost chamber, and striking his foot on the floor, "Underneath here," said he, "is the coffin with the broken lid. I have seen it myself, for I lived a whole winter, with my family, in this place, a few years ago, during the heavy rains. And here," added he, entering the narrow cavity marked 6 in the plan, "is the coffin, which is not broken, and which has never been opened, for you see the gyps on the floor is quite entire, except in this one place." He proceeded to scrape away the broken mortar from a small space in the middle, and laid bare a portion of white stone, which yielded a hollow sound on being struck. There was observable, however, a small hole of a few inches diameter at the side of the lid, where the mortar was also broken, and through which

the outward air must have penetrated to the inside. I inquired if there were not also a sarcophagus in the hollow marked No. 7. "No, not now," he replied; "some years ago, two stone boxes were removed when the government wanted such things to serve for holding water at some of the fountains. One of them was taken from there," pointing to No. 7, "and the other from beneath here," striking the floor of the chamber No. 3.

Having previously passed so many hours in this catacomb, in studying and copying the inscriptions on the walls, I seemed to have formed some kind of acquaintance with the persons whose handwriting I had been so long examining, and with those whose names I had so often read, to whom the words were addressed; and I felt some little compunction in opening the yet undisturbed tomb. Yet my curiosity prevailed, and the next morning I took a trusty man and three assistants to remove the plaster and rubbish and open the two sarcophagi. The mortar on the unbroken one was so extremely hard as to require great labour in removing, but this was at last effected, and the heavy lid was raised on its edge against the wall. In the sarcophagus appeared a few handfuls of earth and stones, which had fallen through the hole above mentioned, and an inconsiderable quantity of brownish earthy substance along the bottom, with several fragments of the bone of the cranium, to which still adhered the mummy powder used at the embalming. These bones yielded to slight pressure and fell to dust. There were no remains of any of the other bones, but I found several small pieces of bitumen, hard and glossy. The bones of the head were at the western end, so that the body must have been placed in this receptacle with the feet innermost. I could find no ring nor coin, nor were there any remains of linen.

In the chamber No. 5, which must have been the chief place of honor, we found, on removing the earth, that the cover of the sarcophagus was broken in half as the Arab had said. A quantity of earth and stones had fallen inside, among which were found some pieces of bone; and at the western end was the skull, quite entire, but without the lower jaw. The cavity of the head was completely filled with the resinous preparation introduced after death for its preservation. Nothing else was found. I had the skull carried home, but on the way the Arab shook out nearly the whole of the contents, which he supposed to be common earth. Some portion, however, of the

balsamic substance still adhered to the bone, and yielded, on being burnt, a very agreeable odour. Part of the bone of the nose on the right side appears to have been broken away in the operation of extracting the brain, but otherwise the skull is perfect. It is the skull of a woman. Seven of the back teeth remain, but the front teeth and the wisdom teeth had fallen out into the tomb. The teeth which remain are quite perfect; there is not the slightest sign of decay in any of them, and the whole set, at the time of the death of the possessor, must have been very beautiful. From the state of attrition I suppose she may have died at the age of about thirty. The skull is not quite even: there is a greater protuberance on the right side towards the back than at the corresponding part on the left. The bridge of the nose is very much arched, and the profile is not what is called Grecian. The face must have resembled very much the cast of countenance of some of the pretty women of Syria, known in Egypt by the name of Levantines.

I have been particular in describing this skull, because I think there can be no doubt but that it is the skull of the identical Auge (Ἀυγή) whose name appears so often on the walls of the tomb; and although nothing more be known of her than what may be collected from the epitaphs on her grave, she is called, in the still legible handwriting of her mourning friends, "Auge, the kind, the noble, the sweet-tempered."

The sarcophagus, which was carried away from the small chamber marked 7 in the plan to serve for a modern water-tank, no doubt contained the body of Antoninus, whose name is so frequently mentioned in the writings round the entrance; and the one removed from chamber 3 must have held the corpse of Olympus. The sarcophagus which I opened in the recess (No. 6 in the plan) perhaps held the body of the writer of the inscriptions 1 and 2, who having deposited Auge's remains in the chief chamber, reserved for himself this nearest place to her whom he prayed soon again to join.

In many parts of this tomb the original plaster attached to the rock has been covered over at a later period by a second coating. This is particularly observable in the large chamber to the south, marked 2 in the plan. Where this second coat has fallen off, the original plaster appears, and round the edge of the square openings a line of red paint is visible.

In the chamber No. 3, the wall between the small pilasters on both sides

has been covered by a second coat of plaster, and it is upon this second coat that the inscriptions 1, 2, and 3 are written. Here, however, the reason for this second plastering is apparent; for where it has fallen off, the first plaster appears firmly adhering to the rock, but artificially divided by lines or grooves to represent separate stones, and give the appearance of the wall being built.

It is very evident that the horizontal excavation on the west side was only cut when it was required, and after the first plaster had been laid, because one of these divisions, representing a large stone, is immediately over the orifice, and has no apparent support. To do away with this awkward appearance the wall above is covered with a fresh coat of plaster, and the opposite side of the chamber was made to correspond in this respect, although no excavation could be made there to the necessary horizontal depth, without interfering with the steps leading down to the tomb.

The writings on the walls of the principal catacomb are particularly interesting, from their having almost all of them the date attached to them. Of the epitaphs which I was able more or less perfectly to decipher, seven are addressed to Antoninus, namely, Nos. 1, 4, 5, 6, 14, 16, 19; six to Auge, Nos. 2, 7, 11, 15, 18, 20; three to Olympus, Nos. 8, 13, 17; and the name of Olympus appears also below No. 5.

The earliest date is that of the death of Olympus, being the 20th year, 10th month, 27th day. The date in No. 9, where the name is not legible, is 25th year, 8th month, 17th day. Antoninus died 35th year, 2^d month, 27th day; and Auge died 71st year, 6th month, 6th day.

The era is without doubt that of Diocletian, which began 29 August, 284 of Christ, old style. The writings in this tomb are therefore of the first half of the fourth century after Christ; Olympus having died in the summer of A.D. 305, Antoninus in the autumn of 319, and Auge in the spring of 346.

I think it may be presumed from the epitaphs, Nos. 1 and 2, that the family to whom the tomb belonged were Christians. The writer, and his friend Antoninus, lived together through the ten years of the persecution of Diocletian, and the words in No. 1 may have reference to their common labours and common sufferings during that period, Antoninus dying just as better times were approaching under Constantine. The simple address also to the departed Auge is rather the prayer of a Christian than of a Pagan. Still the

evidence is very inconclusive. The few words (of No. 3) which remain legible of an inscription on the plaster, some distance beneath Nos. 1 and 2, “τὸ ἀγαθὸν πνεῦμα” (not *ἀγιον*) may be in favour of the presumption of their Christianity; but Nos. 5 and 16, to the same Antoninus, have rather a Pagan cast.

In the following pages I have given my readings of the different epitaphs, and a few observations on each, subject to the correction of better scholars.

Alexandria, January, 1838.

H. C. AGNEW.

READINGS OF THE INSCRIPTIONS.

(No. 1.) ^c Ἀντωνεινε συνεκο . . . ε συνοπιάτα σύμβουλε ἀγαθὲ συναδέλγεχ
ἀκατηγόρητε ὁλοκαλὲ ἐνψύχι.

for Ἀντωνῖνε, συνεξούσιε, (?) συγκοπιάτα, σύμβουλε ἀγαθὲ, συναδέλγεχ,
ἀκατηγόρητε, ὁλοκαλὲ ἐνψύχει.

Λυκάβας λῆ, μὴν β̄, ἡμέρα κξ̄.

Antonine, fellow-sufferer(?), fellow-labourer, kind counsellor,
co-pleader, irreproachable, all-good, farewell. Year 35, month 2, day 27.

In referring to the copy annexed, it will be seen that in the original the second word has three or four letters before the last Ε which are not legible. I took very great trouble to discover the traces of them, but could arrive at nothing certain. In our usual way of spelling I cannot find a word that exactly fits the space, preserving unchanged the Κ, but I believe the word was *συνεκούσιε* for *συνεξούσιε*, in the sense of fellow-sufferer by confiscation. The writer preserved the prepositions in composite words in their original forms without changing them to the pronunciation, as we see he writes *συνοπιάτα* and *σύμβουλε* for *συγκοπιάτα* and *σύμβουλε*. He may have preserved *ἐκ* in its pristine form.

It will be seen in the original that the writer seldom took the trouble to cross his *alphas*, which appear just like his *lambdas*.

In all these inscriptions the name of Antoninus is constantly written with the *αι* instead of *ι*; and, on the contrary, the last word *ἐνψύχει* is always

written with the single *iota*, ἐνψύχι. The use of ι for ει, however, was too common to be called a fault of spelling. Συναδέλγεγχος, fellow-songster of conviction ; co-pleader or fellow-preacher.

The era being that of Diocletian, the above date would correspond with the 25 or 26 October, A.D. 319, old style (6 or 7 Nov. new style).

(No. 2.) Ἀυγὴ ἔυχωμαι καὶ γὰρ ἐν τάχει σὺν σοι εἶναι καὶ μακάριος
 ἐμὶ ἅμ' τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς σου τρόπους.
 for Ἀυγὴ ἔυχωμαι καὶ γὰρ ἐν τάχει σὺν σοι εἶναι καὶ μακάριος,
 ἐμὶ ἅμ' τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς σου τρόπους.

“Auge, I pray that I too may soon be with thee and blessed,
 I think but of thy sweet ways.”

There is no date to this writing, but from the other epitaphs to the same Auge we find that she died 61st year, 7th month, 6th day (2 March A.D. 346 old style). The writing is immediately under the address to Antoninus (No. 1), and is evidently written by the same person, who, having buried the friend of his youth or early manhood in the year thirty-five, returned twenty-six years afterwards to consign to the tomb the body of his wife, for such we may suppose Auge to have been.

The writer of these inscriptions Nos. 1 and 2 must have been a man of some education and of a certain station in life, and we may suppose him to have been accustomed to public speaking. I will say nothing of his using ι for ει, but here he writes ἔυχωμαι for ἔυχομαι, ω for ο, a plain proof, if any were wanting, that the two words were commonly pronounced alike. If the subjunctive ἔυχωμαι had been pronounced with the middle syllable the loudest or ἔυχῶμαι (as they teach you in England) no man could have made the mistake of writing it for ἔυχομαι. Both words were colloquially pronounced alike then, as they are now : in all cases the first syllable of both words was the accented or loudest. In poetry, the length of the long ω was preserved to the measure, but no greater *stress* was laid upon it than upon the middle syllable of ἔυχομαι. Homer can be read with a perfect preservation of time and forcible enunciation of the accents as the Greeks used them, and then

only is the wonderful beauty of the versification properly felt. The tragic iambics in the same manner. In ordinary conversation this preservation of measure was not attempted. It would have appeared ridiculous, and is impossible where great rapidity of speech is used.^d

^d I speak of the pronunciation of the letters and diphthongs as used by the modern Greeks, a pronunciation which differs but little, if at all, from that generally prevalent two thousand years ago. The modern language has suffered changes in its words and grammar, but not in the sounds of its letters and diphthongs. It has acquired some new sounds by new combinations of letters, but the old sounds have remained nearly unaltered. The sound of *upsilon* (the French *u* or German *ü*) has become the same as that of the *iota*—a very natural corruption and one observable in many parts of Germany, where the *ü* is vulgarly pronounced like *i* or the English *ee* (as in feet). I have been told by a gentleman of Salonica that in some districts of Thessaly, the ancient legitimate sound of *upsilon* is still retained: for example, the word *ἐκυρή* (did it survive) would be pronounced like the French *écurie*. I have never myself, however, met with any Greek who spoke in that way. With the exception of this degeneration of *upsilon* I believe the common language of the Greeks, as spoken now by the better classes, does not differ in the sounds of its letters and diphthongs from the usual pronunciation in the time of the Ptolemies.

The mode of pronouncing Greek introduced by Erasmus, his splitting of diphthongs, and Latin accentuation, would have appeared as absurd to an ancient as to a modern Greek. But notwithstanding this resolution of the diphthongs into two distinct sounds in rapid succession (which the Greeks called *Συνεκφωνήσεις* and not *Διφθόγγους*), I venture to say that if any one among the tonoclastic followers of the great Rotterdam heresiarch will take the trouble of reading out loud by himself the *Iliad* of Homer all through, with the endeavour, while he strictly preserves the measure, of giving the words their proper Greek accentuation instead of the Latin accentuation, with which he has hitherto abused them, he will find before he gets to the end, and probably before he gets half through, provided he have a good ear, that he can accommodate the new method to most of the verses with sensible pleasure to himself. As he advances, he will by degrees be able to master all the verses and give each accented syllable even the most violent blow without losing his time. Some lines he will find much more difficult than others, and he will for a time feel a relief when he casually comes upon those verses (which are few) where the accents happen to fall upon the first syllables of the dactyls. I remember the two following consecutive lines as an example (Book Z. 421, 422). The first to a beginner is a difficult line and he falls upon the second with evident satisfaction.

Οἱ δέ μοι ἐπὶ κασίγνητοι ἔσαν ἐν μεγάροισιν,
Οἱ μὲν πάντες ἰὼ κλονήματι "Αἶδος ἔισω,

But he will soon lose the taste for exclusive jog-trot, and will find at last no more difficulty in reading lines with the most diversified accentuation than he does in the second of the above verses.

He

Let it not be supposed that I have made any mistake in copying the letters from the wall of the tomb. The word is *ἐυχωμαι* in the original and as plain as if it were written yesterday.

(No. 3.) This inscription, which is some distance below No. 1 and 2 on the same wall, is very imperfect. The only words distinctly legible are, *τὸ ἀγαθὸν πνεῦμα*, which are quite plain, though faint. The three letters apparently at the beginning of the line, ΓΕΝ, may also be traced, and the letters ΤΕ.

(No. 4.) *Ἀντωνεῖνι φιλόανθρωπε.*

Here the *λυκάβας* or year 35, is the only part of the date legible.

(No. 5.) *Ἀντωνεῖνε καλὸν ὄνομα, εὐψύχει.*

Antonine, propitious name, farewell.

Year 35, month 2, day 27.

(No. 6.) *Ἀντωνεῖνε Κυριέ μου, εὐτύχει.*

Antonine, my Lord, farewell.

Year 35, month 2, day 27.

He will be able to effect what at first will appear most difficult, namely, to pronounce strongly the two accents which fall sometimes upon the two short syllables of a dactyl, as in the following :—

(Γ. 438.) “ *Μή με, γύναι, χαλιποῖσιν ὀνείδεσι θυμὸν ἐνιπτε* ” or in

(Ζ. 444) “ *Ὅυδὲ με θυμὸς ἄνωγεν, ἐπεὶ μάθον ἔμμεναι ἐσθλός,* ” &c.

or in the fifth line of the annexed inscription marked A. *Πατρὶ γόους,* &c.

A strict preservation of time is of course absolutely essential, and he whose ear cannot appreciate the intervals need not take the trouble to try to get out of his old habit. But the reader whose ear, after a little practice, does appreciate the relative length of syllables independently of their relative loudness, will find at last that he can give any kind of accentuation he pleases to all the regular metres. Such being the case, he will follow the accentuation of the language itself, renouncing the errors of the foreign tonoclasts, who at once destroy the beauty of the whole class of enclitics and the charming variety of intonation in the cases of the Greek nouns and conjugations of the verbs, changing and disfiguring as they do almost every word of the language.

I admit that the assimilation of sound of different vowels and diphthongs was the cause of a great deal of bad spelling among the uneducated Greeks of old, as it is among their modern descendants ; and the artificially fabricated system of Erasmús and his disciples, from its perspicuity, may be the most convenient for teaching the schoolboys of the West, who however can never hope to have any conception of what Greek was as a spoken language.

This inscription is very perfect, and, notwithstanding the peculiarity of the handwriting, is very legible. The date is curious, as being quite complete, and showing the method of shortening the words $\mu\eta\nu$ and $\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha$.

The way in which the *etas*, H, are written in all these inscriptions is worthy of remark. The form *h* is the natural result of tachygraphy.

This is the only inscription where the writer uses $\epsilon\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\chi\epsilon\iota$. All the others have the crosslike character † or +, which represents a *psi* ψ , in their last word. This crosslike character is never used where nothing but a *tau* T could be admitted. In the name of Antonine, which so often occurs, the third letter is always T, and never a cross. In the first three inscriptions there are eight *taus* T, not one of which has a cross shape, I therefore conclude this cross † to be a *psi*, although a *tau* T might take its place where it is found. All the inscriptions, except this one, end with $\epsilon\tau\psi\chi\epsilon\iota$ ($\epsilon\upsilon\psi\acute{o}\chi\epsilon\iota$), that is, “be of good courage;” I have translated it generally “farewell.”

None of the writers took the trouble to give a loop to their *rho*'s P. This letter, it will be seen, is always made like a club stick.

(No. 7.)

$\text{Αυγή ουνίων εὐψύχει} \text{ } \text{ΛΞα} \text{ } \mu\eta \text{ } \bar{\zeta} \text{ } \eta\mu. \bar{\varsigma}$

“Auge of the bereaved, farewell;” or, “Light of the forlorn, farewell.”

“Year 61, month 7, day 6.”

The date of the month and day in the original is quite plain, and although the second letter of the number of the year has been rather defaced, yet, in the inscription No. 18, the year is very distinctly written 61; and even here, the letter in question could be nothing else than an *alpha*, from what remains of it.

’Ουνιος seems to have been in use at Alexandria, in the sense of deprived, bereaved, forlorn.

This, and the preceding inscription, are of a very dark red colour, and exceedingly plain. The word is ΟΥΝΙΩΝ, as clear as possible.

(No. 8.)^e

’Ολύμπου θανόντος

$\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha \text{ } ? \quad \omega \text{ } ?$

$\bar{\kappa} \quad \bar{\kappa}\bar{\zeta}$

Olympus being dead, all ?

Year 20, , day 27.

^e No. 8—15. Plate XI.

After long application, I was not able to make out the second line.

This is the best handwriting of the whole. The letters are neatly formed. Observe particularly the two *alphas* in the second line: how neatly they resemble our small modern *a* in print.

(No. 9.) I can make but little of this excepting the date. The last word might be taken for φιλόπουε, but there is too great an interval between the *iota* and *omicron* to be filled up by one letter only.

The year is either ΚΕ or ΚΟ, 25 or 29, month 8, day 17.

The character ϣ in this, and in No. 19, is a φ, *phi*.

(No. 10.) Γενεσιακὲ φιλομήτωρ.

No date legible. The first word appears to be a name.

(No. 11.) The only word quite legible here is that of 'Αυγή.

(No. 12.) . . . βῆ ἡ ἐμὴ κυρία. . . “ my own lady or mistress.”

The last letters in the line are very faint, but I thought the word κυρία was sufficiently distinguishable. The two first letters in the line may be the end of some word in a line above, now not traceable. At the end of the line there was, no doubt, the usual farewell, and probably a date. It could not have been written below the line, because the next inscription is close under this line.

(No. 13.) Ὀλυμπε ἐμὴ ψυχὴ εὐψύχει.

“ Olympus, my soul, farewell ;”

Or, “ Olympus, my soul, be of good soul.”

“ Year 20, month 10, day 27.”

Here, the date is quite perfect.

(No. 14.) Ἀντωνεῖνε γλυκύτατε εὐψύχει.

“ Sweetest Antonine, farewell.”

“ Year 35, (month) 2, day 27.”

The second word is very faint in the original, but it may be traced to be γλυκύτατε. Where the letter M should be for the sign of the month, there

is a hole in the plaster. The word *ἡμέρα* in the date is contracted in the same way as in No. 6, having the three first letters; a large H, then a smaller M placed higher, and a little ε higher still. In the preceding inscription, No. 13, the day is marked by the H, and a small ε above, to the right, there being no M.

(No. 15.) Again, the only word here legible is the first, *Ἀυγή*.

I can make nothing of the second word, and the remainder of the inscription is quite effaced.

(No. 16.)^f *Ἀντωνεῖνε πάντων ἀπελεύσας ἡ τύχη μοῦ εὐψύχει.*

“Antonine, from all departed, my fortune, farewell;” or, “my fortune, faint not.”

The writer very distinctly writes *τύχη μοῦ*, and not *ψυχὴ μου*, the T being very plain. But in the last word he uses the crosslike letter +, which, therefore, cannot be a *tau*, but must be *psi*, ψ. The way in which the three last letters of the word *ἀπελεύσας* are written, has a curious effect.

The date is perfect.—“Year 35, month 2, day 27.”

(No. 17.) *Ὀλυμπε φιλόανθρωπε*

This inscription is almost totally effaced. The few faint letters which are legible, show that it was addressed to Olympus.

(No. 18.) *Ἀυγὴ ἀγαθὴ εὐψύχει.*

“Kind Auge, farewell.”

“Year 61, month 7 (day not legible).”

This inscription is very faint, but with attentive inspection it is still distinctly legible. The date of the year, 61, is plain, confirming the reading of No. 7.

(No. 19.) This is a very curious inscription, on account of the bad spelling. I conclude it was the effusion of one of the illiterate dependants or slaves of the family, and was, no doubt, as follows:—

Ἀντωνεῖνε, φιλωπάτωρ, φιλωμήτωρ, φιλάδελφε, εὐψύχι,

for *φιλοπάτωρ, φιλομήτωρ*. The long ω for the *omicron* in the antepenultima. We may imagine that the vulgar often pronounced *τωρ* as *τρώ*.

^f No. 16—22. Plate XII.

This inscription, and the following one, are in the open chamber, on the side near Antonine's tomb, low down. The writings are not easily legible; but on moistening the wall with water, the letters became more distinct, and I was thus enabled to take copies of those that I could clearly recognize. Of the date, the number of the day is alone legible, being 27, and agreeing with all the rest.

(No. 20.) Ἀυγή εὐγενὴς ἐσψύχει.—“Noble Auge, farewell.” No date legible.

The two following inscriptions are in the second family catacomb, before mentioned, the entrance to which is in the ditch of the redoubt, a few hundred yards to the west of the catacomb.

(No. 21.) ὁ ἀναγινώσκων πῆθηκος
for ὁ ἀναγινωσκων πίθηκος—“the reading ape.”

This curious writing is on the right-hand wall, on entering; and although it is now of a faint pink colour, it may be very clearly read, if the strong light of the sun, which is reflected into the tomb from the opposite side of the ditch parallel to the wall, be again thrown upon the letters by means of a piece of white paper, or even the hand of the observer. The copy which I have given (marked 21) is a fac-simile of this writing.

We may first remark the peculiar form of the two *alphas*, and of the two *sigmas*. The *alphas* approach closely to our running-hand *a*. The *sigmas* are begun from the bottom, and are intermediate between *c* and *σ*. The two *etas* are again *Η*.

Beneath the writing I discovered some simple lines traced on the wall in the same coloured ink, and I was in hopes of finding a drawing of the learned monkey; but I could see nothing but the mere scrawl, of which a copy is given; under which, it will be remarked, are several letters without any apparent meaning. It would seem as if, while others were occupied in placing a body in the inner chamber, some wag had got hold of the paint-pot, and amused himself in scribbling on the wall. The words are singular to be found inside a tomb. There is nothing by which to fix the precise time of their being written; but we may suppose that they are as old as the writings in the other catacomb.

Here again the most interesting circumstance is the false spelling; not because the writer put ἀναγινώσκον for ἀναγινώσκων, but because he wrote πῆθηκος for πίθηκος; thereby plainly proving that the η in his time was pronounced like the long i, as it is at present.

(No. 22.) On the left-hand side, on entering between two of the common excavations, are found the letters thus numbered in the annexed copies. There appears first to be a row of what looks like an *omega*, but the traces are very faint of this line. Underneath are very clearly legible the letters ΠΟΛΕΟΣ, and then succeeds below, a line of N's, under which are the letters ΤΟΥΝΤΕ. Nothing more can be discovered. There are, indeed, some few traces of writings in other parts, but I could make nothing of them.

In the first described catacomb may also be discovered, here and there, some indistinct remains of letters independent of the writings I have copied, but the traces are so very slight that it is almost impossible to define a single letter.

In the large chamber to the south, marked 2 in the plan, are remains of an inscription on the western wall of several lines; but, although the red colour of the ink is plain enough, yet the letters have been so rubbed and smeared that nothing can be deciphered. In this chamber I remarked some pieces of plaster fallen on the ground, on which were remains of letters; and the Arab Hagi Ali said that some years ago the plaster on the south wall had not fallen down, and, as well as he could remember, there was a good deal of writing on it. It is, however, now nearly all gone, and the inscriptions with it. What an interesting collection of bad spelling has thus been forever lost by the ignorant mischief, probably, of some Arab!

With the No. 22 ends the collection of copies of the writings on the walls of the two catacombs.

The following transcripts, marked A, B, C, D, E, F, are from inscriptions cut on different stones.‡

(A.) The six lines marked A, are on a marble slab of about eighteen inches in length, in the possession of a gentleman of Alexandria. The stone was brought to me by a young friend, and I was enabled to decypher it without much difficulty, although many of the letters are nearly effaced. My copy

‡ Plates XIII. XIV.

gives the general character of the letters, but is not a fac-simile, inasmuch as that on the stone itself the letters are so arranged that each line reaches the whole length of the stone, the face of which is completely covered by the letters. At first sight, therefore, there is nothing which leads to suppose that the inscription is in verse. It will be seen, however, that the lines are alternate hexameter and pentameter verses in the Doric dialect; the inscription being an epitaph by a sculptor Philoxenus on the tomb of his virgin daughter Pherenice. The stone, I understand, was brought from some part of the coast of the Cyrenaica.

Δέρκεο τὰν ἀρίσαμον, ὁδοιπύρε, τὰν Φερενίκας
 Ἐικόνα τᾶς μελέας ἂν τάφος οὔτος ἔχει·
 Ἄ τὸ πρὶν ἐπ' καλύβοις, νῦν δ' εἰς Ἀχέροντα μολοῖσα
 Ἀστερομάντων πρὶν νυμφιδίων θαλάμων·
 Πατρὶ γόους προλιποῦσα Φιλοξένω, ὅς τὸδ' ἔτευξεν
 Ἐιδωλὸν νύμφας, μναμόσυνον θέμενος·

See, trav'ller, hapless Pherenice's tomb,
 Whose beauteous statue rests upon her grave,
 From virgin chambers led by fatal doom,
 Before her bridal couch, to Hades' wave.
 Philoxenus, inheritor of woes,
 Surviving father of the lovely shade,
 This image carved, who best each feature knows,
 And placed it here in memory of the maid.

(B.) The inscription marked B, is on a small black semicubic stone of about seven inches wide, which served as a pedestal to some object placed upon it. The stone is in the possession of a friend of mine. I have copied the letters exactly as they appear, and nearly of the same size.

The reading is

Λεύκιος προστατήσας
 τὸ ἰδὲ L καὶ ἰε L
 τοῖς μένουσιν ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ
 ἀνέθηκε.

(C.) The inscription C is on a small grey marble column, in my possession. The copy is a fac-simile, only that the letters are reduced to about one-third of the height of the originals.

Θεα
 Νεμέσει
 Τίτος Ἀιλίος Κοιλίος
 ὑπὲρ εὐχαριστίας ἀνέθηκεν
 ἐπ' ἀγαθῶ.

(D.) The monumental tablet in which is the inscription marked D, was brought to me by a young Greek, from the little island of Syme to the north of Rhodes.

Ἡρακλοῦς τῆ ἀδελφῇ Προσδοκίᾳ μνήμης ἔνεκεν.

There is a seated figure over the inscription in alto-relievo, but too much defaced to be of any value.

(E.) This is a dedication to Sarapis by a certain Sarapodorus. The inscriptions are sufficiently distinct. We have *Βασιλῖ* for *Βασιλεῖ*. The date is the twenty and some year of the "Lord Augusti," month Pharmouthi. There is a female figure on the stone, in relief, of bad proportions, and a good deal defaced, and a heap of what appears to have been three little children lying dead beside her. To these figures, the line above them must have application.

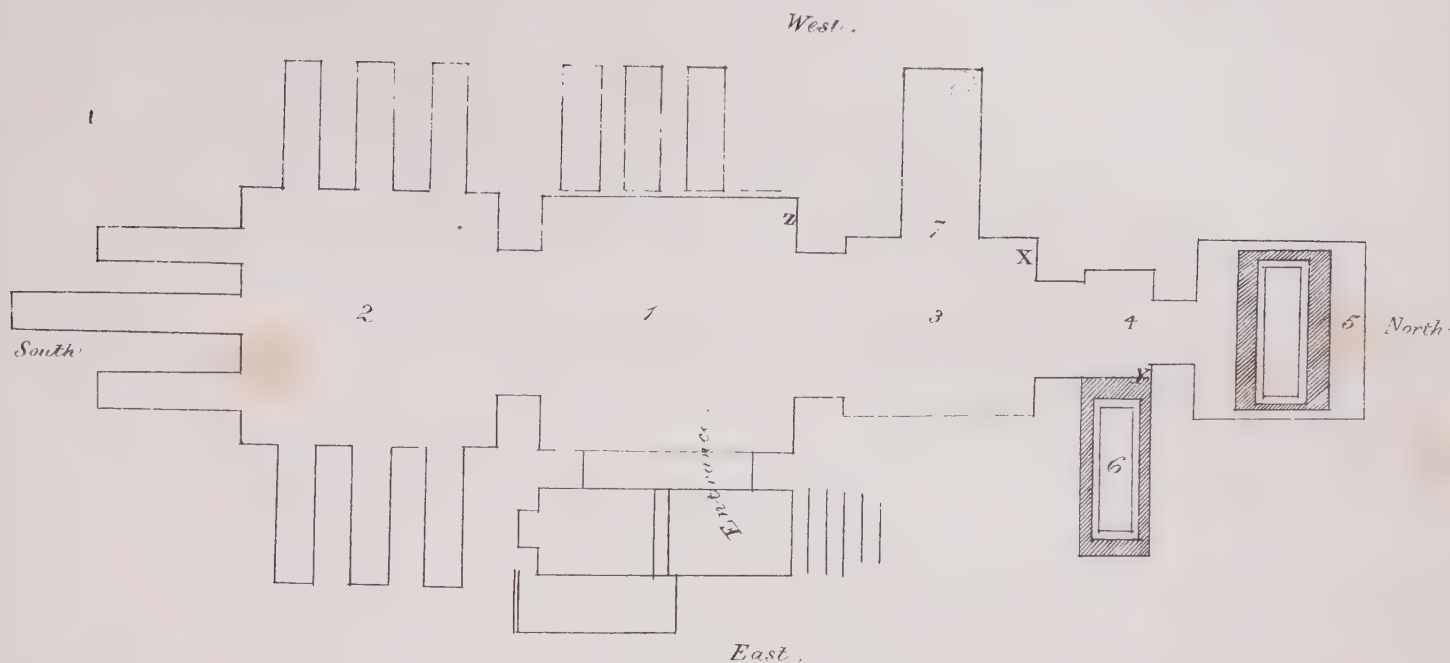
(F.) A small square tablet of marble. Part of the third line of the inscription is injured by the breaking off of a flake in the stone. It was no doubt as follows :

Μνήθητι Κε τῆς κοιμήσεως τῆς δούλης σοῦ Νειλανθίου·
 for Μνήσθητι Κύριε τῆς κοιμήσεως τῆς δούλης σοῦ Νειλανθίου.

"Remember, Lord, the sleep of thy servant Nileflowry."—21 day of month Tybi.

It will be observed that the *sigma* is twice omitted, namely, in the first and third words. If the last word be ΝΙΑΝΘΙΟΥ, and I do not see what else it can possibly be, the first syllable has the single *ι* instead of the *ει*. The adjective termination seems harsh for a female name. The woman might have called herself Νειλάνθεια at once.

These two last-mentioned stones are now at the door of the Austrian Consulate at Alexandria.

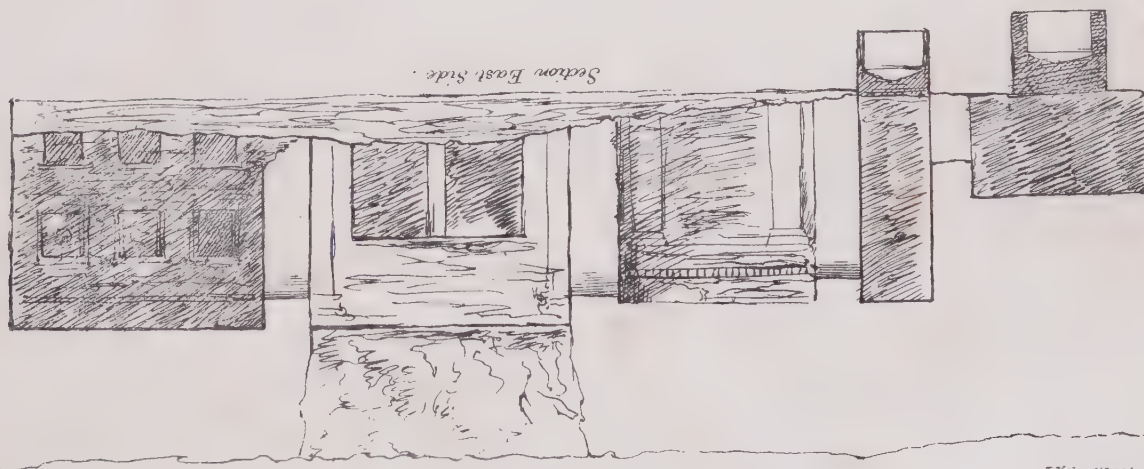


II



Section West Side.

Section East Side.



J. Neherdel Lithog.

Writings on the Wall under A are those marked N^o 1. 2. 3.

| | |
|------------------|---|
| D ^o B | D ^o N ^o 4. |
| F ^o C | D ^o N ^o 5. |
| D ^o D | N ^o 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. |
| D ^o E | D ^o N ^o 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. |

N^o 16 is at the side of E on the wall marked X in the ground Plan.
 D^o N^o 17 and 18 close to the entrance of the inner chamber at the wall marked Y.
 D^o N^o 19 and 20 are at the side of D on the wall marked Z.

in the annexed copies, the letters of which are about one sixth of the originals in linear measurement

Nº 1.

ΑΝΤΩΝΘΝΕΣΥΝΕΚΟ: Ε
 ΣΥΝΚΟΠΙΛΤΑΣΥΝΒΟΥΛΕ
 ΛΙΘΕΣΥΝΑΔΕΛΕΣΥΕ Α
 ΚΑΤΗΓΟΡΗΓΕΟΛΟΚΙΛΕ
 ΕΥΨΥΧΙΛΕ Μ ΒΗ^μΚΖ

Nº 2.

ΑΥΓΗΕΥΧΩΜΙΚΛΩΕΝΤΛΧΙ
 ΣΥΝΣΟΙΘΝΛΙΚΛΙΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ
 ΘΥΙΜΙΤΟΥΣΑΓΛΑΘΟΥΣΟΥΤΡΟΠΟΥΣ

Nº 3.

ΓΕΝ

Σ Ν ΙΤΕ ΤΟΛΑΘΟΝΤΙΝΕΥΜΑ

Nº 4.

ΤΩΝΘΝΕ
 ΝΘΡΩΠΕ
 ΛΕ

Nº 5.

ΙΩΝΘΝΕ
 ΚΑΛΟ ΝΟ
 ΜΑ ΕΥΨΥΧΙ
 ΛΕ Μ Β
 ΚΖ

ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΣ

Nº 6.

ΑΝΤΩΝΘΝΕΚΥΡΙΕ ΜΟΥΕΥΤΥΧΙ
 ΛΕ Μ Β ΗΔΙ ΚΖ

Nº 7.

ΑΥΓΗΟΥΝΙΩΝΕΥ
 ΤΥΧΙ ΕΛΑΜΗΣΗ^μΣ

J. Neher's Lithog.

Writings on the walls of a family Catacomb at Alexandria.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London. 23rd April, 1839.

N° 8.

ΟΛΥΜΠΟΥ ΝΟΝΤΟΣ
ΠΑΣΑ ΤΩ
ΧΙ Κ
ΚΖ

N° 9.

ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΟΡΟΝΑ
ΚΕΜΗ
ΤΖ

N° 10.

ΕΝΕΣΙΑΚΕ
ΛΟΜΗΤΩ

N° 11.

ΑΥΓΗ
ΕΥ

N° 12.

ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΗ

N° 13.

ΟΛΥΜΠΙΕΣ ΤΥΧΗ
ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΗ ΚΖ

N° 14.

ΑΥΓΗ ΚΖ

N° 15.

ΑΥΓΗ ΚΖ

J. Netherland. Lith.

Writings on the walls of a family Catacomb at Alexandria.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 23rd April, 1839.

ANTONINE
 ANTUNATIE
 CYCETUXH
 YTYXI
 LE N° BIKZ

N° 17.

WIEPAA WTE
 C. N. T.

N° 18.

AYTHAOLIEY
 TYCETUXH

N° 19.

ANTONINE
 ANTONATIE
 CYCETUXH
 YTYXI
 LE N° BIKZ

N° 20.

AYTHAOLIEY
 TYCETUXH

N° 21.

ANTONINE ANTUNATIE CYCETUXH YTYXI LE N° BIKZ

N° 22.

ANTONINE
 ANTONATIE
 CYCETUXH
 YTYXI
 LE N° BIKZ

J. V. 1839.

Writings on the walls of a family Calacomb at Alexandria.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London. 23rd April, 1839.

A.

ΔΕΙΚΕΤΑΝ ΑΝΑΓΙΣΑ ΜΟΝΟΔΟΙ ΠΟΥ ΕΤΑΝ ΕΙΣ ΕΝΙΚΑΣ
 ΕΙΚΟΝΑΣ ΜΕΛΕΑΣΑΝΤΑΡΟΣ ΟΥΤΟΣ ΕΧΕΙ
 ΑΤΟΠΙΝ ΕΠΙ ΚΑΛΥΒΟΙΣ ΝΥΝ ΔΕΙΣ ΑΧΕΙΡΟΝΤΑ ΜΟΛΟΥΣΑ
 ΑΣΤΕΡΟΜΑΝΤΩΝ ΠΙΝΝΥΜΦΙΔΙΩΝ ΘΑΛΑΜΩΝ
 ΠΑΤΡΙΓΟΟΥΣ ΠΡΟΜΗΠΟΥΣ ΑΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΩΙ ΤΟ ΔΕ ΤΕΥΞΕΝ
 ΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ ΝΥΜΦΑΣ ΜΝΑΜΟΣ ΥΝΟΝΘΕ ΜΕΝΟΣ

ΛΕΥΚΙΟΣ ΠΡΟΣΤΑΤΗΣ

B.

ΤΟΙΟ Λ. ΚΑΙ ΕΛ

ΤΟΙΣ ΜΕΝΟΥΣΙΝ ΕΛΤΗΣΥ
 ΝΟΔΩΙΑΝ ΕΘΗΚΕ

C.

ΘΕΑ

ΝΕΜΕ

ΤΙΤΟΣ ΑΙΛΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ
 ΜΟΣ ΥΠΕΡ ΧΑ
 ΡΙΣΤΙΑΣ ΑΙ
 ΚΕΝ ΕΤΑΓΑΘΩ

D.

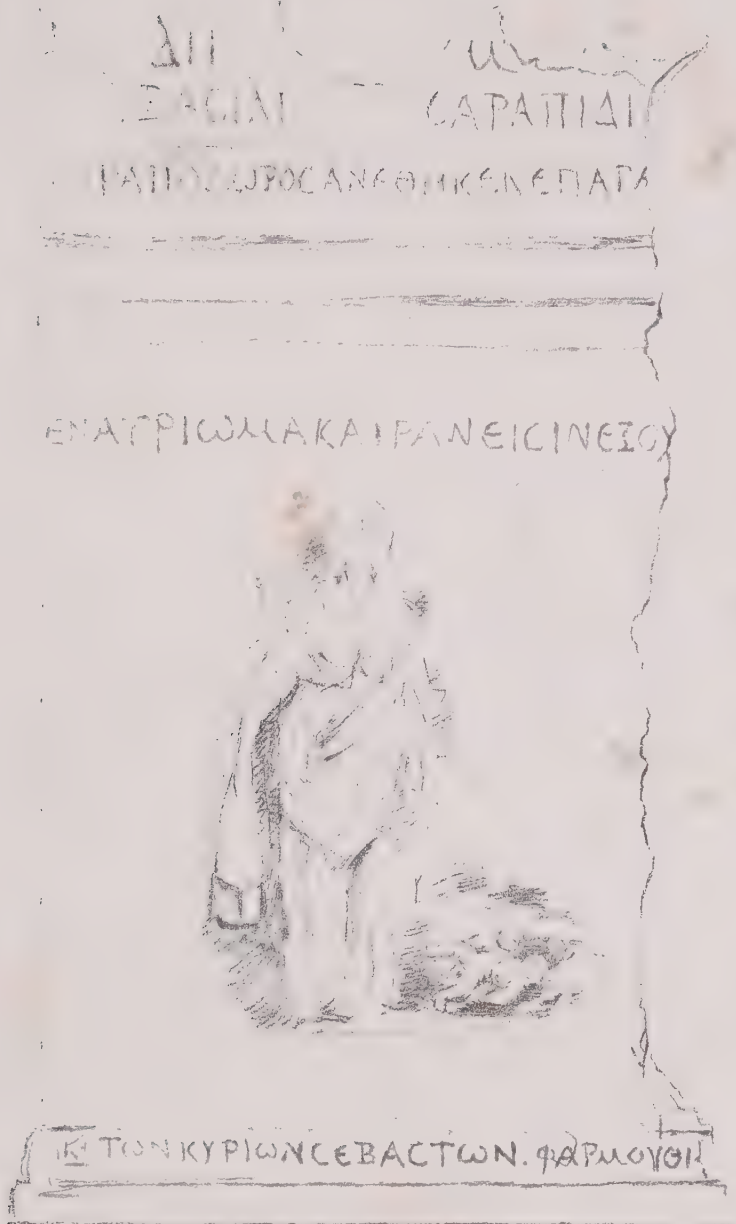
ΗΡΑΚΛΟΥΣ ΤΗ
 ΑΔΕΛΦΗΤΡΟΣ ΔΟ
 ΚΙΑ ΜΝΗΜΗΣ ΕΝΕ
 ΚΕΝ

1. No. 10000 1. 11000

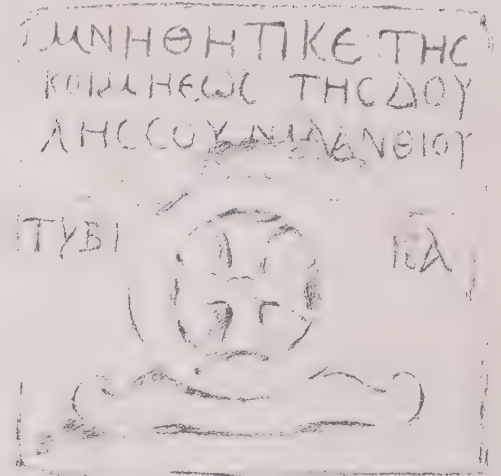
Inscriptions on Monumental Stones at Alexandria.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London. 23rd April, 1839.

E.



F.



J. Nethercliff Lithog.

Inscriptions on Monumental Stones at Alexandria.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London. 23rd April, 1839.

IX. *An Inquiry into the existing Narratives of the Battle of Cressy, with some Account of its Localities, Traditions, and Remains. By GEORGE FREDERICK BELTZ, Esq. K.H., F.S.A., Lancaster Herald, in a Letter to Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H., F.R.S., Secretary.*

Read 17th, 24th, and 31st January, 1839.

MY DEAR SIR,

Heralds' College, January 16, 1839.

THE recent researches of several very able French antiquaries among the municipal archives of Picardy and Artois—conducted, apparently, in a spirit of candour, and with an unbiassed zeal for the developement of historical truth—having produced some variations in, and additions to, the existing narratives of the Battle of Cressy, and contributed, by a more minute attention than had hitherto been given to the relative localities, traditions and remains, materially to illustrate the positions and preliminary operations of both armies, I have thought that a condensed view of the result of these inquiries may possibly not be unacceptable to the Society of Antiquaries.

We learn, from our own historians, that Edward III. having landed at La Hogue on the 12th July, 1346, with an army of 40,000 men, devastated Normandy, and approached, without much opposition, so near to Paris as Poissy, had found it expedient, in order to avoid an imprudent premature conflict with the greatly superior army of his adversary, to direct his movements towards the coast, with the ultimate object of opening a way to Calais, but in the immediate hope of strengthening himself in Flanders, and particularly in Ponthieu, his mother's inheritance, which had then lately been seized by the French King and bestowed upon his kinsman, James of Bourbon, Count de la Marche.

After a long and fatiguing expedition, upon which he had been incessantly harassed by the cavalry under Count James, the English monarch reached Airaines, closely followed by King Philip, who shortly afterwards arrived at Amiens with 100,000 men, according to Mezerai, whilst others state that his army amounted to 120,000.

The position of the English, hemmed in as they were by the French army, the ocean, and the Somme, was perilous in the extreme. Precautions had been taken by Philip to destroy the principal bridges, and to guard the fords of that river, over which, however, a passage had become indispensable to Edward's safety; and he accordingly detached the Earl of Warwick and Geoffrey de Harcourt, his marshals, with 3,000 men, of whom two-thirds were archers, to force it wherever practicable. These troops marched to Longpré, and from thence in good order to the attack of Pont Remi, but they were there repulsed by a considerable body of knights, supported by the inhabitants of the borough. They burnt, on their retreat, Fontaine-sur-Somme, and threw themselves upon Long, which place they in vain endeavoured to carry; and, having made a similar ineffectual attempt at Picquigny, where the town, the bridge, and the castle had been strongly fortified, they were compelled to abandon all immediate hope of executing their commission, and to return to the head quarters.

In the meantime, Edward, anticipating the failure of his marshals, and most critically situated at a distance of a few leagues only from the camp of his powerful foe, surrounded also by a population exasperated by the unrestrainable excesses of his troops, had decided upon an effort to possess himself of Abbeville; and, accordingly, on the return of the detachment, and, after hearing mass a little before sunrise, he broke up with his whole army from Airaines in such haste that the French, who entered the town a few hours afterwards, found, as Froissart narrates, "great store of provisions, meat ready-spitted, bread and pasties in the ovens, tuns and vessels full of wine, and tables ready spread," as the English had, perhaps not undesignedly, left them.

Arrived before Abbeville, the King of England ascended, with an escort of 200 horse, the heights of Caubert, in order to ascertain the nature of the defences of the town, which he perceived was well prepared, by the strength

of its walls and the breadth of its fosses, for a vigorous resistance. The mayor, Colart de Ver, who had imbued the inhabitants with his own ardent patriotism, immediately sent out a strong detachment to attack the reconnoitring party, which, being greatly inferior in numbers, retreated precipitately upon the main body. The two marshals thereupon advanced up to the gates of the town; but the burgesses, supported by 2,000 men from the neighbouring communes, and led on by a corps of knights, drove them back, after putting, according to M. de Formentin, upwards of 500 men hors de combat, and making a number of prisoners.

Edward, finding it thus impracticable to take Abbeville by a coup de main, retrograded upon Oisemont, into which town the people of the vicinity had retired in multitudes for security; but, being carried by assault, after considerable slaughter both of the assailants and defenders, the King established his head-quarters in the Great Hospital, and despatched from thence numerous parties to reconnoitre the country. One of these, having advanced as far as the gates of Saint Valery, had a brisk skirmish with the garrison, and returned to Oisemont with many prisoners from the district of Vimeu. Edward, whose embarrassment was hourly increasing, demanded of the latter whether any one of them could point out a passage over the Somme, and undertake to serve him as a guide. A hind from Mons in Vimeu, named Gobin Agace or Agache, attracted by the promise of one hundred pieces of gold, his personal liberty, and that of twenty of his companions, engaged in this service. The English army departed at midnight from Oisemont, and, under the guidance of Agache, arrived towards five in the morning at the ford of Blanquetaque. Froissart says that Edward left Oisemont just before day-break, and reached the ford at sunrise; but the distance between Blanquetaque and Oisemont being at the least five leagues, the army must have been on its march during the greater part of the night.

Cassini is mistaken in placing the ford called Blanquetaque, *i. e.* Tache-blanche, at the entrance of the mouth of the Somme, above Crotoy. It is rather at the most prominent point of the steep chalky shore, which forms a long white strip above the village of Port. The site of the passage was, therefore, at from six to seven and a half furlongs (1,200 to 1,500 metres) downward from that village. At all the points of the Somme between Port

and Crotoy, the bed of the river is moveable, and the banks, which increase or lessen its depth, are shifted at every tide; but the ford of Blanquetaque has never varied. It was there where, in 981, the body of St. Valery was conveyed across the Somme, when the waters are said to have been divided by a miracle, in order to create a passage for the precious relic. In the long wars of the middle age it afforded always a convenient transit for the numerous armies which ravaged the country. At this day, as in the time of Gobin Agache, "the bottom is of white marle, hard and strong, and yielding a firm footing;" but the river is now entirely fordable from Port to Noyelles.

The tide was at flood when Edward reached the ford. He was therefore constrained to wait several hours, during which his army had time to form en masse upon the sandy strand, of considerable breadth at that spot, and submerged only at high tides. A new obstacle unexpectedly presented itself. A thousand men-at-arms, backed by 6,000 Genoese, the militia of Abbeville and the adjacent countries, and 2,000 of the townsmen of Tournay, were ranged on the opposite bank. This corps, commanded by Godemard de Fay, a Norman baron, formed an effective force of 12,000 men. Edward encouraged his troops, and ordered his marshals to plunge into the river with the best-mounted horsemen, whilst the archers on the left bank overwhelmed the soldiers of Godemard with a shower of arrows. Without awaiting their enemy, the French knights precipitated themselves into the stream, and attacked with vigour the head of the hostile column. In the fierce onset, many of either party were dismounted and perished; but the English, sensible that their destruction would infallibly ensue should they fail in making good the passage, redoubled their efforts, and reached at length the opposite shore. "There was great slaughter," says Froissart, "for the infantry could not fly; and, the pursuit continuing for a full league, a great number of those from Abbeville, Montreuil, Rue, and Saint-Riquier were slain or taken." The continuator of Nangis, and the anonymous author of the Chronicle of Flanders, accuse Godemard of having abandoned his soldiery and saved himself by flight towards Noyelles: but the modern French writers, and, in particular, Chateaubriand, in his "*Etudes Historiques*," refute this stain upon the memory of a brave commander, who had given numerous proofs of courage and fidelity, upon the highly probable ground that Philip of Valois,

who had, upon slight evidence and perhaps mere suspicion of intelligence with Edward, punished Clisson and the brothers Malestroit with death, would scarcely have pardoned in Godemard so flagrant a dereliction of duty. The manner, besides, in which our Northburgh, who was present, relates the fact, shows that the French defended themselves valiantly, since he avers that 2,000 of their soldiers fell in the engagement.

The passage of the Somme was effected on St. Bartholomew's day (24th August) ; and the English troops, on landing, proceeded towards the left, on the strand, in order to reach Noyelles ; for the steep perpendicular shore between Port and that village precluded a straight ascent upon quitting the river. The garrison of Noyelles defended gallantly the castle of that small place, which was then the residence of Catharine of Artois, daughter of the celebrated Count Robert, and widow of John de Ponthieu, Count of Aumale, and Lord of Noyelles. This lady, says M. Louandre (in his excellent History of Abbeville and its environs), who shared the aversion to Philip of the major part of the nobility, had not been able to refuse entrance to her castle to the French troops ; but these were soon compelled to yield to the battalions of the English monarch. The village became a prey to the flames, and a similar fate was reserved for the castle, when the countess, on her knees, implored the protection of Geoffrey de Harcourt, whose nephew, John (afterwards, in 1353, beheaded at Rouen by command of King John for his adherence to the King of Navarre), had married her daughter Blanche. Through the intercession of the "traitor" Geoffrey, the castle was accordingly spared. It may be interesting to remark, that it exhibits at this day only a vast heap of rubbish, surrounded by the remains of walls and deep ditches, where, at different times, arms, barbs of arrows, and human skeletons, have been dug up.

Numerous English detachments spread themselves over the country, and pushed their reconnoissances as far as the gates of Abbeville and Saint Riquier. Crotoy was taken by assault by Hugh Spencer, the town burnt, and the garrison, consisting of 400 men, put to the sword. The division of Godemard, having been replenished, rallied on the plain in front of Noyelles, which its inhabitants still, in memory of the passage, call Blanquetaque, and maintained itself gallantly near the village of Sailly-Brai, where a bank yet

bears the appellation of "le royon soudart" (the soldiers' territory), and where the frequent discovery of large masses of human bones comes in aid of the opinion that the ground had been fiercely contested, probably by the troops under Godemard de Fay.

Edward, after having dismantled Noyelles-sur-Somme, held a council of war, gathered together his troops, and, on the day following, put himself on the march. But, in order to avoid the impassable marshes which he saw on his left, he bent his course towards Titre, whence, having burnt the fort, he passed on to La Motte-Bulleux. His route from Noyelles lay on the ancient road, supposed to be Roman, which is still extant as a greensward-way, and, notwithstanding encroachments upon it, exhibits almost every where, for that distance, the ordinary breadth of the French high roads. This chaussée, which appears to have been the medium of communication between Havre and Flanders through Noyelles, is still uninterrupted as far as Notre-dame-de-Foi, and again to be met with, at several points, after crossing the chaussée of Brunehaut, on the passage from thence into Flanders. Had the King not been disinclined to traverse the forest, he might have proceeded from Titre by Forêt-L'Abbaye (the castle of which, formerly belonging to the Templars, was in ruins at that period), and so have reached Cressy by passing through a very small extent of the wood, which would indeed have been his direct road from Noyelles to that town. At La Motte-Bulleux, however, he joined the high road from Abbeville to Hesdin, and proceeded upon it until he reached Marcheville, where he found a direct road on the left, which, near an old farm called Le Donjon, terminates at Cressy.

All the movements of the English monarch tend to show that it was his intention to march upon Flanders : and, in truth no other asylum presented itself to his harassed army, inferior as it was by three-fourths to that by which it was pursued. The opinion, therefore, entertained by Froissart and several historians, that, with this fine road open to him, and which would conduct him, straight and without impediment, to his point of destination, he adopted that by Montreuil, ravaging in his course the villages of Rue and Crotoy, appears to be wholly inadmissible. For those places lay out of his route from Noyelles to Cressy ; and it is not credible that, as an experienced general, he would have committed the imprudence of traversing,

at its widest part, the immense forest of Cressy, where no road had been traced, and where he was liable to be intercepted by hostile ambuscades. The arguments, on the other hand, for the route by Marcheville, founded as they are upon a more correct survey of the country than had hitherto been thought of with a view to these points, appear to be conclusive : since it was open and much shorter, and placed Edward's enemy at a distance of two and a half leagues on his right, and the forest on his left. One of his two marshals might without doubt, agreeably to the narrative of Froissart, have passed by Rue, and possibly to Forest-montier (on the road from Abbeville to Montreuil), in order to cover his left wing ; whilst the other approached Abbeville for the purpose of covering his right. The former had, in such case, to cross the forest in order to join the main body at Cressy : a course which he could not avoid, as no other route would have been open to him except the too circuitous one by Bernai. It is also to be recollected that the high road from Abbeville to Montreuil-sur-Mer was not made until centuries after the period in question ; and that the then existing line of communication between those towns was both sinuous and difficult.

Edward passed the small river Maye on the bridge of the castle of Cressy, near the scene of the subsequent action : and the event alone justified his conduct in intrenching his army and deciding to await his enemy on that spot ; since, by proceeding one league further, it was in his power to place the river Authie between the French army and his own ; and so, if expedient, to avoid a battle, the successful issue of which, considering his comparatively small force, he must have contemplated as highly doubtful.

The uncertainty of historians concerning the position taken by King Edward, appears to have arisen from a defective geographical knowledge of the country. One author asserts that the English had the forest on their left. If so, they would have turned their backs to the French army, which has always been considered to have advanced from Abbeville. Others have thought that Edward posted his troops on the elevated ground near Cressy, with the forest on his right and the Maye on his left. But Baron Seymour de Constant, in his able military view of the subject, remarks that this would, for several reasons, not have been a good military position. In the first place, it is always usual to avoid giving battle with a river in the rear to

impede a retreat in case of misfortune: secondly, he might have been starved in his camp, having a forest in his rear from whence he might have been annoyed with impunity: and, thirdly, the heights of Cressy on the right bank of the Maye being in the occupation of Philip, he could have cut off all means of Edward's retreat upon Artois. Some historians, in discussing this point, have endeavoured to uphold the latter of the two abovementioned positions, by arguing that the hail having, during the battle, beaten against the faces of the Genoese archers (placed by Philip in the van) proves that the English were to the westward of the French; because the westerly winds are those which, at that season of the year, usher in storms. The observation has, undoubtedly, some weight: but the English army would be placed in the same direction relatively to its adversary, if we suppose that, having passed the Maye, its right was posted on the heights above Cressy, and its left extended towards Wadicourt.

It has been remarked that, although hail storms sometimes occur in Picardy in the month of August, heavy rains, driven by hurricane, are more frequent at that season, and so violent as materially to injure the harvest. Such a storm, coming from the west, and raised by the sea, which was in that direction with relation to the situation of the French army, must necessarily have greatly incommoded those archers in the position which common sense and a knowledge of the ground must deem it to have taken.

It would seem, therefore, unavoidable to fix the position of the English army on the right bank of the Maye and on the high ground near Cressy; its right wing covered by the town and the river—its left towards Wadicourt—and its front commanding a ravine on a gentle slope, called *La Vallée-des-Clercs*. This excellent position attests so much the more the military talent of Edward, as it deprived Philip of Valois of the power of employing his cavalry with success, except on his right; and as it afforded to the English the additional advantage of being enabled to follow the *chaussée* called *Brunehaut*, for the purpose of crossing the river *Authie* at *Ponche*, in case of defeat or in avoidance of a battle, by deploying to the left if the French army should have attempted to take them in flank with its right wing, and so to obstruct their retreat.

As, however, this position, although defended on the side of Cressy by several curtains, placed ladder-wise, one above the other, might have been

accessible whenever any considerable space should intervene between the army and the town, and be turned on the side of Wadicourt; the prudent monarch, in order to obviate such a disaster, barricaded his left with pallisades and waggons, leaving nevertheless a passage open for an emergency; placed the baggage behind him in the thicket towards the left, on the road between Cressy and Ligescourt; fortified that thicket with abatis, and thus formed his post into a vast intrenched camp, protected also by the small river Maye, which descends the valley of Cressy.

It was on this advantageous spot that the English monarch exclaimed,—
“Let us take ground here: we will advance no further.” His soldier-eye embraced at once the strength of this position; and imagination furnished a happy augury, from the circumstance, that the battle would be fought upon his own territory of Ponthieu; for he added, “I am here upon my lands, and I will defend them.”

In the meantime Philip of Valois arrived at Airaines with his imposing forces. He had passed through Amiens, and advanced by rapid marches in order to block up Edward between the Somme and the ocean. He followed the same direction as the Count de la Marche; but the latter, inflamed with ardour and at the head of light troops, moved with greater expedition. Philip precipitated his march on the side of Saint Valery, where he had expected to find Edward; and had the mortification to learn, on reaching Mons in Vimeu (a village three leagues distant from Abbeville, and one league from the Somme, on that side, and nearly opposite to Noyelles-sur-Mer), that the King of England had just passed the Somme with his whole army. He ordered his army to halt; passed the night at Mons; and then took the road to Abbeville. This counter-march was made with difficulty, because it appeared that the bridges at Rouvroi had been broken down, in order to prevent the enemy from entering that suburb. Night approached when the bulk of the army had finished its passage of the Somme at Abbeville upon the bridge of Talance. Philip made necessarily this retrogressive march to Abbeville, instead of proceeding to Blanquetaque by the road which leads thither from Saigneville across the lower fields of that village; for the increase of the waters had commenced; and, supposing the ford had been practicable, he would scarcely have ventured upon it under

the eye of Edward, and whilst the battalions of the latter, encouraged by their recent success, covered the right bank of the river.

The Genoese archers, banditti accustomed to pillage and murder, remained at Mautort, Rouvroi, and in the environs of those places; being destined to form the advance-guard: and it was besides apprehended, that, should they be allowed to pass the night in Abbeville, the town would have become a prey to their marauding habits. The greater part of the French army proceeded, without halting, into quarters at Menchecourt, Thuisson, and in the fields of that vicinity.

The King of France established his head-quarters in the abbey of St. Peter, where he assembled his principal officers in grand "parliament of arms," says Froissart, and, after supper, conjured them to be friendly and courteous towards each other, dismissing from them all envy, hatred, and pride. The fear that the English monarch might escape his pursuit, tormented and urged him to make dispositions for departure at an early hour of the following morning.

On Saturday, the 26th of August, at sun-rise, after having heard mass and communicated at St. Stephen's (a church now demolished), King Philip quitted Abbeville, in order to marshal his forces for the approaching conflict. In this army were 15,000 Genoese, whom, upon the disembarkation of Edward, he had caused to join him under the command of Grimaldi and Doria. The Ligurian mountaineers had, at that time, the reputation of being the most dexterous archers and the best seamen in Europe. His remaining infantry was inferior to that of the English. It was formed of inhabitants of towns, levied in haste, and of a large number of peasants whom fear had mustered under his banners. There was also a multitude of nobles, amongst whom several foreign princes, particularly John of Luxemburgh, King of Bohemia, esteemed one of the most able politicians and most ambitious of monarchs of his age, whose daughter had espoused John Duke of Normandy, eldest son of Philip, and who had desired, notwithstanding his almost total blindness, to come into France for the purpose of succouring that prince. John of Luxemburgh had brought with him his son Charles, elect King of the Romans. Amongst the other stranger princes was Don James, King of Majorca, who, after having been dethroned by Peter, King of Arragon, had taken refuge with Philip; Louis, Count of Flanders, expelled

from his states by his own subjects ; Raoul of Lorraine, who had distinguished himself in the war against the Moors ; the Duke of Savoy, recently arrived with a contribution of 1,000 horse ; and others. Of French princes, there were Charles, called the Magnanimous, Count of Alençon, the king's brother ; Louis de Châtillon, Count of Blois, the king's nephew ; Louis de Champagne, Count of Sancerre ; and John de Chalon, Count of Auxerre ; Peter of Bourbon ; John de Croix ; John de Conflans ; and others. The main army might then amount to 70,000 men ; but it contained too many commanders, and a great proportion of soldiers without experience. Philip was also less fortunate than his rival in respect to obedience to his authority ; and, although he had in the evening so strongly recommended unanimity to his jealous and restless barons, it was not practicable to bring them, on the morrow, under such subjection to his orders as was demanded by the crisis.

The French army, like the English, was divided into three bodies, or battalions. The first was commanded by Doria and Grimaldi ; the second, by the Count of Alençon ; and the King in person placed himself at the head of the third ; having with him the King of Bohemia, the other foreign princes, and the Count of Ponthieu.

The records of the district are said not to indicate the route which King Philip took on leaving Abbeville ; but, if it had been a direct one towards Cressy, it is improbable, considering the short distance, that, if his first columns had quitted that town at day-break, they would have arrived on the field of battle, as they did, fatigued and harassed, so late as three o'clock in the afternoon.

M. Louandre is of opinion that, seeing the villages about Crotoy in flames, Philip, on marching out of Abbeville, moved toward Noyelles by Menche-court, in the hope of driving Edward into the marshes of the Authie. The inhabitants of Noyelles, at this day, are said to call the road to Abbeville, by the strand of the river, "*Chemin de Valois.*" Chateaubriand, in his "*Etudes Historiques,*" informs us that Philip was deceived by a false report on quitting Abbeville ; and that he had already made two leagues on a contrary route before he ascertained that Edward had halted at Cressy : and the History of the Mayors of Abbeville mentions that the French made their first dispositions in the plains of Titre, which plains they would indeed have had to traverse in their progress from Noyelles to Cressy. Baron Seymour

de Constant, on the other hand, states that the French army, on leaving Abbeville, proceeded on the road which leads from that town to Hesdin, and which, he also asserts, is still called "Chemin de l'Armée." Both accounts may be reconcilable upon the hypothesis that Philip was at first mistaken respecting the position of Edward, and that, after having advanced to Noyelles, and from thence to Titre, he joined the Hesdin route (as Edward had done) at Nôtre-Dame-de-Foi.

On arrival at Marcheville the French King gave orders to halt; for, there being a considerable elevation of ground beyond that village, all distant view was thereby intercepted. He sent forward D'Aubigny, Beaujeu, des Noyers, and Le Moine de Bazèle, to survey the country, says Froissart, and to ascertain if the English, reported to have been at Cressy on the preceding evening, were still encamped there. These knights, the chronicler adds, returned sad and dispirited; and, on being pressed with questions, Bazèle (whom he describes as one of the most chivalrous and valiant knights in the world) answered that this English army, which had been supposed to be on its retreat, was boldly awaiting in good order of battle the arrival of its adversary. At the suggestion of that brave knight to defer the engagement until the morrow, in order to afford time for the repose and refreshment of the troops, King Philip issued orders to stop the march of the advance-guard. Those troops which composed the first marching column accordingly halted; but the second battalia, commanded by Alençon, burning to come into action, disobeyed the order, the officers declaring that they would advance as far as their precursors. The van-guard, on observing the approach of the following corps, presumed that the order to halt had been countermanded, and continued its march. Alençon redoubled his steps, and the great lords had the vanity to strive to surpass each other; and, it thus becoming impracticable to maintain discipline, the mass arrived in face of its enemy in the greatest disorder.

Finding it impossible under these circumstances to delay the action, Philip passed above the sources of the Maye; and, extending his troops on the right, placed his army in battle array, with his left wing in front of Fontaine, Estrées behind his centre, and his right on the farm of Branlicourt. If the troops formed as they came up, it is in the order of things that the Genoese cross-bows in the advance were stationed towards the left, opposite the Vallée-

des-Clercs, which became the scene of the brunt of the action. The assumption that this was the position, is said to find a corroboration in the frequent exhumation of warlike weapons and human bones in that valley.

It was three o'clock in the afternoon; a violent storm burst upon the armies. The rain (which, in those districts near the coast, is at that season often mingled with hail) fell in torrents, and incommoded especially the cross-bow-men. The sun re-appeared, but his rays dazzled and blinded the Genoese. The English, on the other hand, had the sun at their backs, an advantageous position, which, in conflicts between archers, the usual prelude to general battles at that period, not seldom ensured victory to the party so favoured. When the two armies had approached sufficiently near, a signal was given to the Genoese in front to commence the attack; but they demanded a few moments repose, pleaded fatigue and hunger, and that the rain had slackened the cords of their bows. Natives, in fact, of a clime in which sudden showers of rain are less frequent, they had not learnt, like the archers of Edward, to sheathe their weapons. Urged on, however, by their commanders, they advanced with loud shouts, but were repulsed by the English archers. The impetuous Alençon, supposing the defeat of the Genoese the effect of treachery, exclaimed—"Kill that rabble, for they only impede us!" and so saying he darted upon and rode over them with his cavalry. Whilst the Genoese, thus bruised and mangled by their own party, sought, amidst piercing cries, to avoid death by flight or by houghing with their daggers the horses which were crushing them, the English overwhelmed the disordered mass with a shower of arrows, or cut the fugitives in pieces with their swords.

The Count de Ponthieu was sent by Philip to open a passage for the Genoese; and, by clearing the battle front, to enable the French to resume the offensive, which that valiant commander at length effected, but was, after a fierce combat, driven back into the valley, where the last columns of the second corps had just appeared. The nobles, attached to the staff of the Count of Alençon, the King's brother, were there ranged under his banner, borne by Jacques d'Estracelles. The retreat of the vanguard had suspended their march onward, and they deemed it prudent to await the advance of the King. But Alençon, with the impetuosity natural to him, commanded the attack, and ordered d'Estracelles to carry his banner before

him. This warrior, celebrated for numerous proofs of courage, had availed himself of an instant's repose to remove his iron head-piece, in order to breathe more freely during the extreme heat of the day. He represented to the Prince the danger of an attempt to dislodge the English from their entrenchments with the cavalry. The Count replied imperiously—"Replace your casque, and go forward!" "It is your order," said the brave soldier, "and I obey: I shall replace my casque, never to take it off again." He then sprang forward, and the troops following him, charged the Prince of Wales, who had just quitted his formidable position in order to fall upon the second French line, and to give it the death-blow. The young Prince endeavoured in vain to resist the powerful attack. Our national accounts of the battle, at this moment, show that he was in great peril, and that a report to that effect was made to his royal father; but the town records of Abbeville are said to furnish some details on the point which are not historically known to us, and which, if they may be relied on, are certainly of great interest. M. Louandre states, upon their authority, that the Black Prince, surrounded and thrown to the ground, would infallibly have fallen into the power of the enemy, but for a knight of Norman origin, Richard de Beaumont, who carried the great banner of Wales, threw it over the prince; and, having placed his feet upon it, with his sword in both hands, repulsed the assailants. Harcourt, to whose experience Edward had confided his young son, having apprised the Earl of Arundel of the critical situation of the heir apparent, the latter came up at the head of the second division, and forced the French, who had advanced as far as the hill, suddenly to retire.

The Counts of Alençon and de Ponthieu, finding themselves unable to maintain this position, resolved to turn it. Those who have surveyed the ground, are led to believe that this attempt was made in the ravine, which conducts to that point of the field of battle, on the side of Wadicourt, which the inhabitants call "Le Marché à Carognes." But as fast as the French penetrated into this ravine, the outlet of which was barricaded, the English, entrenched behind the pallisades, and under cover of their baggage-waggons, destroyed all who presented themselves. The assailants endeavoured in vain to throw down the barricades, and were pierced by the English

lances. The Count of Alençon was slain; and the Count de Blois, the Duke of Lorraine, and the Counts of Auxerre and Sancerre shared the same fate. The gallant d'Estracelles fell, covered with wounds, whilst defending his banner, his casque unremoved, as he had predicted! The French authors assert that quarter was sternly refused by the English, and particularly to the great barons; and add, that several English commanders, moved to pity by the indiscriminate slaughter, supplicated Edward to stay its progress, but found him inflexible. It would seem, however, to be difficult to support this latter assertion by any thing in the shape of evidence; and the distance of the King, who commanded the reserve, from the immediate scene of the pell-mell conflict, appears to increase that difficulty.

The two first divisions of the French army had been already broken and repulsed, when King Philip appeared in the valley of Cressy. He thought the battle gained, and came only to witness the rout of his principal troops. The unfortunate monarch plunged furiously into the thick of the remaining battle; and, seconded by those around him, drove his enemy to the foot of the acclivity. At that moment, King Edward advanced at the head of his division: his good fortune was again predominant; and the French fled in all directions. Philip, wounded in the neck and thigh, had had two horses killed under him; and notwithstanding all his efforts to rally the fugitives, he saw himself at once abandoned and almost within the power of his victorious foe. The intrepid King of Bohemia had, just before the catastrophe, come up with the extreme rear-guard. Being nearly blind, he enquired the state of the battle, and learnt that it was lost, and that Charles of Luxembourg, King of the Romans, his son, was dangerously wounded. He immediately ordered Le Moine de Bazèle to take the rein of his horse, and lead him against the English. An ineffectual endeavour was made to divert his resolution. "Shall I, the King of Bohemia," he exclaimed, "fly before an enemy? Let me succour Philip and my son, quit the spot as a conqueror, or perish!" And, so saying, he was led into the battle; and dealt at random "baleful blows" on all with whom he came into contact. The English soldiers, transported with rage, threw him from his horse, and slew Bazèle, Henry of Rosenberg, and John of Leuchtenberg, who strove in vain to save him. The old King fell, not at seven hundred paces forward from Cressy,

according to Mazas, but, as M. Louandre states, at the distance of 1,900 metres from that place ; and a great stone-cross was erected on the spot to commemorate the event. This cross, about three feet in height, wasted and blackened by time, was thrown down ; but being planted a second time near the pedestal which supported it, it may still be seen on the road, called "Chemin de l'Armée." There were still parties engaged in the fields near Watéglise, whilst the remnant of the French army was scattered in various directions. A tradition is said to exist that a numerous detachment, pursued as far as Brailly-Cornehotte, halted near that village and swore to die arms in hand ; and that the renewed conflict lasted until no one of the French remained. It was, in order to perpetuate the memory of this last effort, that a chapel, still extant on the fatal site, and called "Moriadini," was erected. A similar origin is assigned to the chapel of Tréchencourt (three hundred bodies) situated near Noyelles-en-Chaussée. For these topographical particulars M. Louandre acknowledges himself to be indebted to M. Delhommel de Sorus, who, residing in the vicinity of the battle-field, has been enabled to gather many traditions towards the elucidation of events so interesting to both nations.

King Philip, wounded, vanquished, and almost deserted, refused to quit the spot on which all his hopes had foundered. John of Hainault, the Counts de la Marche and Ponthieu, and the Lord of Aubigny, were obliged to use violence to remove him. They seized the bridle of his horse, and led away the unhappy monarch. John de Beaujeu, the Lord of Montfort, Charles de Montmorency, and sixty other warriors, who determined to defend him at the peril of their lives, served as his escort. Their course was towards the right ; and Philip reached, towards midnight, the castle of La Broie, whose owner, John Lessopier, was entirely devoted to his cause. The King himself knocked at the gate. The aged castellan, shaking with fear after the events of the day, called out from the battlements, "Soldiers, whose are ye ? If you serve not my Lord of Valois, you enter not my castle." "Open, open, castellan," answered Philip with emotion, "it is the unfortunate King of the French." Lessopier, recognising his voice, hastened to conduct the monarch and his suite within his walls, "not without dreadful weeping and lamentations," say the Abbeville records, "of his poor subjects." After partaking of a hasty repast, Philip continued his route to Amiens.

The English spread themselves over the whole plain, in order to complete the dispersion of their enemy. Edward was, besides, aware that the land militias of a part of Normandy, and from Beauvais and the neighbouring countries, were advancing on his track. Holand and Warwick, two of his best generals, consequently, put themselves on their march on the day following, and encountered, several leagues from the field of the late battle, corps of some thousands of men, who were running at hazard, and without knowing whither to direct their steps ; for they had been apprised, by the fugitives from Cressy, of the defeat of the French. These unfortunate rustic troops, with whom were the Archbishops of Nismes and Sens, and the Grand-Prior of France, fell, in the obscurity of the night, amongst the English soldiers, and were put to death. Hume observes that this inhumanity was endeavoured to be palliated by the alleged fact, that the King of France had given like orders to his troops, but that the true reason probably was, that the English, in their actual situation, feared to be embarrassed with prisoners. The history of the Mayors of Abbeville informs us that, whilst Edward's generals were employed in dispersing the fragments of the enemy's army, the King walked, accompanied by his son, over the lines where the battle had been fought. The ground, inundated with blood and covered with the dead, presented a horrible spectacle. "What think you of a battle," said he to the young Prince : "do you believe it to be an agreeable game?" He called his clerks, in order to count and recognise the slain, and to indicate, especially, the rank of the nobles. The clerks remained an entire day in the valley and neighbouring fields ; and, after their funereal scrutiny, reported to their sovereign, that they had found a King, eleven princes, eighty great barons, and twelve hundred knights, amongst whom Geoffrey Harcourt recognised his brother by the crest of a peacock upon his helm. If the war-cry of his house, exclaim the French writers, "Harcourt ! Harcourt !" which he doubtless heard during the battle, struck him, as it must, with grief and remorse, the aspect of the bloody corse would have made him tremble with horror. He is said to have cast himself, at a subsequent period, at the feet of Philip, with his scarf around his neck in the manner of a cord, thereby avowing himself amenable to the most infamous of punishments. His penitence availing, he obtained a pardon for his perfidy.

Some historians aver that 30,000 men perished on the day of the battle, and 60,000 on the day following: but this is an evident exaggeration. Northburgh, an eye-witness, reduces the number of men-at-arms, killed on the first day, to 1,542, without reckoning peasants and trampers, and that on the morrow, to somewhat more than 2,000.

An ancient tradition, preserved in the Abbey of Valloires, states that Edward, having ordered the wounded to be removed, and relief administered to them, the monks of that monastery proceeded to the spot, and carried away a great number of barons and common soldiers into the vast buildings around their magnificent domain at Cressy-Grange, where they gave them every solace in their power. The ground is still shown, within an inclosure in the former cemetery of Valloires, where the Bernardine friars consigned to the grave the remains of the brave men whose lives their tender care could not save.

Edward proclaimed a truce of three days, for the purpose of burying the dead, and enjoined the surrounding peasantry to discharge that duty. There are still to be seen in the Vallée-des-Clercs large ditches which were evidently excavated with that object. One of these fosses exists at the angle connecting this valley with that of the Maye; another is noticed against a small ravine which descends from the elevated point where the English were encamped. The bodies of the principal nobility were interred at Valloires, Maintenoy, Montreuil, but mostly in the church of Cressy. There lay the Count of Flanders, with this inscription on his tomb:—

“ Cy gist noble et puissant Prince de bonne
mémoire, monseigneur Louys de Crécy, comte
de Flandre, de Nevers et Rethel, qui
trépassa en l'an de grace MCCCXLVI le
XXVI jour du mois d'aoust.”

The body of the Count of Alençon was carried to Amiens. It is said that the King of England and his son assisted, in mourning, at the solemn service celebrated for the nobles slain in the battle; but that before consigning the mangled bodies to their place of rest, he permitted his soldiers to possess themselves of their armour, helms, and swords. There yet remained,

after this spoil, many of these relics which they could not bear away; and these and the waggons, collected in a vast heap, were devoted to the flames.

It has been already stated that the King of Bohemia, having rode into the midst of his enemies, was thrown from his horse and pierced with wounds. Edward, informed that he still breathed beneath the dust of the bloody field, ordered him to be carried to his tent, and that every aid should be afforded to him; but he expired in the night. The English monarch retained, of the rich spoils of the illustrious stranger, only two ostrich feathers which had surmounted his helm, and which were encircled by a golden wreath, whereon the motto "*Ich dien*" (I serve) was engraven. Edward presented the plume to his gallant son, as a guerdon for his exploits on the preceding day. The remains of John of Luxemburgh were deposited in the chapel of the abbey of Valloires, where, within the last century, was still to be seen this inscription:—

“ L'an mil quarante six trois cents,
Comme la chronique tesmoigne,
Fut apporté et mis céans
Jean Luxembourg, Roi de Béhagne.”

The Benedictines, editors of *L'Art de Verifier les Dates*, and other historians, affirm that these remains were reclaimed by two aunts of the deceased king, nuns in the Dominican convent at Montargis, and that his tomb was recovered in 1748, during the progress of some repairs of the church of that convent; but the Bohemian historians positively assert that the mortal relics of this great prince were transported into Germany. Baron Seymour de Constant has demonstrated that the body had sepulture in the cathedral of Luxemburgh; and that a portion of the bones, profanely disinterred during the French revolution, are now preserved in the cabinet of curiosities of M. Buch-Buschmann, the proprietor of a porcelain manufactory at Treves, and shown to visitors.

I have extracted a large portion of the preceding narrative from an instructive memoir contributed by M. Louandre to the "*Revue Anglo-*

Française," publishing at Poitiers; and, although authorities are not cited for many of the statements, it cannot but be an interesting occupation to an English antiquary to bring under the view of his countrymen every incident connected with, and serving to illustrate, so memorable an event in history. I fear that my communication will already be thought too copious; but I am tempted to add a few observations, from the above learned author, referring to some of the causes to which he attributes the victory.

Amongst these, M. Louandre says, must be reckoned the fine military position which the English had chosen, and in which they awaited, according to their custom down to the present time, the attack of their adversary. The superiority, also, of our archers, who, habituated to the incessant use of the cross-bow in those days, made that weapon a terrible instrument in their hands. The cross-bow was so formidable from its force, and so dangerous from the facility of its use, that the practice of it was anathematised in a council of the Lateran, held in 1139. The French despised it as a cowardly weapon, and refused to use it. For the same reason they were even disinclined to use the common bow; and held the sword, the lance, and similar weapons only as honourable, as they required proximity, and afforded no superiority save to strength and valour. Other causes, contributory to the French defeat at Cressy, he considers to have been their inconceivable precipitation in attacking, by successive movements, the formidable lines of their enemy; and the well-executed charge against the Genoese cross-bowmen, and the frightful disorder which resulted from it in the first moments of the action. Moreover, the celebrated historian Villani, who has been remarked for his scrupulous search after truth, and is superior in judgment to the French historians of that age, informs us that Edward had intermixed, with his archers, "bombs which, by means of fire, darted small iron balls, for the purpose of affrighting and destroying the horses; and that this kind of missile caused so much noise and tremour, that it seemed like thunder from heaven, whilst it produced great slaughter amongst the soldiery, and the overthrow of their horses." This first mention of artillery in a battle is the more worthy of attention, says Sismondi, because Villani, who died two years only after the event, could not have committed an anachronism. M. Mazas, nevertheless, disbelieves the exact fact upon the ground

that Froissart has omitted all allusion to it. Mr. Hallam, however, in his great work on the Middle Ages, has not felt himself restrained by the silence of the chronicler from re-producing the testimony of Villani on the subject. It is indeed indisputable that cannon were used at the siege of Quesnoy so early as 1340. They were unlike those in present use, being much shorter and thicker, and had somewhat the form of a mortar. The use of artillery had been imported from the east by our commerce with Arabia, where powder had been employed since 1200 for the throwing of stones and balls. The Moors, continues M. Louandre, had artillery of this description, in 1305, at the siege of Ronda, and again, at that of Algesiras, in 1343, where several English battalions, serving as auxiliaries in the Castilian ranks, may have witnessed the power of this arm of war, and recommended its adoption to their nation.

Some French historians, amongst others Robert Gaguin (who died in 1501), mention the entangling costume of the French at that period as one of the causes of their disaster. Their dress, in the 14th century, consisted of a long robe trailing on the ground, with a cincture, and a hood like those used by monks. An old poet, Jean Douchet, thus expresses himself in his epitaph on Philip of Valois :

“ Puis a Crécy perdis de mes gindarmes
Trente cinq mille, nonobstant leurs grands armes,
Par le moyen de leurs acoustremens
Et chaperons et autres vestemens,
Lesquels flottoient de toutes parts en terre,
Qui n'estoient bons pour gens de bien de guerre.”

I shall conclude with an anecdote bordering on the marvellous. M. Mazas acquaints us that an old Latin Chronicle, amongst the MSS. of the abbey of St. Riquier, composed in the year 1200 and in a figurative and prophetic strain, predicts that, in the year of grace 1346, there would appear, over Bulecamp (the ancient name of the Vallée-des-Clercs), five Suns ; which appearance would be followed by an eclipse. The inhabitants of Picardy and the countries of Ponthieu and Artois thus interpreted the prediction. The

five Suns are the five Kings assembled on the field of Cressy, viz. Edward III., Philip of Valois, John King of Bohemia, Charles King of the Romans, and James King of Majorca. The eclipse was the disaster which befel the French nation in consequence of that congress. The Chronicle of Tramecourt adverts to the same prophecy; and adds that Cressy was anciently denominated "Bulecamp."

Believe me, my dear Sir,

Yours, very faithfully,

G. F. BELTZ, LANCASTER.

SIR HENRY ELLIS, K.H. F.R.S.
Sec. S. A.



Cross to the memory of the King of Bohemia near the Battle-Field of Cressy.

From a sketch taken by W^m Bromet M.D.F. S.A. on the 10th of June 1816.

X. A Brief History of the late English Convent at Paris of the Order of the Conception, commonly called the Blue Nuns; in a Letter from JOHN GAGE ROKEWODE, Esq. F.R.S., Director, to SIR HENRY ELLIS, K.H., F.R.S., Secretary.

Read 14th February, 1839.

DEAR SIR HENRY,

IN 1798 the Abbé Mann favoured the Society with a short chronological account^a of the religious establishments made by English Catholics on the continent of Europe, noticing among them the Nuns of the Conception^{at} Paris.

The Book^b of the transactions of this Convent from its foundation to the year 1792, shortly after which it was suppressed, being now in my^e possession, I beg to transmit to the Society a brief History of the Religious, as the names of some of the noblest English Catholic families will be found among the ladies presiding over the house, or enrolled in its small community.

^a Archæologia, vol. XIII. p. 251.

^b MS. on paper, tall folio, without a title, in modern calf. It is divided into these seven parts. I. Transcripts of the public instruments relating to the foundation of the Convent, beginning with "Permission des Vicaires de Monseigneur le Cardinal de Retz, Archevesque de Paris, pour l'Etablissement de cette maison." II. A diary of the Convent, commencing in these words: "The occasion and manner of the beginning of this Monastery of Bethlem, the first house of our nation of the holy order of the Immaculate Conception of our Blessed Lady, in the suburbs of St. Anthony at Paris." From the year 1658 to the year 1703 the diary is kept in the same hand-writing; after which the entries are made in different hands, as the circumstances seem to have arisen. The Diary terminates abruptly in 1792. III. Transcripts of the official documents relating to the election of the abbesses and officers of the Convent; the last document is dated 28th August, 1788. IV. The professions of the community; the formulæ being transcripts down to the year 1679, after which occur, in every instance, the original signatures of the professed. V. An Obituary of the community, intitled "Burials," closing with the entry of the burial at Norwich in 1810, of the last Abbess,

In 1658 the English Convent of nuns of the third order of St. Francis, called the Conception, founded at Nieuport in Flanders, which then contained forty-eight Religious, was, in consequence of heavy losses sustained in the wars that ravaged the country, obliged to reduce its numbers. Some of the community went to England, some were sent to Flanders, and others came to France and were the founders of the convent at Paris.

The Religious destined for France, on their arrival at Ghent, chose Angela Jerningham for their Superioress, who had the following ladies under her care: Margaret Floyd,^c Ann Hawkins,^d Christina Thorold, and Lucy Fortescue,^e professed nuns; Martha Figg, a lay-sister; Dorothy Acton, a novice; and Mary Penny,^f a young gentlewoman, pensioner.

These sailed from Flushing for St. Vallery en Somme, and proceeded, under the protection of Father Peter Cape, guardian of the Franciscans at Douay, to Orleans, intending to have established themselves in that city; but, the Bishop of the diocese not being willing that they should remain there, they went to Paris. Their resources, on their arrival, were nearly exhausted, as they had brought with them from the Convent at Nieuport only two hundred pounds; however, by the exertions of friends they found themselves established at a baker's house in St. Jacques, which, through the means of Lewis Stuart,^g commonly called Lord Aubigny, was favoured with privileges placing them in some measure on the footing of persons dwelling in an hospice. They lived for a time entirely upon charity, being supplied with daily provisions by their neighbours. In 1659 Christina Thorold returned to Nieuport, but the community was joined by three other Religious of that Convent, namely Mary Jerningham sister of Angela the superioress, Catharine Knevet, and Elizabeth Timperly. The lady last named, one of the nuns

Elizabeth Green. VI. The Superiors given by the Archbishop of Paris to the Religious. VII. The Confessors of the house.

This book was given in evidence before the House of Lords in 1812, in the Stafford Peerage case.

^c Died 29 Sept. 1664.

^d Died 4 May, 1689.

^e Returned to England.

^f Daughter of George Penny, of Poole, in Dorsetshire, Esquire, by his wife, Jane Perkins, of Ufton Court, in Berkshire, professed 8 Dec. 1661; died 9 November, 1664.

^g Dodd's Church History, vol. iii. p. 239, and Dugdale's Baronage—Stuart Duke of Richmond; according to the Diary of the Conception Lewis died in 1666.

who had gone to England, brought with her from her family, which was seated at Hintlesham in Suffolk, and connected with Cornwallis, Bedingfeld, and Jerningham, five hundred pounds for the assistance of the new establishment. In a short time the Religious were in a situation to purchase land, and supported by Lord Aubigny, they obtained permission^b from his Eminence Cardinal Retz, Archbishop of Paris, to buy a house and garden in the Rue Charenton, Fauxbourg St. Antoine, which they took possession of in the month of April, 1660. The purchase cost them 2,600 pistoles. Angela Jerningham was confirmed Abbess of the new community, but, with permission, she returned with her sister to Nieuport at the beginning of the following year, and Elizabeth Timperly was chosen in her place.

Down to this time the Convent professed the rule of their parent monastery, the third order of St. Francis. They now obtained from Pope Alexander VII. a bullⁱ to take the rule of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin, and on the 8th of December 1661, being the feast of the Order, the Religious made their vows accordingly. From the colour of their habit they were commonly called the Blue Nuns. In 1670, Hardouin, Archbishop of Paris, approved^j of the convent, on condition that it remained subject to his jurisdiction, and the King confirmed^k the establishment. The constitutions of the Religious were confirmed by the Archbishop of Paris in 1680, and letters of establishment were obtained from the Parliament of France, in 1704, the Queen^l of England, Mary D'Este, using her influence on the occasion.

A small steeple with a bell was erected in 1669 for the Religious by some French ladies, one of whom, Madame Beaudauphin, laid the first stone of the conventual church in 1672. On the feast of the Conception in the the following year, the church was blessed, with the permission of the Archbishop of Paris, by Walter Montague, Abbot of Saint Martin's (son of Henry

^b License of the Vicar General, dated 12th January 1660, granted on the petition of the seven professed nuns in community, under their religious names of sisters Angela Alexis, Mary Ignatius, Catharine Louisa, Margaret Bruno, Anne Bonnaventura, Elizabeth Anne, and Lucy Mechtildis.

ⁱ Bull dated 7 Sept. 7 Pontif.

^j Approbation dated 22 March, 1670.

^k Confirmation Louis XIV. dated at Douay, 27 May, 1670.

^l In 1673 the Queen, then Duchess of York, in passing through Paris bestowed upon the Convent forty pistoles to pray for her prosperity in England. The year before the abdication Father Shireburne, President of the Benedictines, obtained from the Queen a pension of forty pounds a year for this Convent.

Earl of Manchester), who was a contributor towards the building, and an active promoter of the interests of the Convent. This church becoming insufficient for the increasing community, a donation of a thousand pounds from the Duchess of Cleveland (whose daughter,^m Lady Barbara Fitzroy, was a pensioner in the Convent) tempted them to build another, and to convert the old church into a choir for the new. It was begun in 1677, but a want of funds and increasing troubles in England, involved the Convent in temporary difficulties, and the new church was not finished until 1690, being consecrated by the Bishop of Rodes on the 16th of November in that year. For the completion of the edifice the Convent was much indebted to the disinterested zeal of Monsieur de Jeunay, the architect of the French King, employed in the building; and among the most active friends, under the difficulties of the occasion, was Lady Hamilton, afterward Duchess of Tyrconnel. Sir Francis Throckmorton gave an organ; John Layborne, late president of Douay College, a chalice and patten; Madame Villembré, a silver lamp; and the Pope, a privileged altar, for the new church. The Religious were frequently engaged in buildings, and in 1743 were obliged, at a cost of nearly fifty thousand livres, to rebuild their conventual house, the foundations of which had suffered from a then recent inundation.

From the commencement of the establishment the Religious received pensioners in their house, and the Convent became the refuge about the time of the abdication of King James II., and subsequently, of many English ladies. Lord Thomas Howard, a younger son of Henry VIth Duke of Norfolk, obtained permission from the Archbishop of Paris in 1689 for four of his sons, all under six years of age, to dwell in the convent, where his young daughter was also placed. The school opened by the Religious was occasionally frequented by some of the chief Catholics of England.

Notwithstanding the assistance which the Convent received at times from their friends in England, and the annual charities of the royal family and clergy, and of some of the nobles of France, the Religious were often embarrassed in their circumstances. The revenue of the house in 1788, ex-

^m Lady Barbara Fitzroy died 4th January 1734, and is buried in the choir of the collegiate church of Manchester. Near this lady reposes William Dawson, Esq., who desired to be buried with her, not only to testify his gratitude to a kind benefactress, "but because his fate was similar to hers; for she was disowned by her mother, and he was disinherited by his father."

clusive of scholars' pensions, was 21,597 livres, 10 sous, equal to £900. British. At that time the number of Religious was thirteen choir nuns, three lay-sisters, and three novices; and there were ten scholars, whose pensions came to 5420 livres. The troubles in France, which began in 1789, had deprived them of some of their revenue in 1791, when the last account stated in the Convent book was taken.

The Stafford and Howard families were always powerful supporters of the establishment; and among their French benefactors, we must record the name of Monsieur du Vivier, a doctor of Sorbonne, who, in 1714, bequeathed to the Convent all his property which had not come to him by succession from his family; and whose houses produced the Convent, in 1732, an income of 4691 livres.

In 1794 the French authorities took possession of the convent, and the religious were removed, first to the house of their confessor, and afterward to the English convent of the Austin nunsⁿ at Paris, where they were received with tenderness by Mrs. Lancaster, the Superioress. They continued there, as prisoners together, from the 14th November, 1794, till the 2nd of July, 1795, when they were allowed to return to their own convent. Their property was under sequestration, but the Religious were permitted to remain in quiet possession of it until the decree of the Directory in 1799 for the confiscation of English establishments in France, under which all their property, real and personal, was sold, the ladies being driven to seek an asylum in their native country. In 1800 such of the Religious as were then living in community, except Lady Anastasia Stafford, who remained at Paris, came over to England, and by the kindness of the Jerningham family (whose generosity was extended not only to these Religious, but to many of the French emigrants) were settled at Norwich, where the last Abbess of the Convent died in 1810. The circumstances attending the coming over to

ⁿ The community removed to the convent of the Austin nuns consisted of fourteen professed nuns, a lay sister, and a novice; two of the nuns died during their abode there. The novice and three of the nuns, on obtaining their liberty, went to England; and one of these ladies, Mrs. Ann (Teresa) Lonergan, of the city of Waterford, was the last survivor of the community, dying in Ireland in 1838.—Letter dated 1st February, 1839, to the writer of this memoir, from Madame Finchet, present superioress of the Austin nuns at Paris.

this country of the Religious are detailed in the Convent obituary under an entry of the burial in 1804 of their ancient Vicaress, and the document deserves a place here.

“On the 2nd December, 1804, our venerable and dear Mother Mary Augustine (*alias* Mary Lloyd °) departed this life, in the 89th year of her age, and the 62nd of her religious engagement.

“This most valuable member of our expiring community, who so long edified us with her uninterrupted virtuous example, had been educated at Bruges, at the convent of the English Austin nuns, where she had first felt her vocation for a cloistered life. But the Duchess of Norfolk, under whose protection she was, on returning to England, wishing her to settle at Paris in our Convent, she complied with her desire, and most fortunate we were in having among us one so highly gifted in judgment and capacity. She was for many years first mistress of the school, and had the talent of making herself both loved and feared. Her attachment to our reverend mother, Benedict Lee (daughter of the Earl of Lichfield, who died abbess) was most tender and affectionate. She never left her during her long illness, and had at length the sad affliction of beholding her taken off in the prime of life. Mother Austin was afterwards Vicaress several years; and after having gone through all the horrors of the French revolution, when there was a hope that we might have been suffered to remain (though miserably ill off) in our Convent, we had on order to leave it, as being national property and disposed of as such. Thus in the cold month of January 1800, this venerable good religious woman, in the 84th year of her age, undertook, with five of her sister nuns, the coming over to England and arrived safely in London, where Sir William Jerningham was happy to give them an asylum at his house in Bolton Row. After staying some weeks there this small community, then consisting of six, came to Norwich, and were comfortably settled in a convenient house in St. George’s, Colegate. Here we began again our regular observances, saying the Divine Office together; and our good Mother Austin was a constant example of every virtue to us. The time, however, came that it pleased Almighty God to reward her long and faithful services, and a most painful malady came upon her, which released

° Daughter of Godfrey Lloyd, of Wales, by his wife Dorothy Wharton, of Sussex.

her out of this world after many days of great sufferance. She was buried in the churchyard of St. George's Colegate, Norwich."

According to the rule of the Religious of the order of the Conception, the election of an Abbess was to take place every three years, which rule, after the resignation of the second Abbess, Elizabeth Timperley, was generally observed; and the frequency of the succession gives us an opportunity of recording many names of the community in the following list of abbesses of the convent.

I. Angela (Alexis) Jerningham, of the family of Jerningham,^p of the county of Norfolk, chosen Superioress in 1658, being in the 56th year of her age and 36th of her profession; confirmed Abbess 2nd February, 1660, resigned 22nd of January following, and returned to the English Convent at Nieuport, to which she belonged.

II. Elizabeth (Anne) Timperly, sister of Thomas Timperly, of Hintlesham, in Suffolk, Esq. chosen Abbess 25th January, 1661, in the 33rd year of her age and 8th of her profession; resigned 10th August, 1681, and retired to a French monastery. Frances Timperly, her sister, died 19th November, 1661, having made her profession on her deathbed, and is buried in the convent.

III. Susanna (Joseph) Hawkins, daughter of John Hawkins,^q of Nash Court in Kent, Esq. by Mary his wife, sister of Martin Woolascot,^r of Woolhampton in Berkshire, Esq.; professed 3rd of May 1662, chosen Abbess 14th August 1681, resigned 26th May following. Her sister Anne was also a professed nun of the convent, and died 4th May 1689.

IV. Catharine (Mechtildis) Rice, daughter of Bartholomew Rice, of Limerick in Ireland, by Eleanora Sexton his wife; professed 12th November, 1671; chosen Abbess 26th May, 1682; died 4th February 1729, aged, according to the entry of her profession, 75, according to the entry of her burial, 80; buried in the cloister, on the left hand going into the choir.

V. Mary (Teresa) Harris, daughter of Richard Harris, of Cambridge, by his wife Martha, sister of John Hawkins, of Nash Court in Kent, Esq.; professed 2nd August 1678; chosen Abbess 10th June 1686.

VI. Elizabeth (Victoria) Crane, daughter of William Crane, of the county

^p Dodd's Church History.

^q John Hawkins died 29th July 1673.

^r Martin Woolascot died 1673.

of Norfolk, Esq. by his wife Frances Bond, of Cornwall; professed 24th August 1664; chosen Abbess 14th June 1689; died 21st January 1699, aged 52.

VII. Mary (Teresa) Harris, re-elected 14th June 1692.

VIII. IX. Susanna (Joseph) Hawkins, re-elected Abbess 14th June 1695, and continued Abbess by re-election 17th June 1698; died 13th June 1704, aged 80.

X. Margaret (Constantia Henrietta) Mannock, daughter of Sir Francis Mannock, of Giffard's Hall in Suffolk, Baronet, by his wife Mary, daughter of Sir George Heneage, of Hainton in Lincolnshire; professed 5th of August 1671; chosen Abbess 17th October 1701.

XI. XII. Mary (Teresa) Harris, re-elected Abbess 17th October 1704, and continued Abbess by re-election 20th October 1707; died 19th August 1719, aged 73; buried in the cloister by the choir door.

XIII. XIV. Margaret (Constantia Henrietta) Mannock, re-elected Abbess 24th April 1711, and continued Abbess by re-election 24th April 1714.

XV. Anne (Gertrude Frances) Hancock, daughter of Robert Hancock, of Binfield^s in Berkshire, by his wife Anne Storey, of Cambridgeshire; professed 1st May 1701; chosen Abbess 24th April 1717; returned to England in the following year on account of her health.

XVI. Margaret (Constantia Henrietta) Mannock, re-elected Abbess 8th June 1720; died 25th April 1725, aged 78, buried in the cloister.

XVII. Jane (Henrietta Clementina) Darell, daughter of Marmaduke Darell, of Fulmer in Buckinghamshire, Esq. by his wife Catharine Palmer, sister^t of Roger Earl of Castlemaine; professed 25th January 1667; chosen Abbess 8th June 1723; died 29th April 1739, aged 80; buried in the cloister near the chapter-house door; her sister Barbara Darell made her profession at the same time with her, and died in the Convent 28th August 1679.

XVIII. XIX. Mary Genevieve Ogilvy, daughter of Thomas Ogilvy, of Merns in Banffshire, Esq. by Elizabeth his wife; professed in the presence of Mary^u Queen of James II. 30th January 1693; chosen Abbess 26th June 1726; continued Abbess by re-election 21st July 1729.

^s Antiquities of Berkshire, vol. ii. p. 447.

^t MS. Collection of Pedigrees, by Manson, penes C. G. Young, Esq.

^u It is stated in the Diary that the Queen helped to put the black veil on the professed lady. Her

XX. XXI. Louisa (Mary) Stafford, daughter of the Honourable John Stafford by his wife Mary, daughter of Sir John Southcott, of Mestham in Surrey; which John Stafford, younger son of William Viscount Stafford, was father of William and John Paul, severally Earls of Stafford; professed^x 28th November 1720; chosen Abbess 20th September 1732, and continued Abbess by re-election 1st October 1735.

XXII. Mary (Genevieve) Ogilvy, re-elected Abbess 1st October 1738; died 28th February following, aged 68; buried in the cloister.

XXIII. IV. V. VI. Louisa (Mary) Stafford, re-elected Abbess 7th March 1739; continued Abbess by re-election 7th March 1742; by license from the Archbishop of Paris, re-elected Abbess 17th March 1745; and continued Abbess by re-election 24th April 1748; died 30th September 1764, aged 66; buried at the request of her niece, Madame de Rohan^y Chabot, in the garden of the cloister. Xaveria Beatrix, sister of Louisa Stafford, made her profession at the same time with her, and dying 20th December 1770, lies buried in the cloister near the entrance of the house.

XXVII. Anne (Mary-Agnes) Howard, daughter of Bernard Howard, of Twyford, in the county of Hants, esq. by his wife Anne, daughter of Christopher Lord Teynham, which Bernard Howard, grandson of Philip Earl of Arundel, was grandfather of Bernard Edward, present Duke of Norfolk; professed 4th September, 1736; chosen Abbess, 24th April, 1751; and continued Abbess, by re-election, 24th April, 1754.

XXVIII. IX. The Right Honourable Lady Frances (Benedicta) Lee, daughter of George Henry second Earl of Lichfield, by Frances, daughter of Sir John Hales, of Woodchurch, in Kent, Baronet; professed 12th November, 1744; chosen Abbess, 6th April, 1757; and continued Abbess, by re-election, 26th April, 1760; died 29th January following; buried in the cloister.

Majesty's signature, and that of Dr. Betham, preceptor of the Prince of Wales, appear at the foot of the formula of the profession.

^x Vide the printed evidence in the Stafford Peerage case, page 145, for the formulæ of the professions of Mary Louisa Stafford, and Xaveria Beatrix her sister.

^y Lady Mary Stafford, wife of Guy Augustus, Count de Rohan Chabot, brother to the Duke de Rohan: this lady was a great benefactress to the Convent.

XXX. Anne (Mary-Agnes) Howard, re-elected Abbess, 18th May, 1761; and continued Abbess, by re-election, 21st May, 1764. In the Convent Obituary occurs the following entry relating to this Lady :—

“ November 1, 1794. On this day our venerable and dear mother, Mary-Agnes, (*alias* Anne-Mary Howard,) departed this life of trial, aged 74, having made her religious vows 58 years. At the early age of 15, this wise virgin felt the nothingness of worldly advantages, and desired rather to take shelter under the cross of Christ.

“ She was highly gifted with all that leads to distinction. A fine understanding, most pleasing elocution, and amiable manners. And it had been remarked, by people who were conversant with the high circles in society, that the polish of her conversation was such, as could only be produced by the innate virtues of her comprehensive mind. She was twice elected Abbess, and filled that office twelve years; her constitution had always been delicate, and for a long time before her dissolution she was almost continually in the infirmary; but this year was removed from her usual sick-chamber, by the increasing inhuman irregularity of the French Revolutionists, who took possession of our conventual dwelling, and forced our whole community into a small house belonging to our confessor, Mr. Shelley (he being removed prisoner to the Luxembourg); and thus, in a small closet of this apartment, without being able to procure the assistance of any priest, to say prayers, or speak a word of comfort, our dear mother Agnes Howard breathed her last, in sentiments of resigned piety and patient sufferance, that even seemed to affect those sentinels who had accepted the post, of overlooking and preventing our having a help seldom refused to any person in the article of death. She was sensible to the last, and we trust that this increased sacrifice will have added to her immortal crown. She was buried at the Abbaye de St. Antoine.”

Among the religious who received the habit from this Abbess was the Right Honourable Lady Lucy Talbot, daughter of George fourteenth Earl of Shrewsbury, who died 3d May, 1787, and lies buried in the *avant chœur* of the Convent.

XXXI. II. Elizabeth-Mary (Bernard) Green, daughter of Jonas Green, of Barton, in Oxfordshire, by his wife, Mary King, of Herefordshire; professed

29th January, 1757; chosen Abbess, 21st May, 1767; and continued Abbess, by re-election, 30th May, 1770.

XXXIII. IV. The Right Honourable Lady Anastasia (Mary-Ursula) Stafford, daughter of William second Earl of Stafford, by his wife Anne, daughter of George Holman, of Warkworth Castle, in the county of Northampton, Esq.;^z professed 19th March, 1740; chosen Abbess, 3d June, 1773; and continued Abbess, by re-election, 3d June, 1776.

This lady is recorded in the Convent Obituary in these words:—

“On the 27th April, 1807, died, at Paris, our venerable dear mother Mary Ursula (*alias* Anastasia Stafford), in the 85th year of her age, and the 67th of her religious profession. Mother Ursula was deprived of her mother (the Countess of Stafford) at a very early age of infancy. She went with her two sisters, attended by her nurse, to the school at Hammersmith, and at six years of age, her elder sister being eight, and the other three years, they went over to the convent of Poor Clares at Rouen, to be brought up in their school. In this retirement she soon understood the folly of all worldly enjoyment, and resolved to make the Cross of Christ the only object of her mind. Her years were, however, yet too few, for to be permitted to make any permanent choice. In July, 1735, being in her thirteenth year, she was placed, with her younger sister, in our school, the Earl of Stafford being desirous his daughters should be under the tuition of their aunt, who was his sister, and had lately resolved to receive young pensioners. This change of place did not make any in her good resolution, but she agreed to remain at Paris, as such appeared to be the wish of her friends. Thus, at 18 years of age, she gave up all the advantages of birth and fortune, to make herself the humble spouse of Christ.

“She was endowed with a very uncommon understanding and quickness of parts, and would have been distinguished in any sphere of life; but she bowed with cheerfulness and resignation to the choice of her first years.

“She was six years abbess, and some years after, having fallen into an uncertain state of health, she for some time retired to a French convent of Urselines at Argenteuil. The French revolution restored her to us, as the

^z Vide the printed evidence in the Stafford Peerage case, p. 148.

other convent was broken up; but before we left Paris, Mother Ursula Stafford had desired a society of religious women, called Les Filles Orphelines, to give her an apartment at their house, where she had every care and attention paid to her, not only by them, but by the watchful charity of Mrs. Canning at the English convent of Austin Nuns, who was in the immediate neighbourhood. In January, 1800, when we took our leave of her, she expressed the most generous anxiety for our welfare, and only claimed the benefit of our prayers: a tribute she had every title to receive. Her health growing weaker, and the vivacity of her spirits absorbed by years, she with calmness and confidence gave up a life that had been consecrated to her Creator, from the earliest days of her youth."

Lady Anne Stafford, sister of the Abbess last named, made her profession^a in this Convent 18th of April, 1743, and died 6th of May, 1792, being buried in the garden of the cloister on the left side of the cross.

XXXV. VI. VII. Elizabeth Mary (Bernard) Green, re-elected Abbess 14th of June, 1779, and continued Abbess, by re-election, 19th of June, 1782, and by license from the Archbishop of Paris re-elected Abbess 18th June, 1785.

XXXVIII. IX. Elizabeth (Winifrid Joseph) Stock, daughter of Thomas Stock, of Newland, in the county of Gloucester, by his wife Mary Edmonds, of the county of Monmouth; professed 19th April, 1746; chosen Abbess, 18th of August, 1788; died 30th of January, 1799; buried in the parish church of St. Marguerite.

XL. Elizabeth Mary (Bernard) Green, the last Abbess of the community, re-elected Abbess, it is presumed on the 7th of November, 1791.^b

"On the 8th of April 1810 (being Passion Sunday)" adds the obituary to which we have had recourse, we hope not too often, "our reverend and dear mother Abbess, Mary Bernard, *alias* Elizabeth Green, after being in a state of general debility for three years, brought on by a paralytic affection,

^a Vide Stafford Peerage case, p. 147.

^b It appears from an incidental entry in the Convent book, that an election took place, 7th November, 1791, and a doubt arises from the obit of Mrs. Stock, whether she was not then re-elected for three years. It is, however, presumed that Mrs. Green was re-elected on the occasion, as that lady, according to Madame Finchet, held the dignity some time before she went with the community to the Austin Nuns; at all events, Mrs. Green succeeded Mrs. Stock, and was the last abbess of the Convent.

departed this life in the 76th year of her age, and the 54th of her religious profession.

“This good Abbess (the last of our community re-elected previous to the fatal revolution of all order) was born, endowed with superior abilities, enclosed in the mildest temperature of disposition. In the most difficult time for all government, she was satisfied with gently pursuing the point of right, and thus, by persevering prudence, after weathering through part of the sad storm of the French Revolution, she brought the remainder of her reduced community safely to England, and to the asylum prepared for them at Norwich.

“She was brought up in our school from fourteen years of age, and from that early period may be said to have passed through life without a fault. She was particularly noticed by our reverend mother Benedict Lee, who, so enlightened herself, knew how to distinguish the seed of virtue and ability in others. She was often employed by her as secretary both in French and English, her writing being equal to copper-plate, and her mind adopting with quickness every idea that was to be conveyed.

“She was successively mistress of the school, procuratrice, and Abbess; and always accompanied by the same cheerful humility, made herself beloved by all. Her decease was the sad moment of dispersion for the very few Religious who then inhabited Norwich.

“This venerable Abbess was buried like her sisterhood in the churchyard of St. George’s, Colegate, Norwich, April, 1810.”

Among the Religious buried in the Convent, whose names do not before occur in this memoir, we may mention the following:—Dorothy,^c daughter of John Southwell, of the county of Norfolk, by his wife Catharine St. George; Anne,^d daughter of Valentine Sanders, of the county of Surrey, Esq. by his wife Anne, daughter of Sir Francis Mannock, Baronet; Martha,^e daughter of John Chancellor, Esq. N. B. by his wife Jane, daughter of Sir Robert Forbes; Elizabeth Anne,^f daughter of Thomas Whettenhall, of Peckham Place, in Kent, Esq. by his wife Anne, daughter of Henry Saunders, of Shankton,

^c Died 21st June, 1734.

^e Died 8th February, 1762:

^d Died 3rd June, 1717.

^f Died 14th December 1723.

in Leicestershire, Esq. ; Anne Ursula,^g daughter of John Jenison, of Great Walworth Hall, in the Bishopric of Durham, by his wife Sarah Williams, of the county of Hereford ; Teresa,^h daughter of Charles Butler, of Lancashire, Esq. by his wife Elizabeth Newton, of Northumberland ; Winifrid,ⁱ daughter of Thomas Stapleton, Esq. of the county of Tipperary, in Ireland ; Mary,^k daughter of Thomas Sackville, Esq. of the county of Northumberland, by his wife Elizabeth Darell, of Kent ; Anne,^l daughter of Thomas Eyre, of Thorpe, in Derbyshire ; Margaret,^m daughter of Jordan Langdale, Esq. of Cliffe, in the county of York, by Mary his wife, sister of Charles Lord Stourton ; Ursula,ⁿ daughter of Vincent Eyre, of the county of Derby, Esq. by Anne Bostock, his wife. Here also were interred Emanuel Christmas,^o John Massey,^p William Daniel,^q and Charles Corn,^r in priest's orders, confessors of the Religious, all of whom were benefactors to the house.

In the choir of the convent church was deposited the heart of William^s second Earl of Stafford ; likewise the heart of Monsieur Formentin,^t surgeon of the convent, who, during fourteen years, exercised the most unbounded charity towards the Religious. Here also, lastly, among persons not being Religious professed, were buried Henrietta^u daughter of Sir Patrick Trant ; *Mrs. Catherine Whettenhall ; ^vScholastica Tempest ; ^zMiss Phipps ; Mary Rothe,^a daughter of Mr. Rothe an East India Director ; Mary Howard,^b daughter of Charles Howard of Greystok, sister of Charles late Duke of Norfolk ; and Mrs. Dillon,^c widow of General Dillon, father of the Bishop of Evreux.

I am, dear Sir Henry, yours faithfully,

JOHN GAGE ROKEWODE.

^g Died 21st April, 1770.

^h Died 6th January, 1738.

ⁱ Died 17th March, 1729.

^k Died 29th May, 1793.

^l Died 1st May, 1762.

^m Died 17th November, 1755.

ⁿ Died 8th July, 1763.

^o Died 30th March, 1748.

^p Died 11th August, 1716.

^q A priest from Douay College, died 9th February, 1761.

^r Died 9th November, 1777.

^s In June, 1734.

^t Died 27th May, 1677.

^u June, 1708.

^x Died 10th January, 1717.

^y A Benedictine nun of the Chant de L'Allouette, buried 24th February, 1735.

^z Died 2nd September, 1741.

^a Died 17th October, 1756.

^b Died 15th November, 1756.

^c Died 5th August, 1757.

XI. *Extracts from the Liberate Rolls, relative to Loans supplied by Italian Merchants to the Kings of England, in the 13th and 14th Centuries; with an introductory Memoir: by* EDWARD A. BOND, *Esq. Communicated by* CHARLES GEORGE YOUNG, *Esq. York Herald, F.S.A.*

Read 11th April, 1839.

DEAR SIR,

British Museum, March 7, 1839.

THE object of the accompanying Paper is to draw attention to a series of financial transactions which, although intimately connected with our early history, and essential to its faithful development, have hitherto found no place in its pages. Political economy was the science most remote from the speculations of our chroniclers; nor had they, commonly, such an acquaintance with the affairs of the Exchequer as qualified them to transmit to us a correct exposition of the wealth and resources of the country. We are not surprised therefore to find their statements with regard to the revenue inaccurate and meagre; but we are at a loss to account for their silence respecting the Italian money-lenders who, as it will appear, were the main supporters of the King in periods of financial embarrassment, and who, everywhere dispersed throughout the kingdom, must have very beneficially influenced the commercial and even the political condition of the country, by an example of superior enterprise and intelligence, by their connexions with foreign governments, and by the immense capital which they introduced and circulated. This deficiency is supplied by the Public Records; and consequently the evidence which they yield becomes of interest and value. We find in them a vein of history, as it were, hitherto unexplored; and all that I have now attempted, is to present a sample of its produce.

The extracts which I have taken from the Liberate Rolls, consisting of

orders upon the Exchequer for repayment of sums which the Italians had advanced to the King on loan, afford a not inaccurate view of the dealings of the government with these foreigners. To make complete collections for the subject it would be necessary to search the Patent Rolls, where the King's letters of obligation are entered for the sums borrowed, and also the accounts of the Keeper of the Wardrobe, by whom the loans were sometimes both negotiated and discharged. I regret that I have not had leisure for the very tedious operation of extracting materials from the former of these classes of records. The Wardrobe books, together with accounts in the Queen's Remembrancer's Office, exclusively relating to the present subject, and of the greatest value in illustrating it, are as yet, unhappily, in that state of unfinished arrangement which renders the use of them inconvenient.

Among the many obligations I owe you, I shall always remember with real gratitude your kind encouragement and advice in an undertaking for which, with too much cause, I feared my incompetency, and the imperfect execution of which, I am well aware, demands the humblest apologies.

Believe me, dear Sir,

Yours, with the greatest sincerity,

EDWARD A. BOND.

CHARLES GEORGE YOUNG, Esq.
York Herald, F.S.A.

INTRODUCTORY MEMOIR.

I. THE Republics of Italy, during the middle ages, were far advanced before the other states of Europe in wealth and civilization. They seem to have preserved, through a long period of barbarism, anarchy, and intellectual prostration, the precious germs of political courage and wisdom transmitted to them from the noble republic of which they were the off-sets. Rome, no longer a republic, had lost its institutions, its freedom, and its virtue; but its original vigour was inherited by the cities it had propagated. It may be said that, before the irruption of the barbarians, the fields of Italy presented a scene of growing prosperity; for, although at Rome itself all was corruption and decay, around it were springing up in youthful strength and beauty cities which promised to rival its early grandeur. Successive invasions checked their growth, and reduced them to poverty and weakness. Still they preserved vitality, and centuries of warfare and affliction restored them the courage and manly virtues which long previous inactivity had enervated. In the year 951, when Otho I. entered Italy and reduced Berenger II. to vassalage, he found a country covered with cities already surrounding themselves with walls to resist the attacks of the great feudal lords who preyed upon them. Their power and consequence rapidly increased. Repeated experience convinced the poor and industrious that they could only be safe by combination; and they sought refuge in those societies where all were equally interested in resisting oppression, and in framing just laws for the welfare of the community. Armed and fortified, they reinforced their population by the multitudes who came to ask the shelter of their walls. Neighbouring towns hastened to place themselves under their protection; and contributed to the territorial property they were fast acquiring. Powerful states were at length established, which secured and constantly added to their strength and riches by the equality of their government, and their mutual league and correspondence. They first emerged from the barbarism which had overspread Europe—they threw enlightenment around them, and with their growth civilization revived throughout the world.

Rise of the
Italian Re-
publics.

The city of
Venice.

But the circumstance which most deserves attention from its commercial consequences was the rise of the city of Venice, to which the misfortunes of Italy gave birth. Early in the fifth century, the most wealthy of the inhabitants took refuge from the persecution of barbarian hordes in the marshes at the extremity of the Adriatic; where the nature of the situation afforded them shelter. The city which sprung up there became an asylum for the wealthy and intelligent, who, long prevented from acquiring property in land by the predatory bands which infested the country, were constrained to employ their energies in commerce and navigation. Their geographical position, as well as political circumstances, drew them to the Levant. The connexion between Italy and the Greek empire had never been entirely broken, and now it was destined to be renewed and confirmed.

Its commerce
with Asia.

We find traces of the Venetians in Constantinople and in Syria throughout the ninth and tenth centuries, and in the eleventh a new stimulus was to be given to their activity, and a wider scope to its exertion, by the Crusades. The pilgrims, who in large numbers visited Jerusalem, had already contributed to give an eastern direction to their commerce: but now armies were to be transported and supplied with equipments and provisions. At the same time the increasing dangers to which the Greek Empire was exposed by the fermentation excited by these religious expeditions, and their own conscious weakness, urged the Emperors of Constantinople to draw closer the alliance with so powerful a people. Grants of privileges followed each other in quick succession, and every sacrifice was made to attach them to the Emperor's interest; whilst the Venetians were sufficiently clear-sighted to appreciate and profit by the advantages of their position. At the commencement of the twelfth century they were enjoying a lucrative commerce throughout the Grecian Empire, were protected to a degree beyond the native merchants by privileges almost unlimited, and were in possession of extensive factories in Constantinople, in Syria, and in Palestine. Quickly following in the steps of the Venetians, the Genoese and Pisans shared these advantages. They were hardly less favoured at Constantinople, and in Palestine they obtained equal liberties. It may be attributed to the Crusades that, in the course of one century, merchants, who before had trembled to leave the coasts of their own country, and who abroad were oppressed with arbitrary imposts and extortion, and harassed with every variety

Genoa and
Pisa.

of danger, now found on foreign shores splendid establishments of their fellow-citizens, enjoying undisturbed their own manners, laws, and customs.^a

The progress of the inland cities of Italy was less rapid. They were more exposed to oppression and pillage from the hordes of Goths, Lombards, and Franks, who successively laid waste the country. In the tenth century, when the Venetians were engaged in active trade in the Levant, Milan, Pavia, and the cities of Tuscany were but beginning to defend themselves with walls and to establish governments. But, from the time when the industry of the inhabitants was thus protected, they advanced quickly and with certainty. The superior power and the jealousy of the Venetians deterred them from entering early into the trade with the East. Confined, as they at first were, to their own plains, they possessed themselves of large territorial property, which they cultivated with care and skill; and their activity was employed in forming canals and facilitating communication throughout their country. As their capital increased, they used it in freighting the ships of the Venetians, who naturally became carriers in the trade with a country where they enjoyed such exclusive privileges, and in dispersing through their own country the merchandize imported in ships of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa. Gradually extending the field of their commerce and enterprise, they found encouragement in the northern states of Europe, which had not yet reached an equal height of civilization and prosperity. With a superiority of wealth, and the advantages afforded by a government and laws especially founded on mercantile interests, the Italians were not slow in obtaining a principal share in the commerce of the continent. Bruges was the market to which they brought the rich produce of the East; thence to be spread over Germany, the Netherlands, France, and England; and they received in exchange, and at an enormous profit, the gold and silver, the wine, wool, and manufactures of those countries. At a later period, in the eighteenth year of Edward III. we find the Commons of England representing to the King that, whereas the staple of wool had been fixed at Bruges, the merchants of that town and of Gaunt and Ypres had ordered that no wools should be sold to strangers, or carried out of Flanders; thus preventing the Italians from dispersing that article through

The inland cities.

^a Heeren, *Essai sur l'influence des Croisades*, p. 347.

Europe, as they had been wont to do, and causing a depreciation in the value of wool.^a

Origin of the
occupation of
the Italians
as money-
lenders in
Europe.

The Pope's
bankers and
collectors.

II. But, while thus trafficking in all parts of the world, the merchants of Italy early assumed the character of bankers and money-lenders by which they subsequently became distinguished. The origin of their dealings in this capacity is distinctly to be traced to their connexion with the court of Rome, as its agents and merchants in every part of Christian Europe. The authority which the Pope exercised in ecclesiastical affairs was not confined to regulating creeds, or preserving church discipline, or even to an interference in the patronage of benefices. As time and superstition, and an unchanging policy perseveringly pursued, steadily and surely augmented his power, he advanced his claims to such a portion of the revenues of the clergy as temporal princes were wont to take from their subjects. Frequent crusades against heretics, and the costs of defending the Church, as well against its own rebellious children as those its avowed enemies, afforded plausible pretexts for these encroachments. Moderate contributions were at first yielded with enthusiastic devotion in a holy cause ; but the exactions were repeated till they grew to be sanctioned by custom. Italian merchants were the agents employed to collect the revenues thus arising from every part of the continent. The practice of remitting sums of considerable magnitude to distant places taught them gradually to improve their system of exchange, and they soon rendered it superior to that in use among the less experienced merchants of other countries. At the same time they found innumerable opportunities of accommodating individuals with loans, for the payment of such debts as, in their capacity of farmers and collectors of the Pope's revenues, they required of them : and thus they were led to that system of money-lending which became the chief feature of their commerce. But, to explain the rapidity with which it attained maturity, we must again refer to those religious expeditions which drew Europe from its home, and gave birth to a new series of political and commercial events.

The Cru-
sades.

The necessities of the Crusaders, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, manifestly gave the greatest encouragement to the practice of usury. The

^a Rot. Parl. vol. ii. p. 149.

drain of money, occasioned by the anxiety of military leaders and their followers to convert their property into a form convenient for the exigencies of their expedition, so much enhanced the value of specie as to render such traffic irresistibly lucrative. The Venetians, Pisans, and Genoese were sufficiently occupied in supplying the adventurers with ships provisioned for their use. But the commercial position of the Lombards and Tuscans enabled them to undertake with the highest advantage the department of facilitating exchanges of property, providing personal equipments, and supplying the ready money indispensable in the circumstances of the Crusaders. The persecution of the Jews, and their inferiority in commercial privilege, rendered them unequal competitors in the trade. Every year an increasing scarcity of coin must have advanced the rate of interest; and, considering how universal at the same moment was the demand for money, and how long it continued, and, moreover, that the sums so drafted were squandered in transactions from which no gainful return was sought or expected, we shall easily comprehend the zeal with which the Italians engaged in the business of money-lenders. But, by their eagerness in pressing these advantages, they brought themselves into ill-odour with all classes of people. Numerous were the censures passed against them by ecclesiastical councils, and the laws of all nations condemned their occupation as heretical.

III. The restrictions under which commerce was placed in England, and the national jealousy of foreigners, seem for some time to have acted as effectual obstacles to the introduction of the Italians into this country; and, in the meantime, the Jews monopolised the capital of the kingdom, and were frequently the King's agents in pecuniary transactions. But, as in the case of other nations, the dependence of the church upon the see of Rome was the means of procuring them a footing in our island.

Introduction
of Italian
merchants
into England.

Employed as
the Pope's
agents and
bankers.

The Pope's authority was almost paramount in this kingdom during the reigns of John and Henry III. And to this period, (when, under the name of *Coursini*,^b we find them very harshly spoken of by Matthew

^b I cannot offer any conjectures as to the etymology of this word, but must beg leave to refer to Muratori, *Antiq. Ital. Med. Æv. Dissert. xvi.* and to Ducange, *sub voce*; where the origin of the

Paris, as usurers and instruments of the Pope's extortion,) may be attributed the commencement of that system of money-transactions which the Italians exercised in England with enormous profit, but which at length brought ruin upon them in the middle of the reign of Edward III.

The merchants whom his Holiness thus employed as his agents in England, were citizens of Sienna, Lucca, and Florence, and principally of Sienna. They generally were members of established companies, trading in common. But, in the instances where I have found them mentioned, the names of the principals of the firms are not always very clearly distinguished. In a letter in the Register of Reading Abbey, preserved in the British Museum, dated in an early year of Edward I. there is notice of four companies of merchants of Sienna, at that time acting here under the title of "*Campsore Papæ*;" but the names of the companies are not expressed. Other companies probably were at the same time employed by the Pope in this country, in a similar capacity. And we shall hardly wonder that his agents were so numerous, when we consider the largeness of the revenues that were to be collected. In addition to the annual census and the first fruits, the profits of a tenth or the moiety of a tenth of ecclesiastical property were to be remitted almost yearly. From the reign of John down to about the eighth

term (attributed by one to the town of Cahors, and by the other to the name of an Italian family) is fully discussed, I have met with only two unpublished instances of its use. The first, in the title to an instrument inserted in the Register of Reading Abbey, MS. Harl. 1708, p. 39. It is as follows :

"*Littera acquietantiæ contra Cauercinos de omnibus litteris obligatoriis aliquod debitum continentibus.*"

Then follows the instrument :—"Anno Domini m^occ. octogesimo sexto, die Jovis proximo post festum S. Eduuardi Regis, frater Willielmus de Suttone, camerarius Rading', et Salymb'n Alex', civis et mercator Senensis, invicem computarunt de omnimodis debitis in quibus Abbas et conventus Radyng' eidem Salymb'n et sociis suis quibuscumque, de societate sua Sen', aliququaliter tenebantur, usque ad diem prædictum," &c.

The second instance occurs in an account of the burser of the abbey of Dore, for the year 1274 (in the Queen's Remembrancer's Office) ; where it is used in the title to a small division of the account, which relates to repayment of money borrowed of apparently Italian merchants. The title and entries are as follow :

"Debitum Cauersor'—Hugoni Bonaventure dcccclxxiiij^{li}. vjs. viij^d. Claro Sagin . . . clx iij^d. excepto stagiamento anni præsentis.

Summa m^l. li. xxxvj^{li}."

year of Edward III. the clergy were perpetually subject to these impositions. It was not unusual for the Pope to purchase the King's connivance, by allowing him to participate in the proceeds. He would impose a tax of a tenth upon the clergy for four, five, or six consecutive years, and, by offering the King a moiety, he obtained the authority of his countenance in enforcing the payment. There was continual occupation therefore for the bankers who were sent to gather in the Papal revenue; and as Ireland and, in a less degree, Scotland, were also contributors to these holy funds, a numerous body of agents was required. They could hardly have been introduced into the kingdom under better auspices. The business they were charged with brought them into continual communication with the Religious Houses, who engrossed a large share of the national wealth—a connexion of which they were not slow to avail themselves, in their character of merchants and money-lenders. Often, when persecuted by the Pope for sums which he exacted from them, convents were obliged to have recourse to the very merchants who were the instruments of his extortion, in order to satisfy the demands he pressed upon them. Opportunities of affording such accommodation necessarily multiplied in times when the revenues of the clergy were frequently drawn upon by both their temporal and spiritual superiors; and the operations of the Italian money-lenders became more and more extended. The influence of the example of these religious communities, and the name of the Pope, whose merchants the Italians professed to be, reconciled the minds of men to usurious practices, obnoxious to the prejudices of the times, and saved them from a persecution they would otherwise hardly have avoided: and subsequently, in their dealings with the King, whenever they were in apprehension from his displeasure or his avarice, they sought in the Pope a mediator and protector, who exerted his interest in their favour. Instances occur in the *Fœdera*. Two letters may be cited of Pope Boniface, dated in the twenty-seventh and twenty-ninth years of Edward I. In the first of these he intercedes with the King in behalf of the Spini, who had complained of being harassed by the King's officers, employed in obtaining a loan of large amount from the companies of Italian merchants then in England. The Pope urges in their behalf that their funds are exhausted by considerable sums which they have lent in

Their dealings with Religious Houses.

divers quarters, both in and out of Italy ; moreover, that the King is already engaged to them for large amounts, which they have at other times advanced to him, and for which they have assignments on his revenue.^c In the second letter his Holiness again intercedes in behalf of the same company, who, in consequence of an act of homicide committed by one of their number in a broil in London, had all been apprehended and imprisoned, and their goods arrested.^d

Political connexion of England with the court of Rome.

Letters of credit.

Our connexion with the court of Rome acted in another way in introducing the Italian merchants to the notice of the King and his subjects. The Pope's interference in the affairs of the country caused his court to be thronged with royal ambassadors and messengers. It would have been hazardous and almost impracticable to carry with them the money which it was generally found expedient to expend there in large amounts ; for the coin was bulky, the journey a long one, and risks plentiful. In such circumstances, the wealthy merchants abounding in those parts were commonly resorted to and they advanced the required sums upon letters of credit from the King, with which the ambassador was provided. Documents of this description are of frequent occurrence in the Charter and Patent Rolls of the earliest date ; and they deserve attention both as illustrating this point of our subject, and as approaching so nearly in their character to Bills of Exchange, the history of the origin of which is still obscure. They are referred to in letters of obligation entered on the Charter Roll of the first of John, by which the King promises to pay to merchants of Piacenza a sum of money which they had advanced to ambassadors at the court of Rome, by command of King Richard I. It is in the following form :

“ Johannes, Dei gratia, Rex, *etc.* dilectis amicis suis Speren', Barageton' et eorum sociis, mercatoribus Placentinis, salutem. Sciatis quod vobis solvere volumus duo milia marcarum et cxxv marcas, quas, pro amore bonæ memoriæ Regis Ricardi fratris nostri, et ex mandato ipsius, mutuo concessistis Willielmo Andegavensi et R. Bangorensi episcopis, et Stephano Ridel, ad negotium karissimi nepotis nostri illustris Regis Othonis in curia Romana faciendum. Ideoque vobis præsentibus litteris in tantam pecuniam nos obligamus ; promittentes quod, ad proximum festum S. Michaelis post corona-

^c Rym. Fœd vol i. p. 905.

^d Ibid. vol. i. p. 935.

tionem nostram, vobis vel certo nuntio vestro præsentēs litteras afferenti et exhibenti, sexcentas et viginti quinque marcas apud scaccarium nostrum in Anglia solvi faciemus, et ad proximum sequens Pascha quingentas marcas ibidem, et postmodum in sequenti festo S. Michaelis quingentas marcas ibidem, et ad proximum sequens Pascha quingentas marcas similiter ad scaccarium nostrum in Anglia solvi faciemus vobis vel certo nuntio vestro, litteras obligationis nostræ exhibenti. Et, nihilominus, ita vobis in gratiarum actione pro benigna expectatione vestra, favente Domino, respondebimus, quod expectatio vestra vobis non videbitur onerosa. Teste me ipso, apud Rothomagum, xxv. die Augusti.”^e

The letters of credit are usually in the form of the following example ; the date of which is the second of John :

“Johannes, Dei gratia, *etc.* universis mercatoribus, *etc.* Noverit universitas vestra quod nos latores præsentium, Hugonem de Feritate et Robertum de Sablenc’, pro negotiis nostris promovendis ad Romanam curiam destinamus, et mercatoribus a quibus pecuniam usque ad D. marcas argenti pro ipsis negotiis promovendis mutuo acceperint, ipsam pecuniam persolvere tenebimur : et nos per præsentēs litteras principales super hoc constituimus debitores, et, termino statuto, secundum conventionem inter prædictos clericos nostros et mercatores factam, illis qui præsentēs litteras nobis vel mandato nostro reddent, una cum litteris prædictorum clericorum patentibus summam pecuniæ mutuo acceptæ protestantibus, pecuniam ex integro faciemus persolvi. Teste me ipso, apud Fissam, vi die Januarii.”^f

It is unnecessary to present the long series of similar instruments which might be collected from the pages of the printed Patent and Charter Rolls of the reign of John : it is sufficient to refer to them.^g From the frequency of their occurrence, however, at this period, we can have no difficulty in believing that their utility had for some time previously been experienced. We have quoted from the earliest of the Chancery Rolls, and, had those records commenced at a more remote date, they would doubtless have yielded earlier instances. It appears that these letters of credit were sometimes issued in the King’s name, for the benefit of his subjects ;

^e Rot. Chart. p. 31.

^f Rot. Pat. p. 4.

^g Rot. Chart. pp. 97, 98, 99. Rot. Pat. pp. 5, 6, 9, 10, 39, 65, 67, 107, 182.

who thus were enabled to raise loans upon his security. The letters quoted above were issued for such a purpose, as appears by the following :

“Universis ad quos præsens scriptum pervenerit Radulphus vicecomes Sanctæ Susannæ, *etc.* Noveritis dominum meum J. Regem Angliæ mihi et Willielmo fratri meo suas litteras concessisse, de pecunia mutuo accipienda sub nomine ipsius a nuntiis meis et fratris mei, quos idem Rex suos vocat, ad Romanam curiam destinatis, usque ad D. marcas argenti, si eis opus fuerit. Inde est quod, si forte præfati nuntii per prædictas litteras domini Regis aliquam mutuo pecuniam a quibuscumque mercatoribus acceperint, ego pro eadem pecunia me et totam terram meam domino Regi obligo ; promittens me eam, secundum conventionem quæ inde facta fuerit, sine omni molestatione domini Regis, statutis terminis soluturum : et dominum Regem indempnem conservabo.”^h

“Universis, *etc.* Willielmus de Rupibus, *etc.* Noveritis quod dilectus meus R. vicecomes S. Susannæ a venerabili domino meo J. Rege Angliæ litteras impetravit, pro pecunia mutuo accipienda usque ad D. marcas argenti a nuntiis ipsius et fratris sui, viz. H. de Feritate et R. de Sablenc’, ad Romanam curiam destinatis. Inde est quod ego, pro quantacumque pecunia ab eisdem nuntiis usque ad dictam quantitatem, nomine domini Regis, a quibuscumque mercatoribus recepta, me domino Regi fidejussorem constituo, obligo, et principalem constituo debitorem. Ita quod, si prædictus vicecomes domino Regi non satisfecerit, ego satisfaciam, et dominum Regem indempnem conservabo.”ⁱ

Instances of this mode of making the royal credit available are not sufficiently numerous to mark it as a custom, although the accommodation which it secured to individuals encourages the conjecture that the practice was not infrequent.

Loans to
attorneys of
parties in
suits, in the
court of
Rome.

It was not solely to supply the necessities of the King’s messengers at Rome that the funds of Italian bankers were in requisition. The dependence of the English Church upon the see of Rome brought ecclesiastical causes from this country perpetually before the Pope ; and his court was ever filled with the attorneyships of parties in suits, each struggling to win an

^h Rot. Pat. p. 4.

ⁱ Ibid.

advantage over his adversary by finesse and bribery. The money thus expended was advanced by merchants there; and we have evidence to this effect in the Patent Roll of the seventh of John:

“Rex omnibus mercatoribus ad quos, *etc.* Sciatis quod concessimus et volumus quod pecunia quam Walterus et Adam et magister Martinus, nuntii Glastoniensis ecclesiæ, vel duo eorum, mutuo ceperint de mercatoribus, usque ad summam septingentarum marcarum, pro negotiis ecclesiæ pro quibus ad Sedem Apostolicam missi sunt, persolvatur de rebus et possessionibus prioris et conventus Glastoniæ. Et concedimus quod mercatores qui prædictis nuntiis prædictum mutuum fecerint, vel eorundem mercatorum nuntii, qui cum præsentibus litteris et litteris prædictorum nuntiorum Glastoniensium mutuum illud testantibus in Angliam venerint pro pecunia sua recipienda, salvum et securum conductum in veniendo et redeundo habeant. Et in hujus rei, *etc.* Teste me ipso, apud Westm. vii. die Dec. anno, *etc.* vii.”^k

A letter entered in the Patent Roll of the third of John shews that this method of obtaining money was resorted to for purposes of a political character:

“Rex, *etc.* dilectis suis Romæ, Tusciæ, Italiæ mercatoribus, *etc.* Denuntiamus vobis ne Priori de Sagien’ et sociis suis aliquam pecuniam credatis super litteras capituli sui. Ille enim et quidam complices sui contra nos et dignitatem nostram laborant. Sciatis enim quod, si quam pecuniam illis crederetis, de pecunia terræ nostræ non reddetur. Teste me ipso, apud Rothomagum, xxx. die Martii.”¹

IV. Before the close of the reign of Henry III. the Italians had gained a firm footing in England, not merely as the Pope’s servants but as merchants and money-lenders. The commercial state of the country at that period offered many advantages to traders who, like the Italians, were in communication with agents and partners in all parts of the world, and had large capital at command. Specie was then scarce, a paper currency a thing unheard of, and the convenience of exchange by bills was probably as yet only practised by the Italians themselves. The restrictions and arbitrary regulations with which trade was shackled, and perhaps the general manner and

Operations of the Italians as merchants in England, and money-lenders among the King’s subjects.

^k Rot. Pat. p. 56.

¹ Ibid. p. 8.

habits of life, had hitherto much impeded commercial prosperity. The wealth of the country was in the hands of the large proprietors of land, and the revenues of the crown were principally derived from feudal charges to which territorial possessions were subject. Rolls of the collection of subsidies, remaining in the Exchequer, shew how insignificant a portion of the public taxes was paid by the class of merchants and burgesses. We were almost destitute of manufactures. Wool, the staple commodity of the country, was exchanged in the ports of France and the Low Countries for bullion, wine, and merchandise of other description. The state of the inland trade of the country was deplorable. The several provinces of the kingdom, by the effect of feudal government and the backwardness of civilization, were almost as effectually separated as if divided by mountains. The produce of each district was exchanged by actual barter among the inhabitants, at the periodical fairs in the neighbourhood. What foreign commodities were in use, were bought at the large fairs of Boston, Winchester, and Bristol; and only partially dispersed through the kingdom by travelling merchants little above the rank of modern pedlars. The commercial wealth of the country was collected in a few towns and cities, such as London, Bristol, Winchester, Lincoln, Boston, York, and Hull; and the difficulties and dangers of carriage confined the advantages of their prosperity to the immediate vicinity. The arrival of the Italians at such a time was extremely opportune. The natural produce of the country was rich and abundant; but it required to be circulated, and, in doing this, the activity and means of the foreigners were most beneficially exercised. They spread themselves over the country; they filled the fair of Boston and others with foreign goods of their own importation; and their superior opportunities of disposing of wool, enabled them to bid high for that commodity of which a large proportion passed through their hands. Some estimate of the extent to which they carried this branch of their traffic may be formed from the contents of a bundle of documents which I have seen amongst the Queen's Remembrancer's Records, consisting of returns, from ten different companies of Italian merchants in England, of the quantity of wool in their possession on a certain day in the twenty-second year of Edward the First. The King was then at war with

France; and he had issued commands for the arrest of all wool, wool-fells, and hides, in whosoever hands they might be found. They were to be retained in the custody of the King's officers, in order to prevent the possibility of their being exported into the dominions of the French King. The returns alluded to are made by the Italians themselves. The companies are distinguished by the following names: "La compaignie de sire Barde Frescobald de Florenze, Neire."^m "La compaignie del Cercle Blanc." "La compaignie du Cercle Neyr de Florenze." "La compaignie de Barde de Florenze." "Societas Ricardorum de Lucca." "La compaignie de Pouche de Florenze." "La compaignie de sire Jon de Friscobald de Florence, Blaunk." "La compaignie de Mozze de Florenze." "La compaignie de Spine de Florenze." "La compaignie de Bestre de Louck [Lucca]." The total number of sacks of wool which they acknowledge to have in their possession, is two thousand three hundred and eighty. By far the greater part is stated to have been bought of religious houses: indeed many of the companies return as having received only from them. The original documents contain statements of the conditions and circumstances of the purchases; by which it appears that many of the religious houses were under engagements to deliver all their wool, of one or more year's growth, to some one of the companies, at a price previously stipulated. The Abbey of Waverley, for instance, was bound to deliver all its wool to the Frescobaldi Neri of Florence, at Kingston-upon-Thames, on the feast of St. John, and they were to receive twenty marks for every sack of good wool, and fifteen marks for each sack of middle value.ⁿ Allowing the smaller sum to

^m The terms "black" and "white" have reference to the two parties, distinguished as "Bianchi" and "Neri," which at this period filled the cities of Pistoia, Florence, and Lucca, with tumult and bloodshed.

ⁿ The following is a copy of the entry alluded to. It is the first in the return headed thus: "Cestes sunt totes les manieres de leines ke la compaignie sire Barde Frescobald de Florenze, Neire, avera en le reyaume Dengleterre, lan de grace m cc iiij^{xx}, et quatorze." The entry is in these words: "Sussex—Del abbe et covent de Waverle del ordre de Cisteus, tote lor leine, a liverer a Kyngeston' sor Tamise a la Seint Johan: mes quans de sacs nus ne savom. Autan aveient il de bone laine xij sacs de leyne et viij peres, et de mesne leine et de lokes tries ij sacs. Si nus coste

have been the price at which the whole number of 2,380 sacks was purchased, that alone would prove them to have had capital thus employed in England only to the amount of 23,800*l.*, a large sum according to its then value. But it appears that the returns were incomplete. They were made by members resident in London, and to each a note is added to this effect: "We have other wools collected in divers parts of the country, which, we believe, have been arrested; but we cannot ascertain the number of sacks, until our partners, who have the business in charge, have returned to London." It is probable therefore that their capital, in this single branch of traffic in England, was not less than 30,000*l.* And, when we consider that they were at the same time advancing loans of large amount both to the King and private individuals, and, also, were exercising other branches of general commerce, we cannot but think highly of their wealth and resources.

It is sufficient to have spoken thus generally of the commerce of the Italians, which is distinct from the present subject. Nor do I dwell upon their dealings in the capacity of money-lenders to the King's subjects; for information with respect to which I refer to the Memoranda Rolls, where, under the title "*Recognitiones*," are numerous entries to shew how actively they pursued this branch of trade. Of these Rolls the only numbers which I have had the opportunity of examining are those of the eighth, sixteenth, and seventeenth years of Edward the First: in each of which the memoranda of acknowledgements of debt from religious houses and private persons to Italian merchants are frequent. The debtor usually pledges all his lands and property to the observance of the appointed term of payment, and security is given to the creditor by the recognition of debt thus solemnly recorded in the Exchequer.^o

chescun sac de la bone leine xx mars, et chescun sac de moiene leine et de lokes tries xv mars. Et si nus doivent il rebatre des arres c. s. et nos lor avoms onquore paie sor la leine de cest an lxijli. et iiij s. Si kil amonte ceo kil unt eu sor lor leine de cest an, c et ij. m. iiij s.

Et le apariller de ceste leine nos couste a cest an xls."

^o I subjoin the following as a specimen of these instruments. It is extracted from a Memoranda Roll of the year 16 Edw. I. preserved in the Queen's Remembrancer's Office:

V. The Italians had not been long in England before the political importance of their riches and enterprise was evinced. They could not exercise any commercial dealings unobserved by the King, who had an arbitrary authority in the regulation of trade. The nature of the government, too, speedily brought them under his notice. Upon entering the kingdom they were obliged to obtain the royal protection, and permission to carry on their traffic; and, while so engaged in the various provinces of the empire, they were always under the eye of government, by means of the Sheriffs and other officers, who were brought periodically to the Exchequer to discharge their accounts, and there came into immediate communication with the chief ministers of state. The wealth of the Italians and their skill in money business were not long unnoticed, and the wants of government very soon introduced them to the officers of the Exchequer.

They attract the attention of government.

A great defect in financial management in England, at the period under consideration, was the absence of an established system of raising money upon credit for public purposes. This evil had been in some degree obviated by the first Kings of the Norman line, who hoarded large sums in their treasury to meet unlooked for exigencies. But such a system of economy was far easier to practise at a time when the foreign dominions of our kings were extensive, and as yet in their secure possession, than at a subsequent period. The first five sovereigns after the conquest passed the greater portion of their reigns upon the con-

No regulated system of raising loans practised by the Exchequer.

“ Recognitio fratris Thomæ Abbatis de Rivall’, facta xvij die Octobris, anno regni Regis Edwardi xvjº.

“ Idem venit coram Baronibus et recognovit pro se, conventu suo et ecclesiæ suæ, et pro abbatibus successoribus domus suæ, se teneri Guidoni Dananc’, Jacobo de Fronte, Renerio Jacobi, de societate domini Guidonis de Friscobald’, et aliis sociis suis, civibus et mercatoribus Florentinis, in ducentis et quinquaginta marcis sterlingorum. De quibus solvet eisdem quinquaginta marcas ad quindenam Nativitatis S. Johannis Baptistæ proximo futuram, apud S. Botolphum; et sic de anno in annum quinquaginta marcas ad eisdem terminum et locum, quousque de prædictis ducentis et quinquaginta marcis plenarie fuerit satisfactum. Et, nisi fecerit, concessit pro se et conventu suo, et pro abbatibus successoribus domus suæ, quod Barones de Scaccario de terris, tenementis, bonis et catallis suis, ad quorumcumque manus devenerint, prædictos denarios fieri faciant.”

continent ; and a large proportion of their expenses must have been defrayed out of the revenues of their provinces there. But from the reign of Richard the First that prosperous state of things underwent a change. Their foreign possessions were wrested from the hands of our Kings, or what little they retained became a source of loss instead of profit. In the reign of Henry the Third, the royal revenues were inadequate to the usual charges of the household and of government ; and the incessant wars in which Edward the First was engaged drove him to numberless expedients for supplying his immediate necessities. The ordinary revenue of the Crown was about thirty thousand pounds. When political circumstances required an extraordinary expenditure, the King demanded a subsidy of his Parliament, which he assembled for the purpose ; and if, as was not invariably the case, he was so fortunate as to obtain it, the addition to his income for the year was about twenty thousand pounds. But the collection of the tax was slow, and, when circumstances made immediate outlays necessary, the means resorted to for obtaining a present supply was to call upon sheriffs to pay into the Exchequer whatever sums might be in their hands, before the proper day of account, or to beg of individual nobles, but more especially of the religious houses, small loans, which they advanced with reluctance. The native merchants were not yet wealthy enough to afford assistance by advancing the funds required. Perhaps too they would be cautious of trusting their riches with one from whom they had no certain means of recovering them ; and experience had not yet familiarised them with such transactions. Moreover they were little tempted to undertake such engagements by any prospect of gain ; for the practice of taking interest on money was considered heretical, and the negotiation of a loan would have been upon the principle of restoring the mere amount received at a stipulated term of payment. The Jews alone followed the occupation of money-lenders. But their dealings were among private persons ; and the mode by which they contributed to the King's revenue was by the extortion which was practised on them. Habitual oppression and persecution must have prevented their acquiring very considerable property, and their wealth seems to have been over-estimated. They were wholly at the mercy of the

The Jews.

King, to whom they stood in the relation of slaves or cattle rather than of subjects; and the minute surveillance under which they were placed renders the popular stories of their concealed treasure somewhat improbable. Error has arisen from paying too much regard to instances of enormous talliages upon the community, or of heavy fines sometimes imposed upon or offered by individual Jews. But it should be recollected that of such talliages and fines in the generality of cases a portion only, and sometimes a very small portion, was actually paid. A large amercement might be charged upon a Jew, not in expectation of his ability to pay it, but to obtain a pretext, from his failure, for seizing whatever property he possessed. A loose estimate of the extent of their wealth may be calculated from a record which I have seen in the Pell Office; by which it appears that the receipts from a talliage upon Jews of the third of their property, between Michaelmas and the tenth of March in the year 2 Edward I. amounted to 1,232*l.* 15*s.* 8*d.*, and the entire collection did not probably exceed 2,000*l.* It was not, then, to any class of his native subjects that a prince like Edward the First, who was perpetually engaged in political transactions which rendered a command of ready money indispensable, could have had recourse with the certainty of assistance. But in the Italian merchants, who were now spread in numbers over the kingdom, he found men qualified by their intelligence and enterprise, and by their inexhaustible resources, to furnish him with the immediate supplies he needed, and to devise methods for enlarging the royal revenues: and the annexed extracts shew, partially, to what extent both he and his predecessor Henry the Third, and also his successors Edward the Second and Third, availed themselves of the assistance of these foreigners.

VI. It is an indication of the utter ignorance of the principles of commerce, prevalent at the period to which the present memoir has reference, that the receipt of interest for money lent was prohibited as usurious, and those who followed such practices were liable to be treated as heretics. Jews alone were licensed usurers, or, at least, were able to procure the privilege; and the King participated in their gains, however much he condemned the traffic among his Christian subjects.^p But a prohibition

System of negotiating royal loans with the Italians.

General laws against interest, and modes of evasion practised amongst private parties.

^p See Tovey's *Anglia Judaica*, p. 121. In addition to the evidence he quotes to prove that the

so impolitic and inconvenient was necessarily evaded. There was nothing to prevent money-lenders from discounting upon the sum advanced, and thus securing a premium. Among the petitions to Parliament in the sixth year of Edward the First, we find an instance of a transaction of this nature. A convent brings a charge of usury against merchants of Florence upon the following case. They had advanced the abbot of the house a sum of three hundred marks upon his bond for that amount, and they had afterwards received from him a bill for forty-two sacks of wool "*de avantagio*," which, in the words of the original petition, "*videtur esse usum per usum pro mutuo scripto dictarum trescentarum marcarum; in qua littera signata dictus abbas confitetur se pro eisdem quadraginta duobus saccis lanæ plenariam pacationem recepisse, cum tamen nullum denarium pro prædictis quadraginta duobus saccis lanæ recepisset ab eisdem.*"^q Another mode of making profit by loans was by stipulating for repayment in goods. The records from the Queen's Remembrancer's Office, before quoted, shew to what an extent this practice prevailed. Again, in lending to private parties, money-lenders avoided the charge of usury by making the loan gratuitous for a certain period; but upon the expiration of the specified term, if the debt remained

Jews were licensed usurers, I may refer to the printed Fine and Oblata Rolls, where instances are met with of the King's having taken a portion of their gains according to an obviously regulated system. However, it is not absolutely proved that all Jews might legally practise usury. Tovey cites an instrument from the Close Roll of the thirty-second of Henry III. to shew that forty-five per cent. or, as the record expresses it, twopence every week for twenty shillings, was allowed to be taken for interest by Jews at that time. I shall perhaps be excused for giving the copy of a bond, existing among the miscellaneous charters in the British Museum, where precisely the same rate of interest is secured to a Jew usurer: "*Sciant præsentēs et futuri quod ego Hugo de Nevile, miles, dominus de Cadeneye de comitatu Lincolnæ, debeo Bonami generi Jocei, Judæo Eboracensi, novies viginti libras sterlingorum; solvendum sexaginta libras ad quindenam Pentecostes anno regni Regis Henrici filii Regis Johannis quinquagesimo sexto; sexaginta libras ad quindenam S. Martini in hieme proximo sequentem; et ad Pentecosten, scilicet, ad quindenam Pentecostes proximo sequentem, sexaginta libras. Et, nisi tunc reddidero, dabo ei pro qualibet libra qualibet septimana post terminum elapsū duos denarios de lucro, quamdiu istud debitum per gratum ejus tenuero. Et ideo invadiavi ei omnes terras meas, redditus et catalla mea, ubicumque fuerint, donec dicta debitum et lucrum reddidero. Et hoc affidavi et sigillo meo confirmavi. Actum die Dominica proxima post festum S. Martini in hyeme, anno regni Regis prædicti quinquagesimo sexto.*"

^q Rot. Parl. vol. i. p. 1.

unpaid, they were to receive compensation for the losses accruing to them from the breach of agreement. This compensation was either a fixed sum, of large amount, previously determined; or receipt of interest at a rate agreed upon in the bond; or it consisted in both damages and interest, adjusted by an estimate of the merchants themselves, to be received without question. Finally, the debtor pledged his land and property to the faithful observance of the conditions of the obligation. Safe under the title of the Pope's servants, they were enabled to urge the fulfilment of these contracts; which, if necessary, the Pope would enforce by threats of excommunication: and subsequently their services to the King secured them his countenance and assistance. As an example of the precautions which were taken to fortify these engagements against the possibility of evasion, I subjoin a copy of a bond taken from a register of Glastonbury Abbey; in which that convent acknowledges the receipt of a loan of 1,750*l.* sterling, from merchants of Lucca.^r Payment by instalments at five specified terms is promised, under penalty of refunding all losses, costs, and interest, according to the assessment of their creditors. They renounce all subterfuges, and for the performance of the conditions they submit themselves to ecclesiastical censure and coercion, and grant the merchants power to distrain their goods.

^r "Universis præsentibus litteris inspecturis frater Johannes, permissione divina, Abbas monasterii de Glastonia, et ejusdem loci totus conventus, ordinis S. Benedicti, Bathonensis et Wellensis diocesis, salutem in Domino sempiternam. Noverit universitas vestra quod nos recognoscimus et in veritate confitemur nos, monasterium nostrum et successores nostros, ex causa veri et puri mutui quod, pro nostris et monasterii nostri utilibus et necessariis negotiis promovendis et expediendis, recepimus, teneri et obligatos esse domino Baruncino Walteri et Brunetto filio ejus, civibus et mercatoribus Lucanensibus, et utrique eorum insolidum, in mille septingentis et quinquaginta libris bonorum novorum et legalium sterlingorum. Quas quidem mille septingentas et quinquaginta libras solempni stipulatione et bona fide, et in verbo veritatis, promittimus eisdem mercatoribus vel uni eorum, aut utriusque eorum vel alterius eorum hæredibus sive attornatis seu procuratoribus, reddere, solvere et restituere, Londoniæ, in quinque solutionibus, terminis subscriptis; videlicet, quinquaginta libras sterlingorum in festo Pentecostes, currente anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo nonagesimo quarto; et quingentas libras in festo S. Martini de mense Novembris, anno eodem; et ducentas quinquaginta libras in festo Pentecostes, currente anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo nonagesimo quinto; et ducentas quinquaginta libras in dicto festo S. Martini ejusdem anni;

Profits upon
loans.
Premiums.
Interest.

Interest was very rarely promised for loans which the King received of the Italians. An exact equivalent seems to have been returned for the amount borrowed, and the usual remuneration was a premium, sometimes conditioned for at the time, but, apparently, more often voluntarily con-

et ducentas quinquaginta libras in festo Pentecostes, currente anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo nonagesimo sexto. Quod si, quod absit! contingat nos deficere in solutionibus supradictis vel eorum aliqua, in parte vel in toto, loco et terminis supradictis, promittimus eisdem mercatoribus et utrique eorum insolidum per stipulationem solempnem refundere, reddere et restaurare, omnia dampna, expensas et interesse, quæ et quas dicti mercatores vel eorum alter, seu ipsorum vel alterius ipsorum procuratores, ratione dictæ pecuniæ sive partis ipsius non solutæ debitis loco et termino, dixerint seu dixerit suo verbo simplici se fecisse, sustinuisse vel incurrisse, in judicio vel extra judicium, super quibus ex nunc ut ex tunc nullam aliam fieri volumus taxationem aut probationem, vel sacramentum, exigi seu requiri; set eorum vel alterius eorum, seu ipsorum vel alterius ipsorum procuratorum, simplici verbo credi.

Et, nichilominus, pœnæ nomine et pro pœna, promittimus et nos obligamus ad solvendas ducentas marcas in subsidium Terræ Sanctæ illis qui pecuniam Terræ Sanctæ de mandato Papæ colligent, quotiens nos defecerimus in solutionibus supradictis et terminis, ut superius est expressum.

Et, pro præmissis omnibus et singulis firmiter observandis et plenarie adimplendis, obligamus nos, monasterium nostrum et successores nostros, et omnia bona nostra mobilia et immobilia, spiritualia et temporalia, præsentia et futura, ubicumque fuerint inventa, dictis mercatoribus et utrique insolidum et ipsorum hæredibus et assignatis; quæ bona ab ipsis, eorum hæredibus et utroque ipsorum, nos recognoscimus usque ad plenam satisfactionem omnium præmissorum precario possidere.

Volumus etiam et voluntarie consentimus super præmissis omnibus et singulis, scilicet tam debito principali quam pœnis, dampnis et interesse et expensis, a dictis mercatoribus et utroque eorum, ipsorum vel alterius ipsorum hærede vel hæredibus, nuntio vel procuratore, coram quocumque judice et in quocumque loco et foro libere conveniri et ad judicium trahi, ultra vel citra mare Anglicanum, prout eis placuerit, ad solam requisitionem dictorum mercatorum vel alterius eorum, seu nuntii vel procuratoris eorum, et ad satisfactionem omnium præmissorum per censuram ecclesiasticam, vel quamcumque aliam censuram aut coercionem, compelli.

Renuntiantes expresse in præmissis omnibus et singulis exceptioni doli, mali, vis, metus et fraudis; conditioni sine causa seu ex injusta causa; conditioni indebiti; exceptioni non habitæ, non receptæ seu non numeratæ, dictæ pecuniæ; actioni in factum appellationis; remedio omni tempore feriato; juri revocandi domum; conventioni judicum et locorum; contradictioni litterarum Apostolicarum; beneficio restitutionis in integrum; constitutioni de duabus diebus editis in concilio generali; juri dicendi creditores probare debere pecuniam seu debitum in utilitate ecclesiæ esse conversam seu conversum; privilegio crucesignatis et crucesignandis indulto seu indulgendo, et Anglicis ne ultra mare Anglicanum trahantur in causis; omnibus litteris et gratiis a sede Apostolica et curia regia inpetratis et inpetrandis; et omni juri et beneficio et exceptionibus quibus-

ferred, in consideration of losses and expenses occasioned by a delay in repayment. Edward the First, in the thirty-fourth year of his reign, granted to the Frescobaldi ten thousand pounds, “de dono nostro, in recompensationem dampnorum et jacturarum quæ iidem mercatores sustinuerunt ratione retardationis solutionis debitorum prædictorum.”^s Among many other instances, we may notice that of two thousand pounds granted to the Bardi for the same purpose, in the year 6 Edw. II.;^t four thousand pounds to the same in 10 Edw. II.;^u and other large sums in that and the following reigns.^x Instances will occasionally be met with in the annexed extracts of presents being made by the King, not to the merchants themselves, but to their wives.^y As a precaution against imputations of scandal, we may observe that, by this expedient, the King’s gift was secured to the individual merchant whom he might desire to reward for services: it would otherwise have been claimed and shared by the partners in the firm of which he was a member. As the loans required of the Italians grew to be of larger amount, and the difficulty of supplying them increased, the necessity of offering interest seems to have been experienced. Edward the Third, in the thirteenth year of his reign, was so much encumbered with debts, and in such distress for money, that he was obliged to grant interest for a sum of one hundred and forty thousand florins borrowed of a Lucchese mer-

cumque, quæ nobis in aliquo possent valere et dictis mercatoribus nocere; et specialiter juri dicendi generalem renuntionem non valere.

Et, pro prædictis omnibus et singulis tenendis, observandis et adimplendis, obligamus nos ipsos, monasterium et conventum prædictos, abbates et successores nostros futuros, et omnia nostra et dictorum monasterii et conventus, ac futurorum abbatum et successorum nostrorum, bona mobilia et immobilia, præsentia et futura, eisdem mercatoribus et utrique eorum insolidum, distringenda, detinenda et capienda, etiam sine strepitu judicii, per senescallos et marescallos magnifici principis domini Edwardi Regis Angliæ illustris quoscumque, cum in aliqua solutione dicti debiti cessaverimus, vel non servaverimus omnia et singula supradicta.

In quorum omnium testimonium sigilla nostra, abbatis et conventus, præsentibus sunt appensa. Dat. in pleno capitulo nostro Glastoniæ, pridie kal. Jun. A.D. 1293.”—Arundel MS. no. II. f. 87.

^s See annexed Extracts, cxiii.

^t Ibid. cxxxvi.

^u Ibid. cxlviii.

^x Ibid. xxix, xlii, lx, lxxxvii, cxxxii, cxxxvi, cxlviii, clx, clxx, clxxvi, clxxxvii.

^y Ibid. clxxx, clxxxiii, cxcviii.

chant, and to engage not to cross the sea into England until the sum advanced was repaid.^z The clause in his letters of obligation relating to the payment of interest is as follows: “Ad quam quidem solutionem dictis die et loco faciendam, necnon ad refusionem et solutionem dampnorum, expensarum et interesse, si quæ, ratione retardatæ vel non plene factæ solutionis prædictæ, præfatum Nicholaum, hæredes vel executores suos, incurrere contigerit (super quibus juramento dicti Nicholai, hæredum vel executorum suorum, absque alia probatione, fidem volumus adhibere) obligamus omnia bona nostra et hæredum nostrorum districtioni cujuscumque judicis competentis.”

Security. Moreover the expediency of obtaining security for the sums advanced, although generally not insisted on, was not always overlooked. The involved circumstances of Henry the Third, at the end of his reign, rendered it necessary that his treasurer and officers of his household should become securities for the loans he required.^a Edward the First, at the close of his reign, was similarly situated. And in the reign of Edward the Third, whose burdens were yet heavier, security for payment became a frequent condition of the loan. This security consisted sometimes in an assignment on a branch of the royal revenue for the amount received. In the year 4 Edw. III. all the customs of the kingdom were assigned to the Bardi of Florence, to hold for one year; they having undertaken to provide one thousand marks every month for the expenses of the King's household.^b Sometimes a religious house was made a party in the bond;^c and, in some instances, the Italian merchants themselves became the King's securities to other companies of their countrymen for sums advanced by them. Frequently in the reign of Edward the Third the names of peers and high officers of state are subscribed to the King's letters of obligation; and in the fourteenth year of his reign, the Earl of Derby was actually detained in confinement in France, for debts in which he had been the King's security, until he was released by the company of the Leopardi, who advanced the sum required.^d

^z Rym. Fœd. ii. p. 1082.

^a Annexed Extracts, xxxiii, xxxiv, xxxv, xxxvii, xlii.

^b Cal. Rot. Pat. p. 113.

^c Annexed Extracts, xxxiii.

^d Rym. Fœd. vol. ii. p. 1143.

The modes of repayment were various. In general the creditor received a bill upon the Exchequer, from which payment was made to him direct or by assignment elsewhere. Such instruments were recorded on the Liberate Rolls, and a collection of them is now offered in the annexed extracts. Sometimes the keeper of the wardrobe both negotiated the loan and afterwards settled it.^e An assignment on a branch of the revenue was often granted where the debts were of large amount.^f In the twenty-seventh year of Edward the First, the whole revenues of Ireland were assigned to the Frescobaldi of Florence in payment of a loan of eleven thousand pounds, sterling.^g Sometimes a portion of the proceeds of a lay or clerical subsidy was made over to them.^h The collectors were ordered to pay certain sums into the hands of the creditor, and allowance was made in their account at the Exchequer. In the year 8 Edw. I. almost the entire proceeds of a subsidy of a fifteenth were thus paid away to different companies of Italian merchants.ⁱ The issues of the customs came more often into their chests than into the royal treasury,^k especially during the latter part of the reign of Edward the First, and the commencement of Edward the Second, when the whole receipts of the customs were made over to them.

VII. An indirect but valuable remuneration, which they received for the services they rendered the King, consisted in the commercial liberties they thereby secured,¹ and in the offices with which he entrusted them. In those

^e Frequent instances may be met with in the Wardrobe books of the period, and in the Issue Rolls in the Pell Office.

^f The following are references to assignments upon branches of revenue, not specified in the text: Annexed Extracts, LIX, LXXI, LXXVIII, LXXIX—LXXXII. Abbreviatio Rot. Orig. 4 Edw. II. 5 Edw. III. rot. 42. 6 Edw. III. rot. 19, *bis*. 16 Edw. III. rot. 35. 18 Edw. III. rot. 29, 32.

^g Annexed Extracts, cviii.

^h Annexed Extracts, clvi, clx, clxi, clxx. Rym. Fœd. vol. ii. p. 296. Abbr. Rot. Original. 10 Edw. II. rot. 13. 4 Edw. III. rot. 33. 14 Edw. III. rot. 70. Cal. Rot. Pat. 15 Edw. III. p. 1. m. 7.

ⁱ Annexed Extracts, lxxxiii.

^k Annexed Extracts, *passim*. Abbr. Rot. Orig. 2 Edw. II. rot. 17. 7 Edw. II. rot. 7. 9 Edw. II. rot. 16. 1 Edw. III. rot. 25. Cal. Rot. Pat. 16 Edw. I. 3 Edw. III. p. 1. m. 1. 14 Edw. III. p. 2. m. 20.

¹ See an *inspeximus* by Edward III. of a charter of privileges granted them by Edward I. in the thirty-first year of his reign. Rym. Fœd. vol. ii. p. 747.

Mercantile
privileges.

times of prejudice and misgovernment, foreigners would hardly have been suffered to pursue such extensive traffic in the kingdom, had it not been that they engaged the King's good-will by the immediate advantages he received from them. By an ancient custom, they were obliged to dispose of their cargo within forty days after landing, and hosts were awarded them, whose business it was to watch and report upon their dealings. Almost the only notice which occurs of the former of these restraints arises from the representations and petitions which were made to the King by the native merchants respecting its infringement.^m However, in the seventeenth year of Edward the Third, it became a subject for legislation, as appears from the following extract from the Parliament Rolls : ⁿ

“ Item fait a remembrer que les susditz prelatz et grantz a per eux, et les dites communes a per eux, feurent puis chargez de eux aviser sur les pointz souyescritz : cest assaver ;

“ Primerement, des Lumbards et autres marchandz aliens qi demurent assiduelement en la terre pur marchander et ne fyrent unques nul eyde au Roi, et se coevrent par une chartre grantee par le Roi l'aiel as marchandz aliens repeirantz en Engleterre. Par la quele chartre ils ne deveroient mye estre eidez mes pur lour demure de xl jours pour lour descharger et recharger. Et, quant notre seigneur le Roi feust en Bretaigne, feust accordez qils deveroient estre taillez et taxez pur le temps q'ils out demeurez ; et s'ils ne voloient paier la dite taillage qils voidassent la terre deinz les xl jours. Sur queu chose les ditz prelatz, grantz et communes, deivent aviser si celle chose soit a faire ou ne mye.

“ As queux prelatz, grantz et communes, feust avis qe les marchandz aliens qi sont demeurantz et conversantz en roialme, et prenent les profitz en roialme si avant ou plus come font les marchandz denzeyns, deivent eider et porter charge entre autres du roialme, pur le temps qils ont demurez, come desus est dit.

“ Par qoi acordez est et assentuz qils soient taxez et taillez pur le temps qils ont demurez, ou qils voident la terre en la manere susdite.”

With regard to the regulation respecting surveillance by means of hosts,

^m Rot. Parl. vol. ii. p. 9. Notices of such complaints often occur in the *Fœdera* ; but I have mislaid the references.

ⁿ Rot. Parl. vol. ii. p. 137.

I cannot find that it was enforced with any strictness during the reigns of the three Edwards. It seems to have extended no further than merely assigning peculiar houses for their residence, in London, in the street which thus received the name of Lombard Street. I have seen, among the records of the Queen's Remembrancer's Office, minute returns made into the Exchequer by the hosts thus appointed by the Mayor of London, in the reign of Henry VI.; but I have met with none for the period to which the present paper relates. Indeed, having abundant evidence of the unrestrained trade in money which they were allowed to exercise in all parts of the country, we cannot hesitate to conclude that it had become only a nominal restriction upon their mercantile freedom.

The offices which they held by the King's appointment, and which were probably bestowed on them in reward for their services, were a more direct source of profit and advantage. They were frequently collectors of subsidies and customs: ^a the mint too was generally in some degree under their charge, ^o and the coiners there were principally natives of Italy. ^p But there are instances of their having held offices of much greater trust and honour. Amerigo de' Friscobaldi, as will afterwards appear, was constable of Bourdeaux in the first years of Edward the Second; Alberto de' Medici was justice of the Jews in Agenois, at the same period ^q; and Antonio Pessagno, a Genoese merchant, also held the office of constable of Bourdeaux by an appointment dated in the eleventh year of the same King. ^r

Again, there are traces of their acting as the King's emissaries and agents in foreign parts; and sometimes at a period when the success of an

Offices entrusted to them.

Employed as the King's agents abroad,

^a Annexed Extracts, LXXXIII. Rot. Lib. 9 Edw. I. m. 4. 17 Edw. I. m. 2. 19 Edw. I. m. 5. 20 Edw. I. m. 4. Abbreviatio Rot. Orig. 2 Edw. I. rot. 15, *bis*. 2 Edw. II. rot. 2. 5 Edw. II. rot. 4. Pell. Recept. 1 Edw. I. mm. 2, 3.

^o Rym. Fæd. vol. iii. pp. 727, 915. Rot. Lib. 8 Edw. I. m. 9. 28 Edw. I. m. 3. Abbr. Rot. Orig. 7 Edw. I. rot. 1. 9 Edw. I. rot. 3. 1 Edw. II. rot. 1. 18 Edw. III. rot. 28. 23 Edw. III. rot. 46. Cal. Rot. Pat. 17 Edw. III. p. 3. m. 4.

^p On the Liberate Roll, 32 Edw. I. m. 4, is an order for payments to be made to between two and three hundred foreigners, principally Italians, coming from Paris and other places to work in the mint at London.

^q Rym. Fæd. vol. ii. p. 75.

^r Ibid. p. 347.

approaching war might depend upon the alliances with which he might be able to strengthen himself there.^r

In the fifth, sixth, and seventh years of Edward the First, large sums were placed in the hands of the merchants of Lucca “ad quædam negotia nostra quæ eis injunximus expedienda.”^s Throughout the reign of Edward the Second, and during the earlier part of that of Edward the Third, Antonio Pessagno and Antonio Bache, Genoese merchants, were frequently engaged abroad in the King’s affairs; and from the largeness of the sums placed at their disposal, it may be inferred that the business they were intrusted with was of considerable importance.^t

In such negotiations the Italians might practise with effect the diplomacy for which their country was already famous. Indeed their general qualifications must often have proved serviceable in distant and important missions. The King could employ them on affairs which, from the tediousness of travelling, and the general want of acquaintance with remote places, his own subjects were unfit to execute. He found in them a race of men far excelling those of his own dominions in the requisites for political agents or men of business. An universal commerce enlarged their minds, and gave them a knowledge of men and things unusual in those times, which their ambition and love of gain would dispose them to improve and apply with effect; by means of their partners and countrymen they had easy communication with every part of Europe and with Asia; they were always ready themselves to advance the sums necessary to forward the business in hand; and the favour they enjoyed in all countries of Europe, and in the East, added another facility to the happy prosecution of the affairs they undertook. It is recorded in a work which treats of the grandeur of the Florentine nation, printed at Florence in 1780, that in the year 1294 there were not less than twelve Florentines at the court of Rome holding the title of ambassadors from the principal states of Europe. The writer relates, that, upon being presented to Pope Boniface VIII. they congratulated

^r Annexed Extracts, CLXXXVI, CLXXXIX, CXC, CXCH, CXCI.

^s Ibid. LXXII—LXXVIII.

^t I draw this information from the Liberate Rolls of this reign, but I have inadvertently omitted to extract the writs relating to the subject.

him upon his elevation to the tiara in such elegant language, that his Holiness turned to his courtiers and exclaimed that, truly, the Florentines were the fifth element of the world. ^u

There was yet another way by which the Italians derived benefit from their connexion with the King. In the multitude of their operations abroad, it sometimes happened that they needed the recommendation of a powerful patron, or an intercessor with an offended prince, or a protector from injustice. When applied to for assistance, in such cases, the King, who had received so many obligations at their hands, could not refuse to exert his interest in their behalf. Documents may be quoted from the "Fœdera" which prove that occurrences of this kind were not unusual. Edward the Second, in the fourth year of his reign, addressed the Pope, urging him to distinguish with his favour two brothers of Amerigo de' Friscobaldi, and to countenance them in a cause then pending in his court. ^x The same prince, in the fifth year of his reign, wrote to the King of France, and prayed him to liberate certain Genoese merchants, relations of Antonio Pessagno, who had been arrested by the French King's commands. ^y In the eleventh year of his reign, he directed a letter of general recommendation to the King of France, in favour of the Bardi of Florence, in which he mentioned with gratitude the services they had rendered him, and the burdens and charges they had undertaken for his accommodation: it was backed with similar letters to Louis of Valois, Louis Comte d'Evreux, and the Sire de Soly. ^z In his thirteenth year he wrote repeatedly and warmly to the Pope, the Cardinals, and the King of Sicily, soliciting their interest in behalf of Antonio Pessagno of Genoa, who was striving to obtain payment of a debt of large amount, due for a loan advanced to the Master and Brethren of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem. ^a In his fifteenth and sixteenth years, he endeavoured to obtain from the King of France restitution of damages for a Genoese, on account of a ship laden with merchandize to the value of 5,716*l.* sterling, which had been seized by a French admiral, in the time of the late

The King's
intercessions
in their be-
half with
foreign
Princes.

^u Delle eccellenze e grandezze della nazione Fiorentina, Dissertazione storico-filosofica. A Firenze, 1780. p. 18.

^x Rym. Fœd. vol. ii. pp. 123, 124.

^y Ibid. p. 159.

^z Ibid. p. 347.

^a Ibid. pp. 403, 420, 424.

King of France.^b About the same time, he sent a certificate to the King of Sicily, that Vanne Fortigair [Fortiguerra] a merchant of Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, had passed an honest life in England for fifteen years; and solicited, in his behalf, restitution of some wool which had been taken from him at Nice in Provence, on suspicion of his being attached to the Ghibeline faction: and he wrote to the Pope and Cardinals desiring them to second his request.^c

Extent of
their trans-
actions as the
King's mo-
ney-lenders
in England,
during the
reign of
Henry III.

Influence of
the alliance
between the
King and the
Emperor
Frederic.

VIII. The Italian merchants appear to have had very little communication with Henry III. in the early part of that monarch's reign: they acted as bankers to the royal ambassadors at the court of Rome, but they seem to have been employed in England only as collectors of the Pope's revenue, or as money-lenders to private parties. Perhaps this may be accounted for by the close alliance which existed between the King and the Emperor Frederic; to whom he gave his sister Isabella in marriage, in his twentieth year. He certainly advocated Frederic's cause with zeal against the Lombard cities, who so strenuously resisted the Imperial yoke. The large sum of thirty thousand marks, sterling, which he gave as his sister's portion, must have powerfully contributed to support the Emperor against his insurgent vassals. It was not a nominal donation, as such engagements frequently proved. The full amount was paid; and the order for the last instalment of ten thousand marks, dated 10 June, 21 Hen. III. is recorded on the Patent Roll of that year.^d The bond for the debt is dated in May in the twentieth year, so that the entire sum was paid in the short space of thirteen months; an instance of expedition, in such affairs, very unusual at that period, and attributable to the sincerity of the King's desire to afford his brother-in-law effectual assistance. Moreover, the expressions in his letters to the Emperor, when he mentions the transactions of Italy, correspond with this indication of his warmth of partizanship. Several of these documents are entered in the Close Roll of 20 Hen. III. In one the King says, "*Litteras imperialis excellentiæ vestræ, nobis per Advocatum de Aquisgrano transmissas, cum qua decuit reverentia, læte recepimus: set, intellecta per easdem attemptatione Lumbardorum inopinata contra majestatem celsitudinis vestræ ita*

^b Rym. Fœd. vol. ii. pp. 456, 503.

^c Ibid. p. 470.

^d Ibid. vol. i. p. 232.

irreverenter machinata, eam æquo animo ferre non valuimus; ad quam vindicandam si sufficeremus, libenter nos accingeremus; vestra gravamina non reputantes, sicut nec debemus, a nostris alienata;"^e and at the same time he sent messengers to the Pope, with letters of urgent supplication in the Emperor's favour. We may suppose that such an alliance had the effect of retarding the progress of the Italians in this country—especially as their introduction here was through the Pope, the Emperor's antagonist—that it rendered them obnoxious to the King, and disinclined him from employing them as his agents and servants.

But the ambition of the Pope was destined to entangle Henry the Third in connexions with the Italians, which, it may be asserted with confidence, were a principal cause of the troubles which harassed him during the remainder of his reign. Upon the death of Frederic II. in the year 1250, the kingdom of Sicily, left vacant by that event, engaged the Pope's attention, and he used the utmost exertions to bring it under the temporal power of the Holy See. But it was never a part of the Pope's system to undertake alone, what duplicity and an impious application of the authority attributed to him might enable him to accomplish by the instrumentality of others. Accordingly, having experienced a stronger opposition to his designs than he had expected, foreseeing the difficulty and uncertainty of his enterprise, and the heavy expenditure it demanded, he looked around for a temporal prince whom he might draw into his plans, and who could supply the funds necessary to complete the undertaking. Richard, Earl of Cornwall, Henry's brother, was the first to whom the Pope ventured to offer the bait of the crown of Sicily. But Richard was too cautious to be entrapped, and declined his proposals. Innocent, thereupon, judging well the character of Henry the Third, and hoping from his weakness and vanity to find him pliable to his will, offered him, for his son Edmund, the prize which prudence would have rejected. It was accepted; and Edmund received a grant of the kingdom of Sicily by letters under the seal of Albert, the Pope's notary and legate, dated 38 Hen. III.^f It soon appeared for what purpose the King of England had been thus honourably distinguished. The expenses which the

^e Rym. Fæd. vol. i. p. 228.

^f Ibid. p. 297.

Pope had already incurred were considerable; and the money had been raised by loans received from the merchants of Italy. Hardly had the ink dried on the instrument which invested Edmund with the kingdom, when a bull was directed to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Chichester commissioning them to raise loans to any amount, for the purpose of the enterprise, and to bind religious houses and the King's lands as security for the repayment.^g While they were thus employed in England, the Bishop of Hereford (the chief agent in the business) was similarly occupied at Rome. He was provided with a bull authorising him to draw bills to any amount upon the prelates and religious houses of England; and to bind them to the interest as well as principal of the loans which he contracted in their name.^h The revenues of the church and state were thus at the Pope's command: for in the Italian merchants he found men able and willing to advance the largest sums upon such securities, and his influence with the King procured the payment of at least a considerable portion of the debts. Jealous of every farthing expended by his dupe for any other purpose than that in which he had engaged him, he writes to persuade him to abstain from superfluous expenses, and to content himself with the bare necessities of life, in the following extraordinary epistle:

"Innocentius," *etc.* "Regi Angliæ," *etc.*

"Cum ad negotium, quod in persona carissimi in Christo filii nostri [Edmundi] Regis Siciliae illustris, nati tui, assumpsisse dinosceris, proseguendum potenter et viriliter, prout decet tantum principem, multa sit pecunia opportuna, celsitudinem tuam rogamus et hortamur attentè, in remissionem tibi peccaminum districtius imponentes, quatinus ab omnibus expensis, tam piis (cum ipsius prosecutio negotii superet omnia opera pietatis) quàm aliis (exceptis duntaxat necessariis, quæ quoquo modo vitari non possunt) cohibeas de cætero penitus manus tuas. Sciturus pro certo quod, nisi ab hiis refrænaveris te omnino, credere non possumus quod habeas animum prædictum negotium proseguendi.

"Dat. Asisii, undecimo kal. Junii, pontificatus nostri undecimo."ⁱ

^g Rym. Fœd. vol. i. p. 301.

^h Matt. Par. sub anno 1255.

ⁱ Rym. Fœd. vol. i. p. 302.

Not satisfied with this, he writes in a similar manner to the Queen, urging her to use all her influence with her husband, and to be importunate in entreating him to observe a strict economy. The concluding sentence is, “*Quocirca celsitudinem tuam rogamus, monemus et hortamur attentè, quatinus et tu ab hiis [expensis] teipsam coherceas, et prædictum Regem ad id sæpe sæpius sollicitis exhortationibus ex parte nostra, quotiens expedire videris, moveas et inducas.*” A third epistle in nearly the same words is sent to Peter of Savoy, the King’s favourite.^k

Innocent IV. died in 1254, but the negotiation was resumed in the same spirit by his successor. In the thirty-ninth year of Henry III. Alexander IV. in a bull directed to Edmund, in which he styles him King of Sicily, lays down the conditions upon which his enjoyment of that title is to depend. Of course, every advantage is secured to the Holy See, in case of the success of the enterprise. In the meantime Henry the Third is required to defray the costs already incurred (for which Italian merchants were creditors) amounting to 130,541 marks, sterling. With regard to future expenses, the Pope is to hold considerable land in Sicily in pledge for the repayment of what portion he may have contributed; and the King also is to add his security.¹ From this time the unfortunate monarch was harassed by incessant demands for sums infinitely beyond his means to supply: agents were sent from Rome to intercept his revenue; deputies came from Italian knights employed in the enterprise, requiring payment of the wages due to them; the clergy were subjected to ceaseless taxation; and the indignant Barons, who saw the kingdom drained of its wealth to support an undertaking which the whole world ridiculed, rose to depose a King who had accumulated such miseries on his people. Finally, to fill the cup of bitterness and mortification, the Pope deprived the son of the title and claims which had proved so ruinous to his father.

These transactions were the means of introducing the Italians in greater numbers into England; and, although we find no instances of loans of large amount contracted with them by the King, it appears from Matthew Paris that they were actively practising their money-lending dealings among the

^k Rym. Feod. vol. i. p. 302.

¹ Ibid. p. 318.

nobility and with religious houses. He tells us that the houses which they had built for themselves in London were so costly, that although, at one period, anxious to leave the kingdom to escape the persecutions they suffered, they were constrained to remain by the loss they feared to incur by deserting them.^m

Extent of
their trans-
actions as the
King's mo-
ney-lenders
in England,
during the
reign of
Edward I.

IX. With the reign of Edward I. we open upon an era of greater interest and importance in the operations of the Italians. Hitherto they appear principally as trading merchants or agents of the Pope. They had probably suffered too much from the failure of the projects upon Sicily, to allow themselves to be involved again in money transactions with Henry the Third. The personal character of that prince, the weakness of his government, the dissensions in his kingdom, and the heaviness of his present debts, must have frightened them from ventures, the success of which would have depended upon his prosperity. But the character of Edward the First, so remarkable for a combination of prudence and spirit, was formed to engage confidence. His connexion with the Italians began before his succession to the throne. Merchants of Lucca were employed by him to remit from Eng-

Early con-
nexion of
that prince
with the

^m The interest of the following extract will, I hope, excuse its insertion. It occurs under the year 1251 ;

“Temporibus sub eisdem, usurarii Transalpini, quos Causinos appellamus, adeo multiplicati sunt et ditati quod, nobilissima palatia Londini sibi comparantes, stabilem sibi more civium indigenarum mansionem statuerunt. Nec sunt ausi prælati obmutire, quia se mercatores domini Papæ extitisse affirmarunt: nec audebant cives obloqui, quia magnatum quorundam, quorum, ut dicebatur, pecuniam ad multiplicandum seminabant, exemplo Romanæ curiæ, favore defendebantur. Veruntamen tunc temporis graviter in civili foro, domino Rege sic volente et caute procurante, sunt accusati et in causam ante judicem tracti; et, sedente Londini iudice ex parte Regis accusantis, velut schismatici vel hæretici et regiæ læsæ rei majestatis vocati, tenebantur, tanquam incarcerandi et gravius puniendi; pro eo nimirum quod, se Christianos profitentes, totum regnum Angliæ turpissimo quæstu fœnoris macularunt; unde dominus Rex Christianissimus, qui juravit sancta instituta ecclesiæ conservare illæsa, se conqueritur in conscientia sua graviter sauciatus. Quod cum non posset inficiari, capti sunt eorum aliqui carcerali custodiæ mancipandi; alii vero in locis abditis latuerunt. Quibus auditis, gavisus sunt Judæi suæ habere jam participes servitutis. Tandem, interveniente haud minimæ pecuniæ quantitate, æmuli Judæorum Causini in pace ad tempus sunt demissi. Dixeratque unus eorum mihi hæc de ipsis scripturo, sub attestazione magni sacramenti, quod, nisi mansiones sumptuosas comparassent Londini, vix aliquis eorum in Anglia remansisset.” Matt. Par. p. 822.

land the sums necessary to support his expenses in the Holy Land.ⁿ On that distant shore he found himself surrounded by them; and he sought from their traffic and frequent intercourse with Europe and England, the means of corresponding with foreign princes upon the enterprise he was engaged in, and of obtaining from his own country early intelligence of circumstances which might nearly concern him, in times so troubled and eventful. In his subsequent journey homewards, wherever he passed, he found them firmly established, and contributing largely to the prosperity of the kingdoms where they exercised their commerce. In the plains of Italy, fertilized by a superior system of cultivation; in the cities which overspread them, already adorned with master-pieces of architecture, overflowing with wealth, and peopled with a race of men excelling all others in the arts and sciences no less than in commercial enterprise—he beheld with admiration the proofs and effects of a civilization elsewhere unknown. The contrast of this scene with his own rude island was not lost upon him. Throughout his reign he extended to them his protection and favour, encouraged them to

Italian merchants; and his subsequent partiality towards them.

ⁿ An account of payments in the wardrobe in the year 1 Edw. I. preserved in the Queen's Remembrancer's Office, contains the following entries :

“ Item, liberavit domino Edwardo dcccxxxijli. xis. ad perficiendas m m marcas, quæ missæ fuerunt domino in Accon' per manum Peregrini de la Pounte et Willielmi de Blyburgh, pro societate Lucæ de Luka.”

“ Item, in expensis Pelerini de la Penne et Willielmi de Blyburgh adeuntium dominum in Terra Sancta cum prædictis m m marcis, missis per societatem Lucæ de Luka, in passagio maris, anno lvtō. xxijli. vis. viiiid.”

“ Item, liberavit Baud Aldebrand' mercatori Senensi xl marcas, pro cariagio m m marcarum de Londonia usque Parisias, pro paga ibidem facienda pro domino de denariis integris.”

See also in the Chancellor's Roll 1 Edw. I. an account of the receivers of the twentieth granted to Henry III. at the end of his reign. Under the head of money sent to Prince Edward after he had left England are the following entries :

“ Regi antequam esset Rex, per manus Lucæ de Luka et sociorum suorum, mercatorum de Luka, anno prædicti Regis Henrici lvo. v mille marcas; sicut continetur in quodam compoto cui appensum est sigillum Roberti Burnel.

“ Et eidem, per manum Jacobi de Luka et sociorum suorum, mercatorum de Luka, anno prædicto, m m marcas; sicut continetur ibidem.

“ Et eidem, per manum prædicti Lucæ et sociorum suorum, mercatorum de Luka, et Peregrini de la Poynte, anno prædicto Regis H. lvjo. dcccxxxix marcas, ix solidos; sicut continetur ibidem.”

Large expen-
ditures dur-
ing this
reign.

trade with his people ; by his bounty drew them over in large numbers ; and enabled the wealthiest companies of Florence and Lucca to spread their agents over the whole kingdom. Such policy was its own reward. A better market was found for the produce of England ; the activity of the native merchants was stimulated ; and increased capital was circulated through the kingdom. In his greatest exigencies he was relieved by powerful and willing supporters ; and he had at hand intelligent agents to prosecute his political negotiations abroad and at home. The activity of his reign, and the vast expenditure which incessant wars made necessary, gave them continual employment. The first of the annexed extracts in this reign is a mandate to the Treasurer to pay certain merchants of Lucca a sum which the King had borrowed of them in Palestine^o : and we have evidence that the merchants of Lucca and Sienna, but particularly his favourite agent, and probably counsellor, Lucas de Lucca, were frequently employed in his service while he remained there. The war in Wales which began early in his reign, and revived after a short cessation ; his journey into France, in his fourteenth year ; the wars in Gascony and Flanders, which were unsuccessfully carried on, at an enormous expense, chiefly by means of mercenary forces and dearly purchased alliances with continental powers ; finally, the repeated expeditions against Scotland, continued through a third part of his reign, compelled him to exert all his art and authority to recruit his exhausted exchequer. He imposed additional duties upon commerce ; he took frequent subsidies from his lay subjects ; the clergy were taxed for his benefit ; he forfeited the property of the Jews, whom he drove from his kingdom ; and he spoiled the churches of their plate and treasure. Still his revenue was insufficient to support his projects. The sudden demands, caused by the boldness of his political schemes, perpetually obliged him to anticipate his income. When at a loss for money, he could find none among his own subjects sufficiently wealthy to afford him the immediate assistance he required. But he obtained with apparent facility, from the Italian bankers, who now flocked around him, the ready supply which their inexhaustible resources could always yield.

In the eighth year of his reign, we find a writ of allowance to Reyner Magiar', merchant of Lucca, and Giles de Audenarde, receivers of the subsidy of a fifteenth, for divers sums, amounting to fifteen thousand marks, delivered by them to thirteen companies of merchants of Florence, Lucca, Pistoia, and Sienna.^p

Notices of
loans con-
tracted.

In the ninth year, the keepers of the Exchange in London delivered ten thousand pounds to Lombard merchants (as they are styled in the record) in *part* payment of sums which they had lent the King.^q

In the seventeenth year, there is an order for payment of five thousand marks to Ricardo Guidiccioni and his partners, merchants of Lucca, for an equal sum procured by them for the King on loan, from the following companies: the Mozzi of Florence, the company of Jacopo Brabazon of Sienna, the Bardi of Florence, the Ammanati of Pistoia, the Circuli Neri, the Circuli Bianchi of Florence, the company of the sons of Beccori of Lucca, the Frescobaldi of Florence, a second company of the Frescobaldi, and the Pulci of Florence.^r

In the eighteenth year, the Ammanati of Pistoia received from the Exchequer three thousand marks, which, by the King's command, they had lent to Otho de Grandison in aid of his journey to Jerusalem.^s

In the nineteenth year, there is an order to deliver ten thousand pounds to the Ricardi of Lucca, in part payment only of the King's debts to them.^t

In the twenty-sixth year, in a more systematic manner, a sum of ten thousand pounds sterling was raised on loan among eleven companies of Tuscan merchants: and the total amount of the King's debts to the same companies, it appears, was twenty-eight thousand pounds; a sum nearly equal to his full ordinary revenue for the year.^u

In the twenty-seventh year, the treasurer of the Dublin Exchequer is commanded to pay eleven thousand pounds to the Frescobaldi of Florence,

^p Annexed Extracts, LXXXIII.

^q See an account in the Queen's Remembrancer's Office, intitled "Compotus custodum cambii Londoniæ a die dominica proxima ante festum beati Dunstani, anno regni Regis Edwardi [primi] octavo, usque," etc.

^r Annexed Extracts, LXXXIX.

^s Ibid. XCII.

^t Ibid. XCIII.

^u Ibid. XCVI—CVII.

lent by them for the expenses of the King's household, and for which he had made over to them all the issues of Ireland, and the money then in the treasury there.^x

By an account of the company of the Frescobaldi of Florence, sent into the Exchequer in the twenty-seventh year, it appears that the King was then indebted to them fifteen thousand eight hundred pounds, which he had at different times borrowed of them, since the commencement of the twenty-third year.^y

And in the thirty-fourth year, in a writ of allowance for collectors of customs at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, we learn that ten thousand pounds were granted to the Frescobaldi, of the King's gift, to compensate their losses occasioned by delay in payment of large sums borrowed from them.^z

To liquidate his debts, the King had assigned them the old custom of wools, wool-fells and hides, within England and Ireland; to be received from the first of April in the thirty-second year of his reign, until the full payment of the same. From the writ immediately following, it appears that they had also received a grant of the new custom, issuing from wools, wool-fells, hides, and other merchandise belonging to foreign merchants, to hold from the twelfth of July in the thirty-second year until the complete payment of their demands. And from the collectors of customs in London they received ten thousand six hundred and eighty-three pounds, between the first of April, in the thirty-second year, and the twenty-fourth of June, in the thirty-fourth year.

Finally, we learn from an account of the Frescobaldi Bianchi of Florence that they had received of the King's money the following sums: from the collectors of customs at Hull, 17,482*l.* 13*s.* 2*d.*; at Boston, 21,469*l.*

^x Annexed Extracts, cviii.

^y See an account preserved among the records in the Queen's Remembrancer's Records, headed thus: "Ces sont les deniers qui notre seigneur le Roy doit a Coppe Joseph et Talde Janiani et a leur compaignons, marchautz de la compaignie de Friscobaudz de Florence; les queux ils ont livrez a ses tresorers et ailleurs, por ses busoignes, puis le xxv. jour de Novembre, lan xxiii. [Ed. I.] come est contenu par parcelles desouz escrites."

The account extends to the sixth of June, in the year 27 Edw. I.

^z Annexed Extracts, cxiii.

17s. 4d.; at London, 27,590*l.* 16s. 4½*d.*; at Newcastle, 3,491*l.* 15s. 2½*d.*; at Sandwich, 1,360*l.* 8s. 6¾*d.*; at Wynchelsea, 8*l.* 3s. 9¼*d.*; at Ipswich, 2,144*l.* 15s. 9¼*d.*; at Yarmouth, 1,479*l.* 7s. 4*d.*; at Linne, 1,626*l.* 16s.; at Southampton, 6,408*l.* 7s. 1*d.*; at Exeter, 126*l.* 7s. 8*d.*; from the Irish Exchequer, 4,996*l.* 2s.; from the Justiciary of Ireland, in pollards, 463*l.* 6s. 4*d.*; from the profits of the custom on wool [in Ireland], whilst in their keeping, 1,280*l.*; from the mines of Devonshire, 2,510*l.* 4s.; from the sheriff of Cornwall; from the collectors of the tenth levied on the clergy; amounting to nearly 100,000*l.* They had received these sums between the commencement of the year 23 Edward I. and the end of the year 2 Edward II. The account was sent into the Exchequer in consequence, apparently, of an inquiry instituted at the last mentioned period respecting the monies received by the Italian merchants from their assignments on the royal revenue, and there can be little doubt that these sums were received in payment of debts which Edward the First had contracted with them.^a

Moreover, during this reign, the Italians were hardly less active in Ireland The Italian merchants in Ireland. than in England. As early as the third year, merchants of Lucca were acting as farmers of the new custom of wool and wool-fells, and they continued in the office to the end of the eighth year. From the tenth to the twelfth year the customs were farmed by merchants of Florence for 1,000*l.* per annum, and they were afterwards again entrusted to merchants of Lucca.^b It appears from a document remaining among the Queen's Remembrancer's records, that it was represented by commissioners, who about this time had been despatched into Ireland to inquire into certain abuses of the government, that the King had suffered loss from the cheapness at which

^a See an account among the records of the Queen's Remembrancer's Office, thus intitled :

"*Comptus Bettini Berte, Almarici Berte, Petri Paunche, et Lapini Altaniane, mercatorum de societate Friscobaldorum Alborum de Florentia, pro se et sociis suis, mercatoribus societatis prædictæ, de diversis pecuniarum summis, de denariis tam Regis Edwardi filii Regis Henrici quam Regis Edwardi filii prædicti Regis Edwardi, in Anglia et Hibernia receptis, a festo S. Michaelis, anno regni prædicti Regis Edwardi filii Regis Henrici xxii. finiente, usque—*" (*sic*)

The account extends to the fourteenth of April, 2 Edw. II.

^b Views of accounts in the Queen's Remembrancer's Office.

the new custom had been let to farm to the Florentines; for that in the eighth year, according to the account rendered by the Lucchese, 1,700*l.* had been received. They affirm that the new custom might be let out to farm for 2,000*l.*; and they add, "such depreciation of the revenue is not to be borne." Moreover, they make mention of a public report, that the Justiciary of Ireland participated with the merchants of Florence in their profits from the custom, and that he was a partner in their company, having a share in their ventures. We may easily conceive that enterprising merchants would find abundant opportunities of enriching themselves in a country where the government was lax, and the native traders unable to compete with them.

In the nineteenth and twentieth years, the new custom of wools in Ireland was still in the hands of the Lucchese merchants. And in the twenty-seventh year the whole revenues of the country were made over to the Frescobaldi, as was before mentioned.

But, while they were thus engaged, they were frequently called upon, like their fellow-countrymen in England, to supply the King's necessities from their funds. In the rolls of the Dublin Exchequer, transmitted to the Exchequer at Westminster, I have seen frequent notices of sums delivered to Italian merchants in repayment of loans received from them, but am unable to give particular references.

Transactions of the Italians as the King's money-lenders in England, during the reign of Edward II.

The King's conduct upon his accession, with regard to Scotland, justified by his financial embarrassments.

X. The first actions of Edward the Second, upon his accession to the throne, have always been stigmatised by historians as impolitic in themselves, and indicative of a want of spirit in that prince. The apparent pusillanimity with which he withdrew from a struggle so long and intrepidly maintained by his father, and in direct opposition to his dying injunctions, has subjected him to the contempt of all ages. But circumstances connected with the present subject suggest arguments which may explain or palliate the seeming weakness of his conduct. The defects in the constitution of the armies of early times have often been pointed out. It is well known how weak were the ties by which they were kept together. Composed principally of the retainers of the nobility who were engaged to serve only for a limited term, by the tenure of their lands or by indentures of service, they were unsuited to a protracted campaign. Edward the First

seems to have made efforts to remedy this evil by maintaining corps of mercenaries—Irish, Welsh, and native troops. But, in the condition of affairs at the moment of Edward's death, this precaution proved a source of disaster. A principle of honour and the prospect of meeting an enemy might have withheld the Barons from deserting their new Sovereign; but such influences were, of necessity, less powerful with the remainder of his followers. A war so long protracted, and prosecuted with such energy, was at that period almost unexampled. It appeared endless. Resistance became more and more strenuous; the invaded country had been repeatedly ravaged; and the brightest success would bring them little or no recompence. Long arrears were due to the army; the emptiness of the Exchequer was no secret; and the effect of the death of the King, whom they feared and loved, must have been to dishearten them and render them desperate of obtaining their dues. By what promises could the young King keep such troops united? or, if in this he had succeeded, what ultimate results could he have looked forward to? But the enormous weight of his father's debts pressed upon him: temporary success was insufficient; a battle won would not remove his difficulties, or satisfy the demands of his soldiers: and, although the resolution he formed in this dilemma wears to our eyes the character of weakness and timidity, it was apparently unavoidable. It certainly was followed by conduct which proved him possessed of much firmness and rectitude of principle, and to be not incapable of self-devotion. He discontinued a contest which he could only maintain, for a time, by the ruin of his followers, and retired to his capital, not, as has been charged against him, to yield himself to effeminate pleasures, but to submit to tedious restraints and self-denials in persevering efforts to satisfy the claims of his father's creditors. The Liberate Rolls of the first years of his reign abound with orders upon the Exchequer in their favour. Independent of other payments, no less a sum than one hundred and eighteen thousand pounds, sterling, was delivered to the keeper of the late King's wardrobe, to pay off the debts incurred in his office.^c At the same time, twenty-eight thousand

His exertions
to pay his fa-
ther's debts.

^c Rot. Lib. 2 Edw. II. mm. 4, 2. 3 Edw. II. m. 2. 4 Edw. II. m. 3.

The effect
upon his
popularity.

pounds were applied to the discharge of debts contracted by himself, when Prince of Wales.^d The law officers and other higher servants of the Crown now received arrears of salary which had long been accumulating. There is on record a writ, dated in the second year, ordering payment of eight thousand five hundred pounds sterling, due to Gascons who had served Edward the First in the war in their own country.^e Deputies had, for some time, been in England pressing their demands; their daily expenses had been allowed them; and the circumstance affords an instance of the necessity there was at once to reduce the exorbitant rate of expenditure already too long continued. The exertions of the King were so warmly and steadily maintained, that the bulk of the debts was discharged within the first six years of his reign, although orders on the Exchequer for such payments are met with as late as the thirteenth year. The consideration of these circumstances may throw a new light upon the history of this period. It is not for me to trace their results; but the inquiry suggests itself, whether the early unpopularity of Edward the Second may not be attributed to another cause, not less powerful than that of his courtiers' jealousy of an undeserving favourite, to which it is commonly ascribed. The necessary retrenchments in the expenses of the household, and the economy enforced in all departments of government, must have been distasteful to the officers of the Crown, whose interests were injured; the effect of a considerable diminution in the King's expenditure must have extended generally through the people; an unusual strictness must have been exercised in collecting the royal revenue; and can we wonder that anger and discontent were engendered in all classes? The prevalent ignorance of political affairs rendered them blind to the true causes of their suffering: and Edward the Second incurred the obloquy which should have fallen on his father.

The Italians,
and especially the
Frescobaldi,
persecuted
by the re-
volted
Barons.

It appears from a record remaining in the Queen's Remembrancer's Office that, of the one hundred and eighteen thousand pounds which were applied to the payment of Edward the First's debts, a considerable portion was re-

^d Rot. Lib. 1 Edw. II. m. 2 Edw. II. mm. 6, 4, 3, 2. 3 Edw. II. m. 2.

^e Rot. Lib. 2 Edw. II. m. 3.

ceived by the Italians.^f The Frescobaldi alone obtained fifty-six thousand five hundred pounds within the three years immediately subsequent upon that King's death; the Bellardi eighteen hundred pounds, and the Bardi four thousand six hundred: and it is worthy of remark that they thereby incurred the odium and jealousy of the disaffected to Edward's government. The fourth article of the Statutes of the Barons, in the fifth year of Edward the Second, is directed against them. It orders that the customs of the kingdom shall not henceforward be entrusted to the keeping of aliens; and that all the profits therefrom, and the other revenues of the country, shall be paid into the Exchequer, and not into other hands. The fifth article orders that all merchants alien, who have received the profits of the customs or other of the King's monies, be arrested, together with their goods, and obliged to render account of their receipts. But the twenty-first article discovers their feelings more plainly. Amerigo de' Frescobald and his company are there singled out, and made the peculiar objects of persecution. It is ordered that their persons and goods be arrested, and that, in default of their appearing to render sufficient account of the monies they have received, they be banished from the kingdom and held as outlaws.^g Already warrants had been dispatched to officers abroad for the apprehension of Amerigo de' Friscobaldi, who was then constable of Bourdeaux, and others of his company. They had been recalled by Edward the Second, by a writ to the seneschal of Gascony, dated the 27th of July, in the fifth year. They were now renewed, and Giovanni Guicardi and Alberto Medici, temporary keepers of the office of constable of Bourdeaux, and receivers of the revenues of the Duchy of Aquitaine, were appointed to make the arrest. They received their commission on the eleventh of November; and their return upon its execution is dated on the fourth of December following. Their letter is of historical interest; and its tone, when speaking of the offenders, discovers the power and consequence which the Frescobaldi had attained to in the

^f The record is entitled "*Onus Scaccarii*," and it contains an account of payments made by virtue of orders upon the Exchequer, assigned to the keeper of the wardrobe for the purpose of paying off the late King's debts.

^g Rot. Parl. vol. i. *sub anno*.

time of their prosperity.^h Messengers were afterwards sent to the court of Rome to procure the arrest of those of the company who had fled thither to

^h This letter is among the accounts and miscellaneous records preserved in the Queen's Remembrancer's Office ; which after centuries of neglect, and exposure to many risks and losses, have been narrowly saved from a decay which had already fastened on them, by the exertions of the late Record Commission, and of the present keeper of the Public Records, his Lordship the Master of the Rolls. The following partial copy is all that I am able to offer.

" Venerabili patri in Christo, domino suo karissimo, domino J. Dei gratia Norwycensi episcopo, sui humiles et devoti Johannes Guicardi et Albertus Medici, clerici, custodes constabulariæ Burdegalæ et receptores exituum dicti ducatus, debitam reverentiam cum honore.

" Noverit vestra dominatio nos novem paria litterarum domini nostri Regis Angliæ, ducis Aquitanæ, patentium, per manus Johannis Scuroli servientis regii, die Lunæ ante festum beati Martini in noctis crepusculo, recepisse, in summa, captionem Emerici de Friscobaldis nuper constabularii Burdegalæ, et Hugonis Hugolini tenentis locum suum, et aliorum mercatorum de societate eorum, et revocationem officiorum sibi per dominum Regem in terra ducatus commissorum, quæ nobis de novo commissa sunt, continentia. Quarum auctoritate noveritis nos sic in dicto negotio una cum locum tenente senescalli Vasconiæ processisse quod prædictus Hugo Hugolini, Guelfe de Friscobaldis frater naturalis prædicti Emerici, et duo alii, unus nomine Gracius de Castro Florentino et alius nomine Jaquettus Symoni, receptores nuper exituum prædicti ducatus pro prædicto Emerico, licet essent sparsi per diversas partes dicti ducatus, sunt capti in castro Burdegalensi ; et ibi tamdiu juxta mandatum regium detinebuntur donec de ipsis per dominum nostrum Regem aliud fuerit præceptum vel ordinatum. In quorum manibus seu potestate modica bona fuerunt inventa, de quibus inventaria fideliter sunt confecta. Tamen expensas aliquas et non multum magnas fecimus circa captionem prædictarum personarum ; ad quas capiendas nos oportuit per diversas partes laborare, et ducere nobiscum majorem Burdegalæ cum armis versus partes Agennenses, videlicet apud Marmandam, ubi prædictus Hugolinus erat, pro saniori consilio habendo et auxilio fortiori. Quia prædictus Hugo rebellis suo modo mandato Regis videbatur, asserens se habere litteras regias per quas litteræ nobis missæ annullarentur ; et, ad ultimum, ostendit unam litteram regiam clausam sub magno sigillo, directam senescallo Vasconiæ vel ejus locum tenenti, per quam mandabatur ipsi senescallo quod, cum ipse dominus Rex nuper mandavisset atachiari Emericum de Friscobaldis et socios suos pro compoto suo reddendo, et ipse Emericus se aplegiasset ydonee de compoto suo reddendo, mandaret ipsum Emericum et socios suos, si arrestati fuissent, ab arresto hujusmodi liberari. Ad quod fuit ei responsum quod illa littera nihil operabatur pro eo in hac parte, set oportebat eum remanere juxta mandatum ultimo missum et oportatum per Johannem Scuroli. De qua littera mittimus vobis copiam præsentibus interclusam. Verum, cum sumus simplices et modici sensus ad tantum officium, nobis commissum per dominum Regem, regendum, (quamquam usque nunc pro posse fecerimus et facere intendamus et affectemus omnia quæ cedere possint ad dicti domini Regis commodum et honorem, et bonam voluntatem habeamus serviendi fideliter ipsi domino Regi et suis in omnibus quibus sufficere possimus,) supplicamus dominationi vestræ, pro Deo et pietatis intuitu, quod

escape the persecution ; and the Pope's permission was solicited to convey them, after apprehension, into England.

laboretis erga dominum Regem et alios de consilio regio quod cito ordinetur de constabularia Burdegalaë et thesauraria Agenni, necnon et de senescalliis Vasconiaë, Agenni, Petragorici et Xanctoniaë, qui sint potentes et nobiles personæ de partibus illis, prout ad ipsa officia noveritis pertinere; et quod cito transmittantur. Quia sciatis[quod] periculum est in mora. Nam sciatis quod terra Vasconiaë et, specialiter, terra Agennensis sunt in malo statu, tum propter guerras baronum quas habent inter se tum propter latrones murtrarios et itinerum captores, qui in ipsa terra Agennensi, specialiter, per ipsos barones foveantur et etiam sustinentur ; propter quorum maleficia infinita via mercatoribus et aliis bonis hominibus est præclusa, et sic impedita quod nullus mercator, nisi congregata sibi bona comitiva, nec etiam burgensis aliquis villarum Agennensium vel aliunde, audet hiis diebus villas suas exire nec terras suas in propriis personis visitare, aut transire per terram Agennensem prædictam. Nec barones prædicti a guerris antedictis pro aliquibus inibitionibus seu mandatis eis factis per locum tenentem senescalli Vasconiaë et senescalli Agenni, seu per alios ipsorum nomine, factis, cessare volunt. Ymmo, mala malis accumulantes, quando sentiunt quod contra eos debet procedi ad ipsorum corpora et bona capienda, propter inobedientias et excessus per ipsos datos, incontinenti se supponunt protectioni domini Regis Franciaë, et appellant."

[I have here omitted twenty lines of the original, which relate to general matters concerning the government of the Duchy.]

" Mittimus etiam vobis duo paria litterarum Emerici de Friscobaldis, missarum per ipsum prædictis Hugolino, Guelfo et Gracio ; quæ fuerunt captæ una cum latore earum ad hostium castri Burdegalaensis, eodem die quo prædictus Guelfus fuit captus, videlicet, die Martis ante dictum festum beati Martini. Quæ continent in summa, videlicet, quod Emericus de Friscobaldis mandabat Guelfo fratri suo in Vasconia quod mora eorum in Anglia non erat pro eis utilis tempore isto ; et, propter hoc, noluit transire ista vice in Angliam dictus Emericus de Friscobaldis ; et quod invenerat fratrem suum Betinum, qui venerat de Anglia, apud Bruges : unde mandabat dicto Guelfo quod ipse, cum tota pecunia, vinis et aliis denariatis, quæ habere posset et congregare, veniret ad eum, vel mitteret sibi cum tota qua posset celeritate ; et quod præmissa non prætermitteret pro toto mundo. Et, si pecuniam non haberet, quod emeret vina et alia, non habendo respectum ad pretium, etiam si dupplum pretii deberet dare pro tonello vini, dum tamen illa posset habere ; et quod solutiones hujusmodi præmanibus assignaret, si aliter expectare non posset creditoribus, super custumam vel super ballivas, prout sibi videretur faciendum. Insuper significabat ei quod comes Cornubiæ, volens hobedire ordinationi baronum Angliæ, veniebat citra mare ; quare dubitabat quod ipsi Guelfo et sociis suis, et aliis qui erant in ducatu, fieret ad procuracionem dictorum baronum aliqua novitas, et dubitabat multum quod arrestarentur ; et quod ipse ipsis juvare non posset nunc sicut prius, quando comes et ipse Emericus tenebant statum suum et erant in dominio suo. Quapropter mandabat ei quod, si timeret arrestari tali modo quod ad voluntatem suam se deliberare non posset, non expectaret arrestum prædictum, set se properaret erga ipsum in quantum posset : tamen, si expectare posset sine periculo quousque misisset sibi mille tonellos vini, vel magis aut minus, quod, pro Deo et pro om-

These events seem to have acted as a temporary check upon the zeal of the Italian money-lenders, in their dealings with Edward the Second. For,

nibus sanctis suis, hoc faceret et sine mora ; et quod per litteram Regis seu alterius hominis viventis non solveret denarios alicui homini de mundo, nisi per litteras Betini vel per litteras dicti Emerici.

“ Domine, certi sumus quod vos factum huiusmodi, quod magnum et honorabile est, licet inutile propter tædia expensas et labores magnos qui ex illo dependent, procurastis nobis ; de quo vobis quantum possumus regratiamur. Miramur, tamen, quia in commissionibus nobis factis non fit mentio quod nos capiamus vadia quæ ad officium constabulariæ et thesaurariæ Agenni, et aliorum officiorum nobis commissorum, pertinent, sicut alii constabularii et thesaurarii, et alii tenentes officia nobis commissa, percipere et habere consueverunt. Circa quæ officia oportet unum nostrum semper, usque ad adventum constabularii, morari in castro Burdegalensi, et alium in terra Agennensi, et facere magnas et diversas expensas, et tenere plures personas quam consuevimus facere, ratione officiorum prædictorum : et non credimus fore intentionis regiæ neque vestræ quod ad propria custagia duca-mus officia supradicta ; quod sustinere modo aliquo non possemus. Quare, si placet, mittatis nobis per latorem præsentium garentum patens, per quod vestes, vadia et expensas, ad ipsa officia per-tinentia, quamdiu habuerimus eorum administrationem, habere valeamus ; prout alii constabularii et thesaurarii Agenni et alii tenentes officia nobis commissa ea habere actenus consueverunt ; necnon et expensas quas fecimus et vadia pro hominibus armatis quos habuimus ad capiendum prædictum Hugonem et socios suos, quæ in compotis nostris allocentur ; necnon et solutiones jam factas et im-posterum faciendas de mandato senescalli Vasconiæ et ejus locum tenentis : cum plures et diversas solutiones fieri fecimus, ultra feoda et expensas ministrorum, pro negotiis domini nostri Regis per diversas partes prosequendis. Item, necesse est quod garentum domini Regis, missum pro mille tonellis vini in partibus istis emendis et sibi in Angliam mittendis, corrigatur ; quia non videtur suf-ficiens consilio harum partium pro garento nostro, propter verbum contentum in ipso garento in allocatione, quod est “ cum illud sciverimus,” etc. per quod non videtur quod ipsa vina vadant peri-culo Regis : licet, forte, sit regiæ intentionis quod suo et non alterius periculo transmittantur. Unde mutetur forma brevis, et mittatur certa persona de qua Rex confidat, cui per dictum breve ipsa vina nomine Regis tradantur, et custum positum circa emptionem et carriationem ipsorum vinorum usque Londoniam, necnon et expensæ seu vadia illius qui mittetur pro emptione et receptione dictorum vinorum, quæ per illum testificabuntur sub sigillo suo, mandetur per idem breve in nostris compotis allocari : et interim fiet provisio vinorum apud Burdegalam, prout nobis solvendum se obtulerit facultas. Super præmissis omnibus et singulis, et aliis quæ vestræ placuerit paternitati, dignetur ipsa paternitas nobis suis suam præcipere voluntatem ; cui in omnibus et per omnia parati sumus pro viribus hobedire. Et, si placet, ostendatis litteram præsentem domino Guilielmo Ynggne, cui scribimus super præmissis, set non ita plene. Dat. Burdegalæ, iijto die Decembris.”

“ Præterea sciatis, domine, quod mirabiliter fuerunt admirati locum tenens senescalli Vasconiæ et omnes alii de consilio Regis, et quasi totus populus, quia commissio tanti facti de capiendo Eme-ricum de Friscobaldis et socios suos, obmissis senescallo Vasconiæ et aliis officialibus, ubi sunt tot nobiles personæ et potentes, fuit facta tam simplici personæ sicut est Johannes Squiroli ; et hoc

as far as can be judged from the entries on the Liberate Rolls, the sums borrowed of them during this reign were comparatively small.

In the fourth year, the Bardi received an order upon the Exchequer for 2,000*l.* which they had lent to forward certain important affairs of the King's.ⁱ Notices of loans contracted during this reign.

In the sixth year, 2,000*l.* are paid to the Bardi in compensation for losses sustained by delay in recovery of the loans which the King had taken of them since his accession.^k

In the same year, Antonio Pessagno, a Genoese, is commissioned to raise a loan for the King of twenty thousand pounds.^l

We learn from the "Fœdera" that, in the ninth year, the Bardi of Florence advanced money (it does not appear to what amount) upon a subsidy levied by the King upon his subjects in the Duchy of Guienne; and the issues of the same are assigned to them in payment.^m

In the tenth year, 7,787*l.* are ordered to be paid to the Bardi from the

quasi in despectum habuerunt, et quasi fere dictum negotium, nisi nos interfuissemus, derelictum, dicto Johanni Squiroli dimisissent."

In dorso. "Reverendo in Christo patri domino J. Dei gratia Norwycensi episcopo, per suos clericos, Johannem Guicardi et Aubertum Medici."

The following is the copy of the writ referred to in the foregoing letter; to which it is annexed:

"Edwardus, Dei gratia, Rex Angliæ, dominus Hybernæ et Dux Aquitaniæ, senescallo suo Vasconia vel ejus locum tenenti, salutem. Licet nos nuper, credentes mercatores de societate Friscombaldorum de Florentia erga nos in aliquibus transgressos fuisse, ordinassemus de consilio nostro quod mercatores de eadem societate aut bona eorum in regno nostro ab eodem regno non elongarentur, quousque inde plena justitia facta est; et vobis mandassemus quod in dicto ducatu taliter provideretis quod mercatores de dicta societate, in eodem ducatu commorantes, se aut bona sua ab eodem ducatu non elongarentur, quousque aliud inde ordinassemus: quia, tamen, jam sumus de dictis mercatoribus bene assecurati de habendo ab eis bonam et fidelem responsionem de hiis de quibus nobis tenentur respondere; vobis mandamus quod mercatores de dicta societate in ducatu prædicto occasione mandati nostri prædicti non molestetis in aliquo seu gravetis; et, si ipsos ea occasione arrestaveritis in manum nostram, tunc ipsos dearrestari et bona et catalla sua sic capta eis restitui faciatis indilate. T. me ipso, apud Alnewyke, xxvij. die Julii, anno regni nostri quinto."

"Per breve de privato sigillo."

ⁱ Annexed Extracts, cxxxv.

^k Ibid. cxxxvi.

^l Rym. Fœd. vol. ii. p. 214.

^m Ibid. p. 296.

receipts of the sixteenth granted by the laity, and the tenth by the clergy. The sum had been lent by them to different persons, and on various occasions.ⁿ

In the same year, they have a bill upon the Treasury for 4,000 marks, the King's gift, in consideration of delay in the payment of his debts to them.^o

In the eleventh year, Antonio Pessagno, of Genoa, is commissioned to raise a loan for the King of 20,000 marks, in Aquitaine, and to assign the issues of certain lands of the Duchy in payment.^p

In the fourteenth year, the Bardi receive a portion of 2,240*l.* which they had undertaken to pay to Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, for his wages, when he served Edward the First, in the Scotch war.^q

And in the seventeenth year, 3,000 marks, in florins, were paid jointly by the Bardi, Scali and Peruzzi, to the constable of Bourdeaux, on loan, for the King's business.^r

Transactions
of the Ita-
lians as the
King's mo-
ney-lenders,
during the
reign of
Edward III.

XI. The history of the reign of Edward the Third, if it were justly written, would set financial affairs before us most conspicuously; for it is a history of wars, and to prolonged warlike enterprises money was not less indispensable then than it has been proved to be in our own day. A complete exposition of them, for this period, would display the true power and the progress of the country; might disclose some springs of its present greatness; and might afford a clue to principles in government concealed from the eyes of statesmen and philosophers by the deficiency of evidence complained of in our early annals. The chronicles of the time, excellent as they are, afford little information upon such a subject. What we seek for remains yet to be extracted from the national archives: and, until their exact contents have been made known, the attempt to procure the materials necessary for such a purpose must cause an excessive application of time and labour, and must at last be ineffectual.

Advance in
the system
of raising

What deserves particular attention, from its connexion with the present subject, is the advancement which was now made in the system of raising

ⁿ Annexed Extracts, cXLVI.

^o Ibid. cXLVIII.

^p Rym. Fœd. vol. ii. p. 346.

^q Annexed Extracts, cLXIII.

^r Annexed Extracts, cLXIV, cLXV, cLXVI.

loans among the King's native subjects. The practice had originated early. Loans among the King's subjects. In the time of John, abbots of the Cistercian order were commissioned to obtain loans for the King; and the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Justiciary were sureties.^s It was occasionally pursued in the reigns of Edward the First and his successor; and even the persons from whom the loan was required and the sums expected were sometimes specified in the commissions.^t Yet we find no instances of such demands having been enforced by royal authority. But, in the reign of Edward the Third, examples of both voluntary and compulsory loans, and of much larger amounts than before, are frequent. In his tenth year, commissioners are empowered to contract a loan in his name, to the amount of 60,000*l.* sterling; and he submits himself to the coercion of the Pope's court for the fulfilment of his obligation. The same commissioners have other letters, in the same words and of the same date, authorizing them to borrow in the King's name, further sums of 50,000*l.*, 40,000*l.*, 30,000*l.*, and 20,000*l.*^u In his twelfth year, while he is at Antwerp, officers are appointed to raise a loan of 100,000 gold florins of Florence:^x and numerous other instances might be cited. In these commissions there is nothing to induce a supposition that compulsion was used in procuring the required sums: and probably very little eagerness was exhibited by merchants or others to advance money upon the security offered. But less moderate measures were afterwards adopted. We learn from a close writ, of the twenty-first year of Edward the Third, that merchants had been summoned before the King's council to treat respecting a loan; specified sums were exacted from them individually, and the writ referred to shews that these requisitions were enforced; for it is a summons to one of the parties to pay at an appointed term his portion of the loan, which was one hundred pounds, on penalty of the forfeiture of all his goods.^y An examination of the Close Rolls for this period would doubtless disclose many other instances of a like arbitrary exercise of royal authority.

With respect to the operations of the Italians in this reign (the period of their greatest activity) the Liberate Rolls are found to be comparatively Barrenness of the Liberate Rolls of this reign.

^s Rot. Pat. vol. i. p. 14.

^t Rym. Fœd. vol. ii. p. 617.

^u Ibid. vol. ii. p. 942.

^x Ibid. p. 1060.

^y Ibid. vol. iii. p. 121.

barren of information. And this deficiency may be attributed to the following causes: First, that the writs enrolled on them, being simply orders upon the Exchequer in favour of parties therein named, and the bulk of the debts contracted with the Italians by Edward the Third having, as is subsequently shewn, been left unpaid, no estimate can be formed, upon their authority, of the amount of loans received. Secondly, that orders upon the Exchequer were now less frequent than before, because the office of the Wardrobe, which followed the King's person, monopolized much of the business which had formerly been executed there. To the particular payments made through the Wardrobe the Chancery Rolls afford no clue. The keeper, from time to time, received bills for large amounts, of ten or twenty thousand pounds, and upon these he drew what sums were required in his office. Its convenience as a medium of expenditure was so much experienced by Edward the Third (and perhaps the more from his frequent absence from England) that, from the twentieth year of his reign, it had become the ordinary channel of government payments. From this date the Liberate Rolls consequently lose their value, and they contain little more than orders for payment of the annual salaries of the principal officers of the Crown.

Queen Isabella assisted by the Italian money-lenders.

There is some reason to believe that the expenses of the expedition which placed Edward the Third upon the throne were partly supplied out of the funds of the Italians. Immediately after the deposition of Edward the Second, a bill of 20,000*l.* was drawn upon the Exchequer, for discharge of debts contracted by Queen Isabella with merchants abroad.^z I have not succeeded in discovering the account of the keeper of her wardrobe, by whose hands the payments were made. But it is evident that she had had dealings with the Italians; for on the fifteenth of December in the last year of Edward the Second, when the reins of government were already in her hands, the treasurer was commanded to deliver thirteen hundred pounds to the keeper of her Wardrobe, to pay off a loan of that amount received from the Bardi, while the Queen was in foreign parts.^a Within a month after the accession of Edward the Third, the same company received a bill upon

^z Rot. Lib. 20 Edw. II. m. 1.

^a Annexed Extracts, CLXVII.

the Exchequer for 2,000*l.* for an equal sum which the Queen had borrowed of them abroad ; and which, as the writ of Liberate states, was paid into her own hands.^b

The Bardi and Peruzzi of Florence are particularly distinguished at this period ; whilst the numerous companies occasionally mentioned under the reign of Edward the First, disappear from view. Probably the narrowness of their escape from hazardous engagements formed with that monarch, had rendered them cautious of venturing their capital in such speculations ; and they confined themselves to the safer dealings with religious houses and private persons, among whom the active events of this reign would procure them plentiful opportunities of employing their funds advantageously.

It appears from letters patent dated on the 25th of May in the third year, that Edward the Third granted to the Bardi 2,000*l.* in compensation for their losses in advancing 5,000 marks, on loan, for the expenses of his passage into France, and 7,000*l.* to be delivered to John of Hainault and others of that country, for their service in the King's expedition against the Scots.^c

Notices of the more considerable loans contracted during this reign.

In the fourth year, the Bardi undertook to supply the King with 20*l.* daily, for the space of one year ; and all the customs of the realm were assigned to them in payment.^d

In the following year, the same company are represented as having engaged to provide 1,000 marks every month, for one year, towards the expenses of the household ; and the new and old customs in London and elsewhere are assigned to them for satisfaction of the debt.^e

In the sixth year, the Bardi advanced 10,000*l.* to be delivered to Reginald Earl of Gueldres, as the marriage portion of Eleanor the King's sister ; and they received the King's letters of acknowledgement for the debt.^f

In the same year, the King promised to pay them 4,000 marks, of his gift, to compensate their losses occasioned by the non-payment of the loans they had advanced, or had procured from others, for his use.^g

^b Annexed Extracts, *CLXVIII.*

^c Rym. Fœd. vol. ii. p. 764.

^d Cal. Rot. Pat. p. 108.

^e Ibid. p. 113.

^f Ibid.

^g Rot. Pat. 6 Edw. III. part 1. m. 9.

In the eleventh year, they received a bill for 10,000*l.* which they had paid, at the King's request, to divers persons in foreign parts, to expedite urgent business which concerned the King.^h

In the same year, writs were directed to the Treasurer, commanding him to deliver two sums to the Peruzzi, one of 2,000*l.* paid by them in foreign parts, on certain secret affairs concerning the state;ⁱ and another of the large amount of 35,000*l.* the greater part of which they had already advanced on loan, and the remainder they had undertaken shortly to provide.^k

In the thirteenth year, as appears from letters printed in the *Fœdera*, the King borrowed 140,000 florins of gold from a Lucchese merchant, a sum equal to 24,500*l.* sterling. The letters of obligation are dated at Antwerp, in May, and payment is promised on the first of November, at Bruges.^l A peculiarity respecting the securities which were offered on this occasion has already been pointed out.

In the fourteenth year, it appears that after audit of the accounts of two merchants of the names of Gabriel de Monte Magno and Mathew de Canachoen, and who from another instrument are ascertained to belong to the company of the Leopardi, and after deduction made of sums already paid them, the King still remains in their debt 65,982 florins (11,546*l.* 17*s.* sterling) for sums advanced by them on loan.^m

It is to be observed that, from the fourteenth to the twenty-first years of Edward the Third, the annexed extracts afford no instance of important transactions with the Italian merchants; although their resources must have been exercised to the utmost, in order to supply the heavy demands of the French war.

In the twenty-first year, the Bardi received 150*l.* in part payment of the immense sum of 50,493*l.* for which they had the King's letters of obligation.ⁿ

From this period the *Liberate Rolls* cease to afford continuous evidence respecting the loans with which Edward the Third was supplied by these adventurous foreigners. One instance only of importance is collected from

^h Annexed Extracts, clxxxix.

ⁱ Ibid. cxcii.

^k Ibid. cxciii.

^l Rym. Fœd. vol. ii. p. 1081.

^m Ibid. pp. 1108, 1143.

ⁿ Annexed Extracts, cciv.

them, of a sum of 23,600*l.* which was borrowed of a company of Lucchese merchants in the twenty-sixth year.^o

But matters had now reached an extremity with the most wealthy of the Italian companies, who had hitherto proved a sheet-anchor to the government in its exigencies, and had advanced so much the commerce of the kingdom, where they had maintained themselves by the experienced benefit of their power and intelligence. Edward's successes came too late to compensate the losses of the prolonged and doubtful war by which they were preceded: and the circumstances in which he was still engaged, far from enabling him to clear himself of the debts with which he was encumbered, obliged him largely to augment them. The Bardi and Peruzzi, who had assisted him to the full extent of their capital, now found the payment of their demands constantly deferred; and, no longer able to support their commercial engagements, they finally became bankrupts. We have the story of their ruin delivered by Giovanni Villani, a contemporary writer:

Ruin of the principal companies of Italian merchants in England.

“ At the period of the war between the Kings of France and England, the companies of the Bardi and Peruzzi, of Florence, were the King of England's merchants. All his revenues and wools came into their hands, and they furnished from them all his expenses. But the expenses so much exceeded the revenues that the King of England, when he returned home from the war, found himself indebted for principal, assignments and rewards, to the Bardi more than 100,000 marks sterling, and to the Peruzzi more than 135,000 marks. Of these sums a considerable portion consisted in assignments which the King had made to them in times passed: but they were rash enough, whether from covet of gain or led on by the hope of recovering the entire debt, to give them up, and entrust all their own property and that of others in their keeping, to this one Prince. And observe, that a large part of the money they had lent was not their own capital, but had been borrowed by them or received on trust from fellow-citizens and strangers. And great danger thence accrued both to them and to the city of Florence. For not being able to answer the calls of their creditors in England and Florence, and elsewhere, where they trafficked, they lost their credit on all sides, and became bankrupts; and especially the Peruzzi. Yet they avoided

^o Annexed Extracts, ccv.

complete ruin by their possessions in the city and territory of Florence, and by the great power and rank which they held in the republic. This failure, and the expenses of the state in Lombardy, greatly reduced the wealth and condition of the merchants and traders of Florence, and of the whole community. For the Bardi and Peruzzi had held so large a share of the commerce of Christendom, that upon their fall every other merchant was suspected and distrusted. Our city of Florence, in consequence, received a shock, such as had not been experienced before for many years. But, to add to the reverses of these companies, the King of France caused them and other Florentines throughout his dominions to be pillaged of all their merchandize and property, both on account of the bankruptcy and because we had been obliged to borrow money of his subjects, to expend on our affairs in Lombardy and Lucca: and this caused the ruin of many other smaller companies of Florence, as we shall afterwards make mention.”^p

It would be not uninteresting to trace the effects of this catastrophe upon the merchants of England, who must have been implicated to some extent: but the want of facilities for the necessary research discourages the attempt, and will, I hope, excuse the omission it occasions; while it obliges me to add another to the many imperfections which must be charged upon this memoir.

^p Giov. Villani, l. xi. c. 87.

EXTRACTS FROM THE LIBERATE ROLLS PRESERVED IN HER
MAJESTY'S RECORD OFFICE, IN THE TOWER OF LONDON.

I.

12 Hen. III. m. 6.—*Liberate pro mutuo facto in curia Romana.*—Rex thesaurario et camerariis suis, salutem. Liberate de thesauro nostro Burgundioni Bacarelli, Restoro Jacobi, Leonardo Hubertini, Jacobo Pieri et sociis suis, mercatoribus Senensibus, ccc marcas, quas commodaverunt magistro Alexandro archidiacono Salopensi et magistro Waltero de Cantilupo, ad negotia nostra in curia Romana expedienda. Teste J. Bathonensi episcopo, apud Welliam, v die Maii, anno regni nostri xij^o.

II.

12 Hen. III. m. 6.—*Liberate pro pluribus.*—Liberate . . . Michaeli de Bauderaue et Thomæ de S. Quintino trescentas marcas, ad opus Thurchi Clarmontensis, Herminii Bencevendi, Uguolini Beimitii, Reineri Orlandi, Piccolomini Ultramontes, Reinerii Poncii, Alberti Petri et Thomasini Ancontini, mercatorum Senensium, quas commodaverunt magistro Waltero Crespin et magistro Willielmo de Grenlawe, nunciis nostris existentibus in curia Romana, ad negotia nostra in eadem curia expedienda. T. R. apud Westmonasterium, viij die Maii.

III.

12 Hen. III. m. 4.—*Liberate pro præstito facto in curia Romana.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Reinero Salumberre, ad opus suum et ad opus Ragonensis Albertini, Bonaventuri de Pace, Montanelli Morlani, Lamberti Guardadei, Bartholomei de Mancino, Hugolini Gentilis et Bernardi Alamandi, mercatorum Senensium, quingentas et xxx marcas, quas commodaverunt magistro Waltero Crespin et magistro Willielmo de Grenlawe, ad negotia nostra in curia Romana expedienda. Liberate etiam eidem Reinero ad opus suum et ad opus prædictorum Bonaventuri, Lamberti Ragonensis, Hugolini Gentilis, Bartholomei Cirioli, Boncompago Guiducii et Bartholomei de Mancino, mercatorum Senensium, centum marcas, quas commodaverunt Alexandro de Suereford archidiacono Salopensi et magistro Waltero de Cantilupo, ad negotia nostra in eadem curia expedienda. Teste Rege, apud Westm. xxiiij die Junii.

IV.

12 Hen. III. m. 3.—*Liberate pro præstito facto in curia Romana.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Boncompago Guiducii, Senensi, ad opus suum et sociorum suorum, mercatorum Senensium, sexcentas et quaterviginti marcas, quas commodaverunt magistris Waltero Crespin et Willielmo de Grenlawe, nunciis nostris existentibus in curia Romana, ad negotia nostra ibidem expedienda. Teste Rege, apud Westm. xx die Junii.

V.

17 Hen. III. m. 6.—*Liberate pro pluribus.*—Rex, etc. Liberate Compaigno et sociis suis, mercatoribus de Florentia, sexcentas libras, quas Petrus Saracenus et Petrus Grimbaud mutuo ceperunt ab eis, in curia Romana, ad negotia nostra ibidem expedienda. Liberate etiam eisdem mercatoribus quinquaginta libras, de dono nostro, pro dampnis et expensis suis.

VI.

21 Hen. III. m. 15.—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Angelerio Solaficiis et sociis suis, mercatoribus Senensibus, quadringentas marcas, quas commodaverunt magistro Roberto de Sumercot ad negotia nostra in curia Romana expedienda: retentis penes vos litteris nostris, mutuum illud testificantibus, et omnibus aliis instrumentis inter ipsum magistrum Robertum et prædictos mercatores super eodem mutuo confectis. T. R. apud Windesoram, viij die Novembris.

VII.

21 Hen. III. m. 12.—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro, in crastino Ascensionis Domini, anno regni nostri xxj, Vermeyo Laurencii et Reynero Orlandi, mercatoribus Romanis, sexcentas et lx marcas, quas dilecti et fideles nostri magister Symon de Sterland et Petrus Sarracenus mutuo ab eis ceperunt, pro negotiis nostris in curia Romana expediendis: recepto et retento in manu vestra instrumento, quod penes se habent, de prædicto mutuo. T. R. apud Westm. xij die Februarii.

VIII.

21 Hen. III. m. 6.—Rex, etc. Liberate sine dilatione Bartholomeo et Hugoni, Senensibus mercatoribus, vel certo eorum nuncio has litteras nostras vobis deferenti, xl marcas, quas commodaverunt magistro Willielmo de Kylkenny ad negotia nostra in curia Romana expedienda. Ita videlicet quod, antequam denarios illos ei liberaveritis, tam litteras nostras patentes procuratorias de mutuo illo quam litteras ipsius magistri Willielmi de ipso contractu ab eo recipiatis. T. R. apud Windesoram, xiiij die Julii.

IX.

23 Hen. III. m. 22.—*Liberate de mutuo acquietando*.—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro, sine dilatione, Ranuchio Birboti et sociis suis, mercatoribus Senensibus, L marcas, quas magister Alexander le Setuler mutuo cepit ab eis, in curia Romana, ad negotia nostra ibidem expedienda. T. R. apud Westm. x die Januarii.

X.

25 Hen. III. m. 19.—*Liberate pro Ranuchio Barboti*.—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Ranuchio Barboti vel Hugoni magistri Pagani, mercatoribus Senensibus, c solidos et L marcas, quos commodaverunt Priori de Theford et Nicholao de Boleville, ad negotia nostra in curia Romana expedienda. T. R. apud Westm. xxvj die Decembris.

Recipiat is etiam ab eis instrumenta quæ haberent de prædicto mutuo facto.

XI.

25 Hen. III. m. 2.—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Clario Hugelino, mercatori de Florentia, ccc marcas, liberandas nunciis nostris qui proximo venturi sunt ad curiam Romanam Imperatoris, ad quædam negotia nostra ibidem expedienda. T. R. apud Westm. xxv die Octobris.

XII.

26 Hen. III. m. 19.—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Ranuchio Barboti, mercatori Senensi, c marcas, quas liberavit dilecto clerico nostro Eadwardo filio Odonis, liberandas nobis in garderoba nostra ad expensas nostras, per præceptum nostrum. Liberate etiam eisdem alias c marcas, pro xj marcis margaritarum emptarum a diversis mercatoribus et traditarum per præceptum nostrum eidem clerico nostro, ad plures operationes nostras quas eidem Edwardo injunximus faciendas, etc.

XIII.

28 Hen. III. m. 16.—*Pro mercatoribus Florentinis et Senensibus*.—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro, videlicet de denariis quos recepistis de Aaron, Judæo Eboracensi, Ranuchio Barboti, mercatori Senensi, et Felino Gwill'i, mercatori Florentino, sexcentas marcas, pro sexcentis marcis quas habere facient magistri Henrico de Secus' et Alexandro le Seculer, ad negotia nostra in curia Romana expedienda. T. R. apud Westm. viij die Januarii.

XIV.

28 Hen. III. m. 10.—*Liberate pro mercatoribus Florentinis et Senensibus*.—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Fulingo Gwill'i, Ranuchio Barboti, Clario Hugelini et

Hugoni Magistri Pagani, civibus et mercatoribus Florentinis et Senensibus, vel uni eorum, sine dilatione, septingentas marcas, pro septingentis marcis quas liberari fecerunt magistris Alexandro le Seculer et Henrico de Secus', ad negotia nostra in curia Romana expedienda: retentis penes vos litteris nostris patentibus quas eisdem mercatoribus fieri fecimus, una cum aliis litteris nostris patentibus de dc marcis quas eis liberastis in Januario. T. R. apud Radyng, xv die Maii.

XV.

29 Hen. III. m. 6.—*Liberate pro mercatoribus de Florentia.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Aymerico Cosse et Mainetto Robertin c libras, pro c libris quas Spillettus et socii sui, mercatores Florentini, liberaverunt magistro Laurentio de S. Martino ad expensas suas in curia Romana acquietandas. T. R. apud Westm. xiiij die Junii.

XVI.

30 Hen. III. m. 1.—*Liberate pro Claro, mercatore Florentino.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Claro, mercatori Florentino, quingentas marcas in crastino Animarum, anno etc. xxxj, pro quingentis marcis quas fecit habere Thomæ de Sabaudia, quondam comiti Flandriæ, de annuo feodo suo quingentarum marcarum. T. me ipso, apud Westm. xx die Octobris.

XVII.

31 Hen. III. m. 15.—*Liberate pro Claro de Florentia.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Claro, mercatori Florentino, c marcas, de quingentis marcis quas liberavit Thomæ de Sabaudia, quondam Comiti Flandriæ, per præceptum nostrum; de quibus quingentis marcis Aaron de Eboraco Judæus solvit [quadringentas marcas?] eidem Claro per præceptum nostrum. T. R. apud Rading, xxxj die Octobris.

XVIII.

31 Hen. III. m. 5.—*Liberate pro mercatoribus Florentinis.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Felino et sociis suis, mercatoribus Florentinis, quingentas marcas, de primis denariis qui venient ad scaccarium nostrum S. Michaelis, quas ab eis mutuo recepimus ad stipendia servientium nostrorum ad arma solvenda. T. R. apud Westm. x die Junii.

XIX.

32 Hen. III. m. 9.—*Liberate pro mercatore Florentino.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Felino, mercatori Florentino, cccl libras, quas liberavit P. Chacepore' custodi garderobæ nostræ, ad expensas nostras: retentis penes vos litteris nostris potenti-

bus, quas habet, mutuū prædictum protestantibus. T. me ipso apud Merton, xxij die Aprilis.

XX.

34 Hen. III. m. 8.—*Liberate pro Felino Florentino.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Dentaduito fratri Felini, quondam mercatoris Florentini, c libras, in quibus eidem Felino tenebamur de præstito nobis facto per diversas particulas, per litteras nostras patentes quas penes nos retinuimus. T. R. apud Westm. xxvij die Aprilis.

XXI.

34 Hen. III. m. 2.—*Liberate pro mercatoribus Senensibus, de censu Papæ.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Bernardo Prosperin, Frederico Rouland, Jacobo Offreduch', Jacobo Hugethini et Gentili Gentil', mercatoribus Senensibus, quingentas marcas. Liberate etiam de thesauro nostro Mainetto Spineti, Bevenuto Will'i, Hugoni Gilberti, Hugoni Simonetti et Gerardo Ricobaldi, mercatoribus Florentinis, alias quingentas marcas, pro mille marcis quas domino Papæ solverunt pro nobis de termino S. Michaelis, anno etc. xxxij, de annuo censu mille marcarum quas percipit ad scaccarium nostrum. Receptis ab eisdem mercatoribus litteris nostris patentibus pecuniam memoratam testificantibus. T. R. ap. Westm. ix die Maii anno, etc. xxxij.

XXII.

34 Hen. III. m. 2.—*Liberate pro Tholosano, mercatore Florentino.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Tholosano, mercatori Florentino, et sociis suis dccc marcas, quas mutuo tradiderunt dilecto et fideli nostro S. de Monte Forti comiti Leycestriæ, in Wasconia, ad castra nostra de Frunzac, Burgo, et Miro Monte, inde munienda et custodienda. Liberate etiam eidem Tholosano cc marcas, quas liberavit Waltero de Bradel custodi garderobæ Reginæ nostræ, ad expensas ejusdem Reginæ acquietandas. Liberate etiam eidem L marcas ad expensas suas, de dono nostro. Recipientes ab eodem mercatore litteras nostras patentes, quas habet, de præfatis dccc marcis. T. R. apud Westm. xxij die Octobris.

XXIII.

37 Hen. III. m. 7.—*Liberate pro Bernardo Persperin et aliis mercatoribus.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro, sine omni dilatione, Bernardo Persperin, mercatori Senensi, et Amanatto Spineti, mercatori Florentino, cccc marcas bonorum, novorum, et legalium sterlingorum, quas ab eis, pro se et Alebrando Alebrandi et Ruskitello Cambii, mutuo recepimus in Quadragesima, anno etc. xxxvij: receptis ab eis litteris nostris patentibus et litteris patentibus Johannis Maunsell præpositi Beverlacensis, Petri Chacepore archidiaconi Wellensis, magistri Willielmi de Kilkenni archidiaconi Coventrens,

Johannis de Gray, Philippi Luvel et Henrici de Wingham, mutui illius obligatoriis. T. R. apud Westm. xix die Martii.

XXIV.

37 Hen. III. m. 5.—*Liberate pro Bernardo Persperin.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro, sine dilatione, Bernardo Persperin, mercatori Florentino, cx libras, quas mutuo liberavit magistro Roberto Anketin in curia Romana, ad quasdam litteras papales ad opus Regis impetrandas. T. R. apud Westm. xij die Maii.

XXV.

38 Hen. III. m. 7.—*Liberate pro mercatoribus de Sena.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Bernardo Persperin, Alebrando Alebrandini et sociis suis, mercatoribus Senensibus, xl marcas, quas magister Nicholaus de Plinton ab eis mutuo recepit, ad negotia nostra quæ ei injunximus in partibus transmarinis expedienda: receptis prius ab eisdem mercatoribus litteris nostris patentibus et litteris prædicti magistri Nicholai mutuum illud testificantibus. T. Alianora Regina nostra et Ricardo comite Cornubiæ, apud Westm. v die Novembris.

XXVI.

38 Hen. III. m. 6.—*Liberate pro Maynetto Spine et sociis suis.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Maynetto Spine, Ruskitulo Cambii et sociis suis, mercatoribus Florentinis, illas mille marcas quas recepistis de thesauro nostro Hiberniæ, pro mille marcis quas dilecta consors nostra, Alianora Regina Angliæ, ab eis mutuo recepit, ad negotia nostra et regni nostri utilitatem expedienda. T. *ut supra*, apud Westm. xxviii die Januarii.

XXVII.

39 Hen. III. m. 11.—*Liberate pro Aldebrando Aldebrandini et sociis suis, mercatoribus.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Aldebrando Aldebrandini et sociis suis, mercatoribus Senensibus, ad scaccarium nostrum Paschæ, anno etc. xxxix, cxl marcas, de quibus promiserunt mutuare dilecto clerico nostro magistro Nicholao de Plumpton, profecturo in nuncium nostrum ad curiam Romanam, centum marcas, in partibus transmarinis, ad negotia nostra in præfata curia expedienda; et residuas xl marcas mutuaverunt eidem clerico nostro, ad negotia nostra expedienda, quando alias ivit in nuncium nostrum ad eandem curiam: quas quidem cxl marcas Philippus Lovell et Edwardus de Westmonasterio manuceperunt reddere pro nobis prædictis mercatoribus. T. R. apud Westm. xx die Februarii.

XXVIII.

39 Hen. III. m. 10.—*Liberate pro Aldebrando Aldebrandini.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro, sine dilatione, Aldebrando Aldebrandini, mercatori Senensi, ccc marcas, quas Guido de Russillun, quondam clericus noster, mutuo recepit, nomine nostro, per litteras nostras patentes, in curia Romana, a Bonefacio Bonsegnur et Bonaventuro Bernardini, mercatoribus, sociis prædicti Aldebrandi, ad quædam ardua negotia nostra proseguenda in curia prædicta. Et, cum prædictas ccc marcas præfato Aldebrando pacaveritis, ab eo recipiatis prædictas litteras patentes. T. R. apud Westm. vj die Martii.

XXIX.

39 Hen. III. m. 9.—*Liberate pro Lamberto de Puteo et Petro Andrea de Luka* [Lucca].—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Lamberto de Puteo et Petro Andrea de Luka, civibus Baionensibus, ccclxx marcas, ij solidos, et iiij denarios, in quibus eis tenemur pro mutuo quod nobis fecerunt per manus Simonis de Monte Forti comitis Leycestriæ, Petri de Sabaudia et Willielmi de Cantilupo. Liberate etiam eisdem civibus de thesauro nostro L marcas, de dono nostro: facta tamen prius pacatione denariorum in quibus tenemur per sacramentum nostrum prædicto comiti et, similiter, diversis mercatoribus. Et recipiatis a prædictis civibus litteras nostras patentes, quas habent, prædictum debitum testificantes. T. R. apud Windes. viij die Aprilis.

XXX.

40 Hen. III. m. 14.—*Liberate pro Denteyto mercatore.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Dentayto, mercatori nostro, centum marcas, pro laudabili servitio nobis impenso, de dono nostro. T. R. apud Wodestok, x die Februarii.

XXXI.

43 Hen. III. m. 8.—*Pro Percevallo de Luka* [Lucca].—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Percevallo de Luca xxx libras, quas dilectus et fidelis noster Simon de Monte Forti comes Leycestriæ, custos castri nostri Wyntonix, ab eo mutuo recepit in autumpno proximo præterito, et liberavit custodibus operationum prædicti castri ad easdem operationes inde faciendas; sicut idem comes coram nobis recognovit. T. R. apud Westm. xxix die Octobris, anno regni nostri xliij.

Per magnates de consilio Regis.

XXXII.

43 Hen. III. m. 8.—*Pro Petro Andrea de Luka* [Lucca].—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Petro Andrea de Luka [Lucca], mercatori Bayonensi, ^{xx}iiij libras, quas mu-

tuo tradidit dilectis et fidelibus nostris Simoni de Monte Forti comiti Leycestriæ et Petro de Sabaudia, cum ultimo fuimus in Vasconia, pro negotiis nostris apud Bayoniam expediendis. Ita quod, facta solutione eidem mercatori de pecunia prædicta, decidant eidem comiti Leycestriæ ^{xx}iiij libræ de debitis in quibus eidem tenemur per litteras nostras patentes; eo quod prædictæ ^{xx}iiij libræ eidem comiti computantur in summa prædictorum debitorum, contentorum in prædictis litteris patentibus. T. R. apud Westm. iij die Novembris.

Per magnates de consilio.

XXXIII.

43 Hen. III. m. 8.—*Pro Jacobo Dananzaci et sociis suis.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Jacobo Dananzaci, Ruco Cambii, Berardo Ricobaldi, civibus et mercatoribus Florentinis, et Aldebrando Aldebrandini, civi et mercatori Senensi, mille et trescentas marcas, in partem solutionis pecuniæ quam nobis mutuarunt in acquietationem arreragiorum annui census quem dominus Papa percipit ad scaccarium nostrum; pro qua quidem pecunia eisdem mercatoribus solvenda Prior et conventus Westmonasteriensis se pro nobis nomine fidejussorio obligarunt. T. R. apud Merton', etc. *ut supra.*

Per etc. ut supra.

XXXIV.

43 Hen. III. m. 7.—*Pro Paulo Albertini et sociis suis.*—Rex, etc. Liberate, de denariis venientibus de Wintonia, Paulo Albertini, Ermineo Erminei et Bencin Consilii, civibus et mercatoribus Senensibus, pro se et sociis suis, quingentas et quinquaginta libras, quas nobis mutuo tradiderunt super quædam jocalia nostra aurea et argentea, signata sigillis dilectorum clericorum nostrum Johannis Maunsell thesaurarii Eboraci et Eduuardi de Westmonasterio. Et, facta solutione prædicta, recipiatis ab eisdem prædicta jocalia et litteras nostras patentes quas inde habent. T. R. apud Merton', xiiij die Januarii.

XXXV.

43 Hen. III. m. 5.—*Pro Jacobo Dananzaci et sociis suis.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro, sine dilatione, de denariis qui nuper venerunt de Abbacia de Waverley, quos mutuo cepimus de pecunia dilecti fratris nostri A. Wintoniensis electi, Jacobo Dananzaci, Ruco Cambii, Berardo Rikebaldi, civibus et mercatoribus Florentinis, et Aldebrando Aldebrandini, civi et mercatori Senensi, mille marcas, quæ eis restant reddendæ de pecunia quam nobis mutuarunt in acquietationem arreragiorum annui census quem dominus Papa percipit ad scaccarium nostrum; pro qua quidem pecunia eisdem mercatoribus solvenda Prior et conventus Westmonasterii se pro nobis nomine fidejussorio obligarunt. Et, facta solutione dictarum mille marcarum, recipiatis a prædictis

Priore et conventu litteras nostras obligatorias, quas habent, de solutione pecuniæ supradictæ, et similiter jocalia nostra quæ, loco pignoris, sunt in deposito in abbatia sua penes priorem et conventum, pro pecunia eadem. T. R. apud Westm. xiiij die Maii.

XXXVI.

43 Hen. III. m. 3.—*Pro Arnaldo de Sena et sociis suis.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro, in scaccario S. Michaelis, Ernaldo de Sena et sociis suis, mercatoribus Senensibus, c libras, in partem solutionis sexcentarum librarum in quibus eis tenemur: recipientes ab eisdem litteras suas patentes solutionem illam testificantes. T. R. apud Windesoram, viij die Augusti.

XXXVII.

43 Hen. III. m. 2.—*Pro Nicholao de Hadlou.*—Rex, etc. Allocate Nicholao de Hadlou custodi episcopatus Wintoniensis, in exitibus ejusdem episcopatus, tria milia marcarum, quæ liberavit Petro de Sabaudia, Ruco Cambii, Luterio Bonycase, civibus et mercatoribus Florentinis, pro arreragiis feodorum Thomæ de Sabaudia quondam comitis Flandriæ, Amadei quondam comitis Sabaudia, et Bonefacii filii et hæredis ejusdem Amedei; pro qua quidem pecunia dilecti et fideles nostri R. de Clara comes Gloverniæ, H. le Bigod, Johannes Maunsell, Henricus de Wengham et Robertus Walerand prædictis Petro de Sabaudia et Ruco, et aliis sociis ejusdem Rucci, se pro nobis obligaverunt per litteras suas patentes, apud Cantuariam, die Mercurii ante Mediam Quadragesimam, anno etc. xliij—ac si dicta pecunia ad opus eorundem pro propriis negotiis suis fuisset. T. R. apud Westm. vj die Septembris.

XXXVIII.

45 Hen. III. m. 14.—*De denariis liberandis Maynetto et Ruco, pro Rege Scotiæ et Johanne de Britannia, pro extenta comitatus et honoris Richemundiæ.*—Rex custodi episcopatus Dunelmensis, salutem. Mandamus vobis quod de exitibus prædicti episcopatus, sine dilatione, faciatis habere Maynetto et Ruco, civibus et mercatoribus Florentinis, sexcentas marcas, quas nuper nobis mutuarunt; videlicet, centum marcas ad opus Alexandri Regis Scotiæ, pro arreragiis suis centum solidorum, quos a nobis percipere debet singulis diebus, pro expensis suis, quotiens ipsum ad nos venire contingat in Angliam, ad mandatum nostrum; et quingentas marcas ad opus Johannis de Britannia, in partem solutionis mille et sex librarum, sex solidorum et duorum denariorum, pro extenta comitatus et honoris Richemundiæ. Et computabuntur vobis ad scaccarium. T. R. apud Windes. ij die Januarii.

Memorandum quod Regina prosequebatur istud breve.

Reddidit breve et vacat, quia aliter inferius per breve de Allocate.

[In the writ here referred to the names of the Italian merchants are omitted.]

XXXIX.

50 Hen. III. m. 9.—*Pro Dentaeto, mercatore Florentino.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Dentaeto de Florentia, mercatori nostro, trescentas et viginti marcas, pro mutuo quod idem Dentaetus fecit Johanni de Ambilini, quondam domini Papæ capellano, ad negotia nostra in curia Romana per ipsum Johannem expedita, anno etc. tricesimo octavo. Et, facta eidem Dentaeto solutione pecuniæ prædictæ, recipiatis ab eo litteras nostras patentes, quas idem Dentaetus inde habet, pecuniam illam testificantes. T. R. apud Westm. xvii die Martii.

XL.

50 Hen. III. m. 8.—*Pro Dentaito de Florentia.*—Rex, etc. Mandamus vobis quod, juxta tenorem brevium nostrorum de liberate quæ penes vos habetis ad scaccarium nostrum, faciatis habere dilecto mercatori nostro Dentaito de Florentia et sociis suis, mercatoribus de Florentia, ducentas et quinquaginta libras, in quibus eis tenemur per diversas particulas ad scaccarium prædictum. T. R. apud Westm. xxiiij die Martii.

XLI.

52 Hen. III. m. 4.—*De denariis mutuo receptis ad opus Regis acquietandis.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro venerabili patri G. Wygornensi electo, cancellario nostro, et magistro Thomæ de Wymundeham, thesaurario et octo denarios, quos ad opus nostrum mutuo receperunt a Reynerio Abbatis et sociis suis, mercatoribus Florentinis, ad urgentissima negotia nostra inde expedienda S. Johannis Baptistæ proximo futurum, de primis denariis quos deferri contigerit ad scaccarium prædictum. Et hoc nullatenus omittatis. T. R. apud Windesoram, Junii.

XLII.

53 Hen. III. m. 11.—*Pro Reinerio le Furner et Hugone Pape.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Reinerio le Furner et Hugoni Pape, et sociis suis, mercatoribus Florentinis, quinquaginta marcas, de gratia nostra speciali; videlicet, pro dampnis, laboribus, et expensis quas posuerunt circa trescentas marcas, quas nobis ad urgentissima negotia nostra expedienda mutuarunt, perquirendas a manibus collectorum decimæ nostræ, de qua pecuniam illam receperunt. T. R. apud Westm. iiij die Februarii.

XLIII.

53 Hen. III. m. 10.—*Pro magistro Johanne de Chishull decano S. Pauli Londoniæ, et aliis in brevi.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro, de primis denariis ad scaccarium nostrum venturis, magistris Johanni Chishull decano S. Pauli Londonensis, cancellario nostro, Thomæ de Wymundeham præcentori Lychfeldensi, thesaurario nostro, et Tydisio de Camilla decano de Wlvernehamtonia, Coventrensis diocesis, trescentas marcas, per manus eorum solvendas Reynerio Abbatis, Hugonetto Simonetti, dicto Mace, et eorum sociis, mercatoribus Londoniæ commorantibus, pro trescentis marcis quas ab eisdem mutuo ceperunt ad opus nostrum, et de quibus liberaverunt per præceptum nostrum Reymundo vicecomiti Turreniæ ducentas marcas, Poncio de Gurdun triginta et sex libras et quinque solidos, de arreragiis annuorum feodorum suorum, et eidem Poncio viginti et quinque libras, quas nuper ei dedimus ad novam militiam suam et sociorum suorum, et magistro Roberto de Beverlaco et sociis suis, custodibus operationum nostrarum Westmonasterii, centum et octo solidos et quatuor denarios, ad easdem operationes. Et hoc pro aliquo mandato nostro vobis directo vel dirigendo nullatenus omittatis. Et, facta solutione prædicta, recipiatis ab eis litteras nostras patentes, quas habent, dictam pecuniam testificantes. T. R. apud Westm. xxiiij die Februarii.

XLIV.

53 Hen. III. m. 6.—*Pro Reinerio Abbatis et Hugone Mace.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro statim Reynerio Abbatis et Hugoni Mace et sociis suis, mercatoribus Florentinis, ducentas libras, in quibus eis tenemur pro ducentis libris quas nobis mutuo tradiderunt ad pannos et alia garderobæ nostræ necessaria, a quibusdam aliis mercatoribus transmarinis ad opus nostrum capta per Ricardum de Ewell et Johannem de Sotton, emptores garderobæ nostræ, in nundinis S. Ivonis, anno etc. liij, inde acquietanda, et quas magister Johannes de Chyshull, cancellarius noster, magister Thomas de Wymundeham, thesaurarius noster, et Petrus de Wintonia, custos garderobæ nostræ, manuceperunt solverè pro nobis mercatoribus antedictis; prout in litteris eorundem Johannis, Thomæ et Petri, obligatoriis, quas iidem mercatores inde habent, plenius continetur. Proviso quod, soluta eisdem mercatoribus pecunia prædicta, recipiatis ab eis litteras prædictorum Johannis, Thomæ et Petri, prædictas, quas inde habent. T. R. apud Windesoram, xx die Maii.

XLV.

53 Hen. III. m. 3.—*Pro Reinerio Abbatis et sociis suis.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Reynerio Abbatis et sociis suis, Hugonetto Simonetti et sociis suis, Bernardo Arloti et sociis suis, civibus et mercatoribus Florentinis, Loto et sociis suis,

Hugelino Bonaventuri et sociis suis, mercatoribus Senensibus, et Jacobo Agelaunt et sociis suis, mercatoribus de Pistoie, trescentas marcas, quas nobis tradiderunt ad quasdem providentias contra instans festum Translationis beati Edwardi inde faciendas. Non omittentes quin eis satisfiat de pecunia prædicta citra festum beati Hillarii proximum sequens. Et, facta solutione prædictæ pecuniæ, recipiatis ab eisdem mercatoribus litteras nostras patentes, quas habent, dictam pecuniam testificantes. T. me ipso, apud Wintoniam, xx die Augusti.

XLVI.

55 Hen. III. m. 4.—Rex baronibus suis de scaccario, salutem. Allocate venerabili patri W. Eboracensi archiepiscopo, cui commisimus comitatus nostros Notinghamiæ et Derbiæ, in exitibus eorundem comitatum, quadraginta libras, de illis centum libris de quibus fecit profrum suum ad crastinum Paschæ proximo præteritum; quas quidem quadraginta libras idem archiepiscopus liberavit per præceptum nostrum Dentayto, mercatori nostro et carissimæ consortis nostræ Alienoræ Reginæ Angliæ, pro quadraginta libris quas idem Dentaytus liberavit fisicis nostris, pro expensis suis quas fecerunt in servitio nostro, tempore quo nuper detenti fuimus gravi infirmitate apud Westmonasterium; a qua convaluimus, benedictus Deus! T. R. apud Westm. xij die Junii.

XLVI.^b

56 Hen. III. m. 11.—Rex, *etc.* Liberate de thesauro nostro Poncio de Mora, mercatori nostro, cc marcas quas ei concessimus de dono nostro, in recompensationem dampnorum quæ idem Poncius, per mutuum pecuniæ suæ nobis pluries factum, sustinuit. T. R. apud Westm. xxvj die Februarii.

XLVII.

56 Hen. III. m. 7.—Rex, *etc.* Allocate venerabili patri W. Eboracensi archiepiscopo, Angliæ primati, vicecomiti nostro Notinghamiæ et Derbiæ, in exitibus vel firma sua eorundem comitatum, quaterviginti et septem libras, sex solidos et octo denarios, quos per præceptum nostrum liberavit Dentaeto, mercatori karissimæ consortis nostræ; videlicet, quinquaginta et quinque marcas pro quinquaginta et quinque marcis quas idem Dentaetus, per præceptum nostrum, liberavit Eliæ capellano Edmundi filii nostri, pro remissione feodi sui quod de nobis percipere consuevit; et viginti et sex marcas marcis quas idem Dentaetus per præceptum nostrum liberavit karissimæ consorti nostræ Alyanoræ Reginæ Angliæ, tempore quo ipsa ultimo fuit apud Dovoriam, ad munitionem ejusdem castri; et quinquaginta marcas pro quinquaginta marcis quas idem Dentaetus liberavit pueris de Sabaundia, nepotibus nostris, de termino Paschæ

proximo præterito, de annuo feodo suo centum marcarum percipiunt per annum ad scaccarium nostrum, ad sustentationem suam. T. R. apud Westm. xxv die Maii.

XLVIII.

1 Edw. I.—*Pro Luka de Luka et sociis suis.*—Rex etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Lucæ de Luka et sociis suis, mercatoribus de Luka, mille libras, in partem solutionis debitorum in quibus eis tenemur de præstito nobis facto in partibus transmarinis. Dat. per manum W. de Mertonia, cancellarii nostri, apud Westm. xxij die Octobris.

XLIX.

1 Edw. I.—*Pro Luka de Luka.*—Rex etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Lucæ de Luka, mercatori, mille marcas, in partem satisfactionis pecuniæ quam idem Lucas et socii sui, mercatores, nuper mutuo liberaverunt fratri Josep Hospitalario in nundinis de Provynz, ad negotia nostra ibidem expedienda. Dat. per manum W. de Mertonia, cancellarii nostri, apud Westm. vj. die Julii.

XLIX^b.

1 Edw. I.—*Pro Luka de Luka.*—Rex etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Lucæ de Luka, mercatori de Luka, mille marcas, solvendas Philippo de Bernancini, civi Januensi, quas eidem Philippo solvi mandavimus per litteras nostras patentes, in solutionem cujusdam debiti in quo ei tenebamur; quas quidem litteras dictus Philippus præfatus Lucæ liberabit, nobis in adventu nostro restituendas. Dat. *ut supra*, xxvij die Aprilis.

L.

1 Edw. I.—*Pro Luka de Luka.*—Rex etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Lucæ de Luka, mercatori de Luka, mille libras, in partem solutionis debitorum in quibus ei tenemur. Dat. *ut supra*, xvij die Aprilis.

LI.

2 Edw. I.—*Pro Aldebrando, mercatore de Luka, et sociis suis.*—Rex etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro, in festo Paschæ proximo futuro, Aldebrandino mercatori de Luka, et sociis suis, ducentas libras, pro illis ducentis libris quas mutuarunt karissimo avunculo nostro Guydoni de Leziniaco, et in quibus dominus H. Rex, pater noster, eidem Guydoni tenebatur, de residuo finis mille marcarum quem idem pater noster fecit cum ipso pro remissione feodi quingentarum marcarum, quod percipere consuevit per annum ad scaccarium dicti patris nostri, et etiam pro remissione arreragiorum feodi supradicti.

Et, facta eis liberatione prædicta, recipiatis ab eis litteras nostras patentes, quas habent, pecuniam illam testificantes. T. R. apud Windesoram, xx die Septembris.

Vacat, quia restitutum fuit breve et non habuit illud.

LII.

2 Edw. I.—*Pro Luca de Lnka et sociis suis.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Lucæ de Luka et sociis suis, mercatoribus Florentinis, tria millia et quingentas marcas, in partem solutiones debitorum in quibus eis tenemur de mutuo quod nobis fecerunt ad ardua negotia nostra inde expedienda. Proviso quod tantum nobis decadat de debitis supradictis. T. R. apud Turrin Londinensem, ix die Octobris.

LIII.

2 Edw. I.—*Pro Luca de Luka.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Lucæ de Luka, mercatori, sexaginta et decem marcas, pro illis sexaginta et decem marcis quas per præceptum nostrum solvit Nuco de Florentia, mercatori, pro quodam equo ab eodem Nuco ad opus nostrum empto, quem dilecto et fideli nostro Roberto de Typetot dedimus. T. R. apud Westm. xv. die Octobris.

LIV.

2 Edw. I.—*Pro Bonasio Bonancy.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro dilecto mercatori nostro Bonasio Bonanci quinquaginta marcas, in partem solutionis debiti in quo tenemur eidem. T. R. apud Westm. xvij die Octobris.

LV.

2 Edw. I.—*Pro Tegro Amatons.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Tegro Amatons et sociis suis, mercatoribus de Florentia, septingentas marcas, in partem solutionis debitorum in quibus eis tenemur de mutuo quod nobis fecerunt in curia Romana, in reditu nostro a Terra Sancta. Proviso tamen quod tantum nobis decadat de debitis supradictis. T. *ut supra.*

LVI.

2 Edw. I.—*Pro Luca de Luka.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Lucæ de Luka, mercatori de Florentia, quaterviginti libras, pro quaterviginti libris quas per præceptum nostrum liberaverunt dilecto et fideli nostro Mauritio de Crohun, pro quadraginta libris annuis de anno regni nostri primo, quas percipit per annum pro manerio de Bourne [?] quod karissima mater nostra Alianora Regina Angliæ tenet ad vitam suam. T. R. apud Westm. xxv die Octobris.

LVII.

2 Edw. I.—*Pro Luca de Luka.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Lucæ de Lukes, mercatori nostro, quadringentas libras; videlicet, trescentas libras pro trescentis libris quas idem Lucas liberavit probis hominibus nostris Lemovicensibus, pro quodam mutuo quod nobis fecerunt, et unde litteras nostras patentes penes se habent, quas per manus ejusdem Lucæ in garderoba nostra liberabunt; et centum libras pro centum libris quas liberavit per præceptum nostrum dilecto consanguineo nostro Amadeo de Sabaudia, de dono nostro. T. ut supra.

LVIII.

3 Edw. I. m. 12.—*De expensis Regis acquietandis.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro magistro Thomæ Bek, custodi garderobæ nostræ, quingentas marcas, ad expensas hospitii nostri inde acquietandas. Proviso quod solutio pecuniæ illius fiat Lucæ de Luka, mercatori nostro, præfato Thomæ defendere, sicut ei plenius est injunctum. T. R. apud Geytingtoniam, x die Decembris.

LIX.

3 Edw. I. m. 12.—Rex, etc. Allocate prædictis Johanni et Galfrido, nuper custodibus Regis episcopatus Dunelmensis, in exitibus ejusdem episcopatus, quadringentas quinquaginta et tres libras, tresdecim solidos et quatuor denarios, quos per præceptum nostrum liberaverunt Donasio Bonancy, pro mutuo tantæ pecuniæ quod nobis nuper fecerat ad negotia nostra inde expedienda. Allocate etiam eisdem Johanni et Galfrido, in exitibus prædictis, quingentas et quadraginta et sex libras, tresdecim solidos et quatuor denarios, quos per præceptum nostrum liberaverunt Odoni de Gaske, mercatori, pro mutuo tantæ pecuniæ; et quadringentas et sexaginta et sex libras, tresdecim solidos et quatuor denarios, quos per præceptum nostrum liberaverunt Tegro Amacy, mercatori, pro mutuo tantæ pecuniæ ad negotia nostra inde expedienda.

LX.

3 Edw. I. m. 12.—*Pro Bonamco de Florentia.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Bonamco de Florentia centum marcas, pro expensis suis et sociorum suorum quas fecerunt in servitio nostro, de dono nostro. T. R. apud Marlebergh, vij die Januarii.

LXI.

3 Edw. I. m. 9.—*Pro Luca de Luka.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Lucæ de Luca, mercatori nostro, duo milia librarum, in partem solutionis debitorum in quibus ei tenemur. Et hoc nullatenus omittatis. T. R. apud Westm. xxvj die Aprilis.

LXII.

3 Edw. I. m. 9.—*Pro Peroche de Placentia et sociis suis.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Peroche de Placentia et sociis suis, mercatoribus domini Papæ, quingentas marcas, pro illis quingentis marcis quas ad rogatum nostrum tradiderunt ex mutuo dilecto clerico nostro magistro Thomæ Bek, custodi garderobæ nostræ, ad expensas hospitii nostri. T. R. apud Westm. xxx die Aprilis.

LXIII.

3 Edw. I. m. 5.—*Pro Denceoto Guilelmy.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro dilecto mercatori nostro Denceoto Guillelmi quadringentas et quadraginta et duas libras, decem et octo solidos et decem denarios; videlicet, pro quadringentis marcis quas idem Denceotus, per præceptum tenentium locum nostrum in Anglia, liberavit karissimæ matri nostræ Alianoræ Reginæ Angliæ ad expensas suas, tempore quo fuit indotata, et pro ducentis sexaginta et quatuor marcis quinque solidis et sex denariis residuis, tam pro dampnis galiottorum quam pro diversis liberationibus per ipsum Dencettum de præcepto tenentium locum nostrum factis in diversis locis, et etiam pro diversis dampnis et jacturis quæ idem Dencettus sustinuit tempore quo habuit de nobis ad firmam novum auxilium: quam quidem pecuniam recepisce debuerat de eodem novo auxilio in anno sequenti, et quam non recepit pro eo quod idem novum auxilium traditum fuit Lucæ de Luka custodiendum. T. R. apud Westm. xxij die Junii.

LXIV.

3 Edw. I. m. 2.—*Pro Luca de Luka et sociis suis.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro dilecto mercatori nostro Lucæ de Luka et sociis suis, mercatoribus de Luka, quadringentas libras, pro quadringentis libris quas pro nobis liberaverunt nobili viro Eschinato comiti Bygorriæ, in perpacationem duorum milium marcarum in quibus dominus H. Rex pater noster sibi per litteras suas patentes tenebatur pro remissione feodi, et arreragiorum, quod idem comes ad scaccarium ejusdem patris nostri percipere consuevit; nisi pecuniam illam prius habuerit per aliud breve nostrum. Et, facta eis liberatione illa, recipiatis ab eis litteras illas patentes, quas penes se habent, dictam pecuniam testificantes. T. R. apud Westm. xv die Octobris.

LXV.

3 Edw. I. m. 3.—*Pro Luca de Luka.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Lucæ de Luka et sociis suis, mercatoribus de Luka, tria milia sexaginta et sex libras, tresdecim solidos et iiij denarios, in partem solutionis debitorum in quibus eis tenemur. T. R. apud Westm. xxvij die Octobris.

Per Ottonem de Grandisono et Antonium Beck.

LXVI.

3 Edw. I. m. 1.—*Pro Hugelino de Emthio et Lotero Bonawyde.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro, in festo Purificationis beatæ Mariæ proximo futuro, Hugelino de Emthio et Lotero Bonawyde et sociis suis, mercatoribus de Florentia, quingentas marcas, in perpactionem omnium debitorum in quibus eis tenemur per quinque paria litterarum patentium sigillo domini H. Regis, patris nostri, et nostro signatarum. Et, facta eis liberatione illa, recipiatis ab eis prædicta quinque paria litterarum patentium, necnon et litteras patentes, sigillis suis signatas, de remissione et quietâ clamantia omnium debitorum in prædictis litteris nostris contentorum. T. R. apud Westm. xiiij die Junii.

LXVII.

4 Edw. I. m. 11.—*Pro Theobaldo Malagalye et sociis suis.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Theobaldo Malagalye et sociis suis, mercatoribus de Luca, mille ducentas et decem marcas, pro mille ducentis et decem marcis quas nobis nuper Parisiis mutuo tradiderunt, ad quædam ardua negotia nostra inde expedienda. Et, facta eis liberatione illa, recipiatis ab eis litteras suas obligatorias dictam pecuniam testificantes, necnon et litteras suas de quietantia pecuniæ supradictæ. T. R. apud Wyntoniam, xx die Januarii.

LXVIII.

4 Edw. I. m. 11.—*Pro Luca de Luka.*—Rex, etc. Allocate Lucasio de Luka et sociis suis, in compoto suo de nova custuma, octo milia librarum, quas per præceptum nostrum liberaverunt in garderoba nostra, die Veneris in Conversione S. Pauli, anno regni nostri quarto, dilecto clerico nostro magistro Thomæ Bek, custodi ejusdem garderobæ. T. R. apud Wyntoniam, xxij die Januarii.

LXIX.

4 Edw. I. m. 7.—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Dietainto, mercatori karissimæ matris nostræ Alianoræ Reginæ Angliæ, quadringentas quadraginta et duas libras, decem et octo solidos et decem denarios, in quibus ei tenemur de antiquis et diversis debitis ab ipso mutuo receptis, ad urgentissima negotia nostra inde expedienda. T. R. apud Westm. vij die Junii.

Vacat, quia restitutum fuit et cancellatum, et per Lukam de Luka satisfactum.

LXX.

4 Edw. I. m. 5.—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro dilecto mercatori nostro Nuto de Florentia lxx marcas, quas pro nobis liberavit dilecto et fidei nostro Johanni

de Bohun, in partem solutionis cujusdam summæ pecuniæ in qua ei tenemur. T. R. apud Westm. xxij die Julii.

Vacat, quia restitutum fuit et cancellatum, et per Lukam de Luka satisfactum.

LXXI.

4 Edw. I. m. 3.—Rex baronibus suis de scaccario Dublinensi, salutem. Allocate magistro Thomæ de Cheddeworth, custodi nostro archiepiscopatus Dublinensis, vacantis et in manu nostra existentis, trescentas et sex libras, tresdecim solidos et quatuor denarios, quos per præceptum nostrum liberavit Percevallo de Luka et sociis suis, mercatoribus de Luka, ad quædam negotia nostra inde expedienda; et quingentas quadraginta et unam libras, septem solidos et octo denarios, quos similiter per præceptum nostrum liberavit Lucæ de Luka et sociis suis, mercatoribus de Luka, ad negotia nostra inde expedienda; quæ solutio eisdem mercatoribus facta fuit per tres vices. T. R. apud Bristoliam, xxij die Septembris.

LXXII.

5 Edw. I. m. 6.—*De negotiis Regis expediendis.*—Rex thesaurario et camerariis suis de scaccario, salutem. Liberate de thesauro nostro Orlandino de Podio et sociis suis, mercatoribus de Luka, duo milia et D libras, ad quædam negotia nostra inde expedienda. T. R. apud Westm. xxvj die Aprilis.

LXXIII.

5 Edw. I. m. 3.—*Pro Orlandino de Podio et sociis suis.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Orlandino de Podio et sociis suis, mercatoribus de Luka, duo milia librarum, ad quædam negotia nostra quæ eis injunximus inde expedienda. T. R. apud Wyn-desoram, xxix die Maii.

LXXIV.

6 Edw. I. m. 2.—*De denariis liberandis ad negotia Regis expedienda.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Orlandino de Podio et sociis suis, mercatoribus nostris de Luka, quatuor milia librarum, ad quædam negotia nostra per præceptum nostrum inde expedienda. T. R. apud Westm. xvij die Maii.

Per billam de garderoba.

LXXV.

6 Edw. I. m. 1.—*De denariis liberandis ad negotia Regis expedienda.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Orlandino de Podio et sociis suis, mercatoribus de Luka, duo milia librarum, ad negotia nostra quæ sibi injunximus inde expedienda. T. R. apud Westm. xxvj die Junii.

Per magistrum Thomam Bek, thesaurarium garderobæ, per billam.

LXXVI.

6 Edw. I. m. 1.—*De denariis liberandis ad negotia Regis expedienda.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Orlandino de Podio, Renerio Magiar', et sociis suis, mercatoribus de Luka, duo milia et quingentas marcas, ad quædam negotia nostra quæ eis injunximus inde expedienda. T. R. apud Westm. xxvij die Octobris.

Per billam de garderoba.

LXXVII.

6 Edw. I. m. 1.—*De denariis liberandis ad negotia Regis expedienda.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Orlandino de Podio et sociis suis, mercatoribus de Luka, mille et quingentas libras, ad quædam negotia nostra quæ eis injunximus inde expedienda. T. R. apud Westm. x die Novembris.

Per billam de garderoba.

LXXVIII.

7 Edw. I. m. 7.—*De denariis liberandis ad negotia Regis expedienda.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Reynero de Luka et sociis suis, mercatoribus de Luka, mille libras, ad quædam negotia nostra quæ eis injunximus inde expedienda. T. R. apud Burgh, v die Decembris, anno regni nostri vij.

Per billam de garderoba.

LXXIX.

(*In cedula.*) 7 Edw. I.—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Reinerio de Luka et sociis suis, mercatoribus de Luka, septingentas quinquaginta et octo libras, tres solidos et octo denarios, de exitibus tallagii super communitatem Judæorum nostrorum Angliæ ultimo assessi, ad quædam, etc. *ut supra.* T. R. apud Wodestoke, v die Februarii, anno regni nostri septimo.

LXXX.

(*In cedula.*) 7 Edw. I.—Edwardus, Dei gratia, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Reynero de Luka et Orlandino de Podio et sociis suis, mercatoribus de Luka, tria milia marcarum, de exitibus tallagii super communitatem Judæorum, etc. *ut supra.* Nisi pecuniam illam eisdem prius liberaveritis, per aliud breve nostrum. T. me ipso, apud Wodestoke, v die Februarii, anno regni nostri septimo.

Per Antonium Bek.

(*In dorso.*) “ Pro Reynerio de Luka, Orlandino de Podio et sociis suis, mercatoribus de Luka, de exitibus tallagii MMM marcarum assessi super communitatem Judæorum Angliæ.

“ Summa MMM marcæ.

“De quibus soluti sunt eisdem dclviij libræ, iij solidi, viij denarii, liberati prædicto Orlandino. Per istud breve restant solvendi mccxlj libræ, xvj solidi, iiij denarii.”

LXXXII.

(*In cedula.*) 7 Edw. I. m. 1. “Solutæ sunt Reynerio de Luka et sociis suis, mercatoribus de Luka, in scaccario de recepta per thesaurarium et camerarios, mm libræ, super breve suum continens mmm libras.

“Et sic restant solvendæ eisdem mercatoribus per prædictum breve mille libræ.

“Item soluti sunt eisdem Reynero et sociis suis, mercatoribus de Luka, per unum aliud breve de liberate continens mmm marcas, de quodam tallagio assesso super communitatem Judæorum Angliæ, dclviij libræ, iij solidi, viij denarii.

“Et sic restant solvendi eisdem mercatoribus, per prædictum breve, mxlj libræ, xvj solidi, iiij denarii.”

LXXXIII.

8 Edw. I. m. 4.—*Pro Reynero Magiar', mercatore de Luka, et Egidio de Audenarde.*—Rex, etc. Allocate Reynero Magiar', mercatori de Luka, et Egidio de Audenarde, receptoribus quintædecimæ nostræ, in compoto suo ejusdem quintædecimæ ad scaccarium nostrum, trescentas marcas, quas per visum dilecti clerici nostri Antonii Bek liberaverunt Johanni de Jolins et sociis suis, mercatoribus de Caurce; et quadringentas marcas, quas similiter liberaverunt Peregrino de Luka et Willielmo de Chiatre, mercatoribus de Luka; et centum quinquaginta marcas, quas liberaverunt Petro de Luka et Reynerio Petri et Arigho Symach, mercatoribus de Luka; et mille et ducentas marcas, quas liberaverunt Maynetto Bek et sociis suis, mercatoribus Florentinis; et duo milia marcarum, quas liberaverunt Hugholino de Vichio et Lotherio Bonagide et sociis suis, mercatoribus Florentinis, de societate Teglar' de Scala; et mille marcas, quas liberaverunt Jacobo Agolanci et Ladiassen' Forecii et sociis suis, mercatoribus de Pistoria; et quingentas marcas, quas liberaverunt Jacobo Cap de Maillie et sociis suis, mercatoribus de Monte Pessullano; et mille marcas, quas liberaverunt Bonvicino Nicholai et Duracio, mercatoribus Florentinis; et mille marcas, quas liberaverunt Bartholomeo Mark et sociis suis, mercatoribus de Sene; et tria milia marcarum, quas liberaverunt Frederico de Kuneo et Reginaldo Monachato et sociis suis, mercatoribus de Florentia; et quinque milia marcarum, quas liberaverunt Reynero Josep et sociis suis, mercatoribus Florentinis, de societate Frescobaldi, Bernardo Manfredi et sociis suis, de societate Chirculorum, Bartholomeo Jacobi et sociis suis, de societate Bardi, Rogero Sampe et sociis suis, de societate Falconeri, mercatoribus Florentinis; et mille marcas, quas liberaverunt Ubaldo de Luka et Chebaldo et sociis suis, mercatoribus de Luka; et quadringentas marcas, quas liberaverunt Johanni Donaden et

sociis suis, mercatoribus de Cauz ; et trescentas marcas, quas liberaverunt Alphonso Maurini et sociis suis, mercatoribus de Caure' ; pro mutuis nobis per mercatores prædictos factis, ad quædam ardua negotia nostra inde expedienda ; prout per litteras nostras patentes, quas eisdem mercatoribus inde fieri fecimus, et quas iidem Reynerus et Egidius inde habent, vobis plenius constare poterit : nisi prius inde allocationem habuerint in toto vel in parte. Et, antequam allocationem illam eisdem Reinerio et Egidio feceritis, recipiatis ab eis litteras nostras prædictas, necnon et litteras prædictorum mercatorum patentes receptionem pecuniæ prædictæ testificantes. *T. ut supra.*

LXXXIV.

8 Edw. I. m. 2.—*Pro mercatoribus de Luka.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Orlandino de Podyo et sociis suis, mercatoribus de Luca, trescentas marcas, pro trescentis marcis in quibus dilectus et fidelis noster Johannes Giffard eisdem mercatoribus tenebatur, et quas liberari eis volumus pro prædicto Johanne, in acquietationem prædictarum trescentarum marcarum, de dono nostro. *T. R.* apud Westm. x die Novembris.

LXXXV.

9 Edw. I. m. 8.—*Pro Bouruncino Walteri et sociis suis, mercatoribus de Luka.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Baruncino Walteri et sociis suis, mercatoribus de Luka, ducentas quinquaginta et octo marcas, sex solidos et octo denarios, quos, per præceptum nostrum, liberaverunt Johanni Simonetti et sociis suis, civibus et mercatoribus Lucanis, pro ducentis quinquaginta et octo marcis, sex solidis et octo denariis, quos W. Norwicensis episcopus eisdem civibus et mercatoribus per manus dicti Baruncini et sociorum suorum prædictorum solvisse debuerat in festo Purificationis beatæ Mariæ proximo præterito, et quos idem episcopus liberavit in garderoba nostra, ad rogatum nostrum, dilectis clericis nostris Thomæ de Ganneys et magistro Willielmo de Luda, ad quædam urgentissima negotia nostra inde expedienda. *T. R.* apud Coleford, viij die Februarii.

LXXXVI.

9 Edw. I. m. 8.—*Pro Bouruncino Walteri et sociis suis, mercatoribus de Luka.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Bouruncino Walteri, Ricardo Guidiccionis, et sociis suis, mercatoribus de Luka, ducentas libras, pro ducentis libris quas iidem mercatores per præceptum nostrum liberaverunt pro nobis dilecto et fidei nostro Johanni de Cameys, in partem solutionis quadringentarum librarum, in quibus eidem Johanni tenebamur pro maneriis suis de Torpel et Upton. Et, cum pecuniam illam præfatis mercatoribus liberaveritis, recipiatis ab eis litteras nostras patentes, quas iidem mercatores inde habent, dictam pecuniam testificantes. *T. ut supra.*

LXXXVII.

10 Edw. I. m. 4.—*Pro Bouruncino et sociis suis, mercatoribus de Luka.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Bouruncino et sociis suis, mercatoribus de Luka, ducentas et quinquaginta libras, pro mille libris Turonensium, quas iidem mercatores liberabunt Thomæ de Sabaudia, et quas eidem Thomæ concessimus de dono nostro. T. R. apud Cyrencestriam, xxiiij die Januarii.

LXXXVIII.

13 Edw. I. m. 8.—*Pro Baruncino Galter, mercatore de Luka.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Baruncino Gualteri, mercatori nostro de Luka, mille libras, pro mille libris in quibus Alianora quondam Comitissa Leycestria, amita nostra, quam dudum admisimus ad gratiam et pacem nostram, tenebatur dicto Baruncino, de mutuo eidem Alianoræ et Simoni filio suo per ipsum Baruncinum facto; unde executores testamenti ipsius Alianoræ attornarunt ipsum Baruncinum ad recipiendam pecuniam illam de pecunia eidem Alianoræ debita, tam de exitibus terrarum et tenementorum quæ ipsa tenuit in dotem in Anglia, quam de illis quadringentis libris annuis provenientius de dote sua in Hibernia, de quibus hæredes Comitissæ Marescalli, versus quos dominus H. Rex pater noster plegius fuit, et alii qui dotem suam in Anglia tenuerunt in vita sua, eundem patrem nostrum et nos acquietare tenentur. Proviso quod tam illi qui tenuerunt dotem ejusdem Comitissæ in Anglia in vita sua, occasione turbationis habitæ in regno, quam hæredes prædicti Comitissæ, inde onerentur, et nobis per eosdem satisfiat de mille libris supradictis. Et, facta eidem Baruncino solutione pecuniæ prædictæ, recipiatis ab eodem litteras prædictorum executorum dictam assignationem, necnon et litteras ipsius Baruncini receptionem ejusdem pecuniæ, juxta assignationem prædictam, testificantes. T. R. apud Westm. primo die Julii.

LXXXIX.

17 Edw. I. m. 4.—*Pro Ricardo Guidicionis et sociis suis, mercatoribus de Luka.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro dilecto nostro Ricardo Guidicionis et sociis suis, mercatoribus nostris de Luka, quinque milia marcarum, pro quinque milibus marcarum quas iidem mercatores nostri mutuo receperunt a Rostero Bonaventuro et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Mozorum de Florentia, Jacobo Brabazon et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate de Sena, Bartholomeo Jacobi et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Bardorum de Florentia, Jacobo Bonichi et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Amanatorum de Pistoria, Bertone Mathi et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Circulorum Nigrorum, Dardano Consilii et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Circulorum Alborum de Florentia, Hugelino Petri et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate

filiorum Beccori de Luka, Jacobo Janiani et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Friskebaldorum de Florentia, Guidoni Daunaci et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Friskobaldorum de Florentia, et Duracio Huberti et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Pulicum de Florentia; ad quædam ardua negotia nostra inde facienda. Ita quod liberatio illa fiat a crastino Clausi Paschæ proximo futuro citra vigiliam Pentecostes proximo sequentem. Et, facta eis liberatione illa, recipiatis ab eis litteras nostras patentes per quas eis tenemur in pecunia supradicta. T. Edmundo comite Cornubiæ, consanguineo Regis, apud Westm. vij die Decembris.

XC.

18 Edw. I. m. 2.—*Pro Ricardo Guidicionis et sociis suis, mercatoribus de Luka.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Ricardo Guidicionis et Ricardo Bonefacii et sociis suis, mercatoribus nostris de Luka, quingentas marcas, pro quingentis marcis quas iidem mercatores per præceptum nostrum liberaverunt Alfonso filio domini Ferandi, quondam filii Regis Hispaniæ, de dono nostro. T. R. apud Westm. xvj die Julii.

XCI.

18 Edw. I. m. 2.—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Lapo de Pistoria et sociis suis, mercatoribus de Pistoria, ducentas marcas, pro ducentis marcis quas idem Lapus et socii sui solverunt pro nobis domino Francisco Accursi, legum professori, pro arreragiis annui feodi sui quadraginta marcarum, etc. Et recipiatis ab eisdem mercatoribus litteras nostras patentes quas inde habent, necnon et litteras patentes prædicti Francisci solutionem prædictarum ducentarum marcarum testificantes; quas in thesauraria nostra custodiri faciatis. T. R. apud Kinges Clipstone, xiiij die Octobris.

XCII.

18 Edw. I. m. 2.—*Pro Lapo Bonchi et Grado Pini et sociis suis, mercatoribus.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Lapo Bonchi et Grado Pini et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Amanatorum de Pistoria, tria milia marcarum, pro tribus milibus marcarum quas nobis nuper mutuo tradiderunt per manus dilecti et fidelis nostri Ottonis de Grandisono, cui pecuniam illam dedimus in subsidium transfretationis suæ ad partes Jerosolimitanas. Et, facta eis liberatione illa, recipiatis ab eis litteras nostras patentes quas inde habent, necnon et litteras suas patentes receptionem pecuniæ prædictæ testificantes. T. *ut supra.*

XCIII.

19 Edw. I. m. 4.—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro dilectis mercatoribus nostris Ricardo Guidicionis, Ricardino Bonefacii, et sociis suis, mercatoribus Lucanensibus, de

societate Ricardorum de Luca, decem milia librarum, in partem solutionis debiti in quo tenemur eisdem. T. *ut supra*.

XCIV.

20 Edw. I. m. 4.—*Pro Laurentio de Ludelawe*.—Rex, *etc.* Liberate de thesauro nostro Laurentio de Lodelawe mille marcas, pro mille marcis quas idem Laurentius ad instantiam nostram liberavit Ricardo Gydicionis et sociis suis, mercatoribus nostris de societate Ricardorum de Luca, in partem solutionis cujusdam debiti in quo eisdem mercatoribus tenemur, et unde iidem mercatores litteras nostras patentes habent. Et, facta ei liberatione illa, recipiatis ab eisdem mercatoribus litteras nostras prædictas. T. R. apud Stebenhethe, xj die Decembris.

XCV.

24 Edw. I. m. 6.—Rex, *etc.* Liberate de thesauro nostro Orlandino de Podio et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Ricardorum de Luca, trescentas libras et viginti et tres denarios, pro sexaginta et duodecim saccis lanæ ab ipsis mercatoribus et priore S. Swithini Wyntoniae per ipsos mercatores ad opus nostrum emptis. Ita quod iidem mercatores de lanis prædictis nobis respondeant, ut debebunt. T. R. apud Shulldham, x die Februarii.

[The twelve ensuing numbers (XCVI—CVII) are the entire contents of a roll, singular in its kind, preserved in the Tower Record Office, and bearing the following title: “Litteræ patentes de obligationibus factis per Regem Edwardum diversis mercatoribus super quibusdam pecuniarum summis ab ipsis mutuo receptis, anno regni ejusdem Regis Edwardi primi vicesimo sexto.” They may be considered out of place among an uniform series of documents of a different character; but I trust that their interest will excuse their insertion.]

XCVI.

26 Edw. I.—Rex omnibus ad quos præsentis litteræ pervenerint, salutem. Cum nos, pro urgentissimis negotiis nostris et pro utilitate et defensione regni nostri, teneamur mercatoribus subscriptis in viginti et octo milibus nongentis sexaginta et sex libris et una marca sterlingorum; videlicet, Guydoni Bardi et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Spinorum de Florentia, in tribus milibus nongentis et quinque libris sterlingorum; Meliori Pistoresi et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Amanatorum de Pistoria, in mille nongentis quaterviginti et tresdecim libris et dimidia marca sterlingorum; et Villano Stoldi et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Circulorum Nigrorum, in tribus milibus octingentis decem et septem libris sterlingorum; et Burdo Squarchie et sociis

suis, mercatoribus de societate Circulorum Alborum, in tribus milibus ducentis quaterviginti et duodecim libris sterlingorum; et Thadeo Orlandi et sociis suis, sociis de societate Bardorum de Florentia, in septingentis triginta et sex libris sterlingorum; et Raynerio Belyntheni et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Pullicum et Rimbertino-
rum, in duobus milibus quingentis viginti et tribus libris et dimidia marca sterlingorum; et Philippo Bourgy et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Mozorum, in tribus milibus septingentis quadraginta et quatuor libris sterlingorum; et Taldo Janiani et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Friscobaldorum Alborum, in quatuor milibus sexcentis sexaginta et sex libris et una marca sterlingorum; et Johanni Recemonti et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Friscobaldorum Nigrorum, in mille quaterviginti et novem libris et dimidia marca sterlingorum; et Colenchio Ballardii et sociis suis, mercatoribus de Luca, in quingentis triginta et tribus libris et dimidia marca sterlingorum; et Jacobo Brabazoun et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate de Senis, in sexcentis sexaginta et sex libris et una marca sterlingorum; solvendis eisdem mercatoribus cum ab eisdem vel sociis suis fuerimus requisiti: ita, tamen, quod tota summa pecuniæ quam prædicti mercatores et socii sui societatum prædictarum receperunt, per præceptum nostrum, de custodibus custumæ lanarum et coriorum in diversis portubus regni nostri, vel ex aliis quibuscumque, nomine nostro, usque ad sextum diem Maii proximo præteritum, prout per computationem ad scaccarium nostrum inde faciendam constare poterit, decidat et subtrahatur ex prædicta summa totali per mercatores cujuslibet societatis, juxta portionem quamlibet societatem contingentem; prout in litteris nostris patentibus, mercatoribus cujuslibet societatis de summa pecuniæ eis debita confectis, plenius continetur: Volentes prædictis mercatoribus et sociis suis de dictis pecuniarum summis satisfacere quamcitius poterimus, ut tenemur, de assensu et voluntate mercatorum societatum prædictarum, concessimus et assignavimus, pro nobis et hæredibus nostris, eisdem mercatoribus et eorum sociis omnes exitus provenientes de custuma lanarum, pellium lanutarum et coriorum, in portubus Berewici super Twedam, Novi Castri super Tynam, Kingeston super Hull, S. Botulphi, Lenne, Jernemuthæ, Gipewici, Sandwici, Londoniæ, Suthamptoniæ, Bristolliæ; recipiendos per manus custodum nostrorum custumæ prædictæ, et per cirographum inter prædictos custodes et ipsum mercatorem, de omnibus et singulis exitibus provenientibus de custuma prædicta; et custodiam unius partis sigilli nostri quod vocatur Coket, in singulis portubus prædictis; a prædicto sexto die Maii quousque eisdem mercatoribus et eorum sociis de summa pecuniæ eis debita, ut prædictum est, plenarie fuerit satisfactum in forma prædicta. In cujus rei testimonium has litteras nostras fieri fecimus patentes. T. me ipso, apud Ely, septimo die Maii, anno regni nostri vicesimo sexto.

XCVII.

26 Edw. I.—Rex omnibus ad quos præsentēs litteræ pervenerint, salutem. Sciatis quod nos, pro illis septingentis quadraginta et quinque libris sterlingorum quas ex mutuo recepimus de Restorio Bonaventuri et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Spinorum de Florentia, per manus W. Bathoniensis et Wellensis episcopi, thesaurarii nostri, et camerariorum nostrorum de scaccario, in termino S. Michaelis, anno regni nostri vicesimo secundo finiente, incipiente vicesimo tertio, per duas tallias de eodem scaccario, quas dicti mercatores nobis restituerunt ad scaccarium prædictum, et pro illis trescentis triginta et tribus libris et dimidia marca sterlingorum quas similiter ex mutuo recepimus de eisdem Ristorio et sociis suis per manus Walteri de Langeton, thesaurarii nostri, et camerariorum nostrorum de eodem scaccario, decimo nono die Octobris, anno regni nostri vicesimo tertio, per litteras nostras sub sigillo ejusdem scaccarii patentes, quas iidem mercatores nobis restituerunt ad idem scaccarium; et pro illis mille sexcentis sexaginta et sex libris et una marca sterlingorum, quas similiter ex mutuo recepimus de eisdem Restorio et sociis suis per manus Walteri Coventrensis et Lychefeldensis episcopi, thesaurarii nostri, et camerariorum nostrorum de eodem scaccario, decimo nono die Februarii, anno regni nostri vicesimo quinto, per litteras nostras de eodem sigillo patentes, quas iidem mercatores nobis restituerunt ad dictum scaccarium; et pro illis mille centum et sexaginta libris sterlingorum quas ex mutuo recepturi sumus de Guydone Bardi et sociis suis, mercatoribus de prædicta societate Spinorum, pro portione ipsam societatem Spinorum contingente de illis decem milibus librarum quas dicti Guydo et socii sui, de dicta societate Spinorum, et mercatores aliarum decem societatum, nobis ex mutuo liberabunt, (quibus quidem mercatoribus litteras nostras patentes de portione decem milium librarum prædictarum quamlibet societatem contingente fieri fecimus, prout in rotulo memorandorum ejusdem scaccarii nostri de termino Paschæ, anno regni nostri vicesimo sexto, plenius continetur, ad terminos infrascriptos, videlicet in festo Nativitatis S. Johannis Baptistæ proximo futuro et octavo die Augusti proximo sequente, per æquales portiones; prout continetur in litteris obligatoriis mercatorum prædictarum undecim societatum nobis de prædictis decem milibus librarum confectis, quæ in custodia dictorum Walteri Coventrensis et Lichefeldensis episcopi, thesaurarii nostri, et camerariorum nostrorum de eodem scaccario, jam existunt :) tenemur prædictis Guydoni Bardi et sociis suis, mercatoribus dictæ societatis Spinorum, in tribus milibus nongentis et quinque libris sterlingorum. De quibus quidem tribus milibus nongentis et quinque libris Guydoni et sociis suis, mercatoribus de dicta societate Spinorum, satisfieri faciemus cum ab eisdem Guydone et sociis suis fuerimus requisiti. Ita, tamen, quod tota summa pecuniæ quam prædicti Guydo et socii sui, mercatores dictæ societatis Spinorum, receperunt per præceptum nostrum de custodibus customæ lanarum et

coriorum in diversis portubus regni nostri, vel ex aliis quibuscumque, nomine nostro, usque ad diem confectionis præsentium, prout, per computationem ad scaccarium nostrum inde faciendam, constare poterit, decidat et subtrahatur a dicta summa trium milium nongentarum et quinque librarum. In cujus rei testimonium has litteras nostras fieri fecimus patentes. T. me ipso, apud Ely, sexto die Maii, anno regni nostri vicesimo sexto.

XCVIII.

26 Edw. I.—Rex omnibus ad quos præsentis litteræ pervenerint, salutem. Sciatis quod nos, pro illis quingentis libris sterlingorum quas ex mutuo recepimus de Lapo Bonyth' et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Amanatorum de Pistoria, per manus Walteri de Langeton, thesaurarii nostri, et camerariorum nostrorum de scaccario, in termino Paschæ anno regni nostri vicesimo tertio, per duas tallias de eodem scaccario, quas dicti mercatores nobis restituerunt, ad scaccarium prædictum; et pro illis trescentis triginta et tribus libris et dimidia marca, sterlingorum, quas similiter ex mutuo recepimus de eisdem Lapo et sociis suis, per manus eorundem thesaurarii et camerariorum nostrorum de eodem scaccario, decimo nono die Octobris anno regni nostri vicesimo tertio, per litteras nostras sub sigillo ejusdem scaccarii patentes, quas iidem mercatores nobis restituerunt, ad idem scaccarium; et pro illis mille centum et sexaginta libris sterlingorum quas ex mutuo recepturi sumus de Meliori Pistoiresi et sociis suis, mercatoribus de prædicta societate Amanatorum, pro portione ipsam societatem contingente de illis decem milibus librarum quæ dicti Meliori et socii sui, de dicta societate Amanatorum, et mercatores aliarum decem societatum, nobis ex mutuo liberabunt; quibus quidem mercatoribus litteras nostras, *etc. ut supra*. Teste, *ut supra*.

XCIX.

26 Edw. I.—Rex omnibus ad quos præsentis litteræ pervenerint, salutem. Sciatis quod nos, pro illis duobus milibus quadringentis quinquaginta et septem libris sterlingorum quas ex mutuo recepimus de Carochio Huberti et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Circulorum Nigrorum, per manus W. Bathoniensis et Wellensis episcopi, thesaurarii nostri, et camerariorum nostrorum de scaccario, in termino S. Michaelis, anno regni nostri vicesimo secundo finiente, incipiente vicesimo tertio, per duas tallias, *etc. ut supra*; et pro illis ducentis libris sterlingorum quas similiter ex mutuo recepimus de eisdem Carochio et sociis suis, per manus Walteri Coventrensis et Lichfeldensis episcopi, thesaurarii nostri, et camerariorum nostrorum de eodem scaccario, nono decimo die Februarii, anno vicesimo quinto, per litteras nostras, *etc. ut supra*; et pro illis mille centum et sexaginta libris sterlingorum quas ex mutuo recepturi sumus de Villano Stoldi et sociis suis, mercatoribus de prædicta societate Circulorum Nigrorum, pro portione ipsam societatem contingente, *etc. ut supra*. Teste, *ut supra*.

C.

26 Edw. I. Rex omnibus ad quos præsentēs litteræ pervenerint, salutem. Sciatis quod nos, pro illis duobus milibus centum triginta et duabus libris sterlingorum quas ex mutuo recepimus de Dardano Consilii et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Circulorum Alborum, per manus Willielmi Bathoniensis et Wellensis episcopi, thesaurarii nostri, et camerariorum nostrorum de scaccario, in termino S. Michaelis, anno regni nostri vicesimo secundo finiente, incipiente vicesimo tertio, per duas tallias, *etc. ut supra*; et pro illis mille centum et sexaginta libris sterlingorum quas ex mutuo recepturi sumus de Byndo Squarchie et sociis suis, mercatoribus de prædicta societate Circulorum Alborum, pro portione, *etc. ut supra*. Teste, *ut supra*.

CI.

26 Edw. I.—Rex omnibus ad quos præsentēs litteræ pervenerint, salutem. Sciatis quod nos, pro illis mille et triginta libris sterlingorum quas ex mutuo recepimus de Brachio Gerardi et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Pullicum et Rembertinorum de Florentia, per manus Willielmi Bathoniensis et Wellensis episcopi, thesaurarii nostri, et camerariorum nostrorum de scaccario, in termino S. Michaelis anno regni nostri vicesimo secundo finiente, incipiente vicesimo tertio, per duas tallias, *etc. ut supra*; et pro illis trescentis triginta et tribus libris et dimidia marca, sterlingorum, quas similiter ex mutuo recepimus de eisdem Brachio et sociis suis, per manus Walteri de Langeton, thesaurarii nostri, et camerariorum nostrorum de eodem scaccario, nonodecimo die Octobris anno regni nostri vicesimo tertio, per litteras nostras sub sigillo ejusdem scaccarii patentes, quas iidem mercatores nobis restituerunt ad idem scaccarium; et pro illis mille centum et sexaginta libris sterlingorum quas ex mutuo recepturi sumus de Reynerio Bellinchori et sociis suis, mercatoribus de prædicta societate Pullicum et Rembertinorum, pro portione ipsam societatem contingente, *etc. ut supra*. Teste, *ut supra*.

CII.

26 Edw. I.—Rex omnibus ad quos præsentēs litteræ pervenerint, salutem. Sciatis quod nos, pro illis mille centum quaterviginti et quatuor libris sterlingorum quas ex mutuo recepimus de Jacobo Ananzat et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Mozorum de Florentia, per manus Willielmi Bathoniensis et Wellensis episcopi, thesaurarii nostri, et camerariorum nostrorum de scaccario, in termino S. Michaelis anno regni nostri vicesimo secundo finiente, incipiente vicesimo tertio, per duas tallias, *etc. ut supra*; et pro illis trescentis triginta et tribus libris et dimidia marca, sterlingorum, quas similiter ex mutuo recepimus de eisdem Jacobo et sociis suis, per manus Walteri de Langeton, thesaurarii nostri, et camerariorum nostrorum de eodem scaccario, decimo

nono die Octobris anno regni nostri vicesimo tertio, per litteras nostras sub sigillo ejusdem scaccarii, quas iidem mercatores nobis restituerunt, ad idem scaccarium; et pro illis mille sexaginta et sex libris et una marca, sterlingorum, quas similiter ex mutuo recepimus ab eisdem Jacobo et sociis suis, per manus Walteri Coventrensis et Lichfeldensis episcopi, thesaurarii nostri, et camerariorum nostrorum de eodem scaccario, decimo nono die Februarii anno regni nostri vicesimo quinto, per litteras nostras, *etc. ut supra*; et pro illis mille centum et sexaginta libris sterlingorum quas ex mutuo recepturi sumus de Philippo Burgy et sociis suis, mercatoribus de prædicta societate Mozorum, pro portione ipsam societatem Mozorum contingente, *etc. ut supra*. Teste, *ut supra*.

CIII.

26 Edw. I.—Rex omnibus ad quos præsentēs litteræ pervenerint, salutem. Sciatis quod nos, pro illis quatuor milibus librarum sterlingorum quæ ex mutuo recepimus de Jacobo Janiani et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Friscobaldorum Alborum, per manus Willielmi Bathoniensis et Wellensis episcopi, *etc. ut supra*; et pro illis sexcentis sexaginta et sex libris et una marca sterlingorum quas ex mutuo recepturi sumus de Taldo Janiani et sociis suis, mercatoribus de prædicta societate Friscobaldorum Alborum, pro portione ipsam societatem Friscobaldorum Alborum contingente, *etc. ut supra*. Teste, *ut supra*.

CIV.

26 Edw. I.—Rex omnibus ad quos præsentēs litteræ pervenerint, salutem. Sciatis quod nos, pro illis octingentis sexaginta et sexdecim libris sterlingorum quas ex mutuo recepimus de Guidone Danante et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Friscobaldorum Nigrorum, per manus Walteri Coventrensis et Lichfeldensis episcopi, thesaurarii nostri, et camerariorum nostrorum de scaccario, decimo nono die Februarii anno regni nostri vicesimo quinto, per litteras nostras, *etc.*; et pro illis ducentis et tresdecim libris et dimidia marca sterlingorum quas ex mutuo recepturi sumus de Johanne Recenonti et sociis suis, mercatoribus de prædicta societate Friscobaldorum Nigrorum, pro portione ipsam societatem Friscobaldorum Nigrorum contingente, *etc. ut supra*. Teste, *ut supra*.

CV.

26 Edw. I.—Rex omnibus ad quos præsentēs litteræ pervenerint, salutem. Sciatis quod nos, pro illis ducentis libris sterlingorum quas ex mutuo recepimus de Burnetto Bulgarin et Collouchio Ballardi, mercatoribus de Luka, per manus Willielmi Bathoniensis et Wellensis episcopi, thesaurarii nostri, et camerariorum nostrorum de scaccario, in termino S. Michaelis, anno regni nostri vicesimo secundo finiente, incipiente vicesimo tertio, per duas tallias, *etc.*; et pro illis trescentis triginta et tribus libris et dimidia

marca sterlingorum quas ex mutuo recepturi sumus de prædicto Collouchio et sociis suis, mercatoribus de Luka, pro portione ipsam societatem de Luka contingente, *etc. ut supra.* Teste, *ut supra.*

CVI.

26 Edw. I.—Rex omnibus ad quos præsentēs litteræ pervenerint, salutem. Sciatis quod nos tenemur Jacobo Brabazan et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate de Sene, in sexcentis sexaginta et sex libris et una marca sterlingorum, quas ex mutuo recepturi sumus de prædictis Jacobo et sociis suis, mercatoribus de prædicta societate de Sene, pro portione ipsam societatem de Sene contingente, *etc. ut supra.* Teste, *ut supra.*

CVII.

26 Edw. I.—Rex omnibus ad quos præsentēs litteræ pervenerint, salutem. Sciatis quod nos, pro illis mille quingentis et sexaginta et sexdecim libris sterlingorum quas ex mutuo recepimus de Thadeo Orlandi et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Bardorum de Florentia, per manus Willielmi Bathoniensis et Wellensis episcopi, thesaurarii nostri, et camerariorum nostrorum de scaccario, in termino S. Michaelis, anno regni nostri vicesimo secundo finiente, incipiente vicesimo tertio, per duas tallias, *etc.*; et pro illis mille centum et sexaginta libris sterlingorum quas ex mutuo recepturi sumus de eisdem Thadeo Orlandi et sociis suis, mercatoribus de prædicta societate Bardorum, pro portione ipsam societatem Bardorum contingente, *etc. ut supra.* Teste, *etc. ut supra.*

CVIII.

27 Edw. I.—*Pro Coppo Joseph' et sociis suis.*—Rex thesaurario et camerariis suis de scaccario Dublinensi, salutem. Liberate de thesauro nostro Coppo Josep', Coppo Cottenne et Taldo Janiani, et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Friscombaldorum de Florentia, vel eorum aut unius ipsorum certo attornato istud breve deferenti, undecim milia librarum sterlingorum, pro illis undecim milibus librarum sterlingorum quæ iidem mercatores liberarunt, in garderoba nostra, dilecto clerico nostro Johanni de Drokenesford, custodi ejusdem garderobæ, ad expensas hospitii nostri inde faciendas, et alia negotia nostra inde expedienda, et pro quibus, per litteras nostras patentes, concessimus et assignavimus, pro nobis et hæredibus nostris, eisdem mercatoribus, omnes exitus et proficua quæcumque provenientia de terra nostra Hiberniæ, necnon et totam pecuniam in thesauro nostro nunc ibidem existentem; prout in litteris nostris prædictis plenius continetur. Nisi prius liberationem illam feceritis, per aliud breve nostrum. Et recipiatis ab eisdem mercatoribus, seu attornato prædicto, quotienscumque contigerit vos aliquam pecuniæ summam sibi liberare, litteras suas patentes receptionem cujuslibet summæ sibi liberatæ testificantes. Et, cum prædicta undecim milia librarum dictis

mercatoribus vel prædicto attornato persolveritis, recipiatis ab eis litteras nostras patentes prædictas duplicatas, necnon et litteras suas acquietantiæ receptionem illius summæ similiter testificantes. T. R. apud Langeleye, xxj die Octobris.

CIX.

28 Edw. I. m. 4.—*Pro Coppo Joseph' et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Friscombaldorum de Florentia.*—Rex thesaurario et camerariis suis de scaccario, salutem. Liberate de thesauro nostro Coppo Joseph', Coppo Cottenne et Taldo Janiani, mercatoribus de societate Friscombaldorum de Florentia, mille trescentas quaterviginti et septem libras et duodecim solidos sterlingorum, pro illis septem milibus ducentis quaterviginti et quatuor libris, decem et octo solidis, Turonensium nigrorum, in quibus iidem mercatores obligarunt se, pro nobis, erga quosdam mercatores de Vasconia, pro illis duobus milibus trescentis et duodecim libris, tresdecim solidis et quatuor denariis, crokardorum, in quibus dictis mercatoribus Vasconiæ tenebamur, pro vinis ab ipsis, tam per Matheum de Columbariis quam per Adam de Rokesle, ad expensas hospitii nostri, tempore dilecti clerici nostri Johannis de Drokenesford, custodis garderobæ nostræ, nuper emptis, etc. T. R. apud Pontem Fractum, viij die Junii.

CX.

28 Edw. I. m. 3.—*Pro Coppo Joseph' et sociis suis, mercatoribus.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Coppo Joseph' et Taldo Janiani, et eorum sociis, mercatoribus de societate Friscombaldorum de Florentia, mille septingentas quinquaginta et tres libras et octo denarios sterlingorum, quos, de voluntate et mandato venerabilis patris W. Coventrensis et Lichfeldensis episcopi, thesaurarii nostri, solverunt Arnaldo Guilliemi, dicto Comiti Dandoyns, tam nomine suo quam nomine Arnaldi Willielmi de Bosco, Angeri de la Dins, Petri de Tutdieus, Arnaldi de la Garde, Remundi Arnaldi de Clavoria, Gaillardi du Pont, Arnaldi Guilliemi de Burdegala, Maurini de Mielsanz, Guilliemi Arnaldi de Sanguinieda et Arnaldi du Sages, hominum suorum, eandem pecuniam recipienti, in quibus præfato comiti et hominibus suis prædictis tenebamur; prout particulariter continetur in duodecim litteris sigillo dilecti consanguinei et fidelis nostri Henrici de Lacy comitis Lincolnæ, locum nostrum nuper tenentis in ducatu Aquitaniæ, signatis, in quibus dictas mille septingentas quinquaginta et tres libras et octo denarios sibi, pro se et hæredibus suis prædictis, fatetur fuisse solutas. Et recipiatis ab eisdem mercatoribus prædictas duodecim litteras sigillo dicti Comitis Lincolnæ sigillatas, una cum litteris ipsorum mercatorum testificantibus se prædictas mille septingentas quinquaginta et tres libras et octo denarios a nobis recepisse, et etiam litteras nostras patentes eisdem mercatoribus de præfata pecuniæ summa confectas. T. R. apud Eboracum, xij die Junii.

CXI.

29 Edw. I. m. 4.—*Pro mercatoribus de societate Friscobaldorum.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Coppo Cottenne, Taldo Janiani et eorum sociis, mercatoribus de societate Friscobaldorum de Florentia, quingentas marcas sterlingorum, pro quingentis marcis sterlingorum quas iidem mercatores, pro nobis et nomine nostro, solverunt Loterio de Blanco, pro quatuor dextrariis quos ab ipso habuimus: quas quidem quingentas marcas præfatis mercatoribus per litteras nostras patentesolvere promisimus, in festo Nativitatis S. Johannis Baptistæ ultimo præterito. Et recipiatis ab eis litteras nostras prædictas. T. R. apud Wyrksop, iij die Decembris.

CXII.

32 Edw. I. m. 2.—*Pro Roberto de Barton et Johanne de Hustchwayt.*—Rex, etc. Allocate Roberto de Barton et Johanni de Hustchwayt, nuper collectoribus nostris novæ custumæ apud Kingeston super Hull, in compoto suo ad scaccarium prædictum, quingentas libras, quas, per breve nostrum de dicto scaccario, liberaverunt, anno regni nostri vicesimo quinto incipiente, de pecunia proveniente, eodem anno, de eadem custuma, Taldo Janiani et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Friscobaldorum Alborum, in partem solutionis debitorum in quibus eisdem mercatoribus ex mutuo tenebamur; et ducentas et triginta libras, duodecim solidos, quatuor denarios et unum obolum, pro custuma ad nos pertinente de centum et quatuordecim saccis et triginta et quatuor petris lanæ eorundem mercatorum, quos ipsi, in portu prædicto, videlicet, quinquaginta et unum saccos et duodecim petras lanæ, anno regni nostri vicesimo quarto, et sexaginta et tres saccos et viginti et duas petras lanæ, anno regni nostri vicesimo quinto incipiente, transduci fecerunt quietos de custuma; quibus quidem collectoribus venerabilis pater W. Coventrensis et Lychfeldensis episcopus, thesaurarius noster, per litteras suas, ex parte nostra, mandavit ut ipsi dictos mercatores lanas illas, absque custuma inde solvenda, ad partes transmarinas ducere permitterent, in partem solutionis debitorum in quibus eisdem mercatoribus, in garderoba nostra, similiter tenebamur; et ducentas libras, pro custuma ad nos pertinente de centum saccis lanæ diversorum mercatorum, quos quidem saccos lanæ Coluchius Ballard et socii sui, mercatores de Luka, in portu prædicto, anno regni nostri vicesimo quarto, transduci fecerunt quietos de custuma; quibus quidem collectoribus, per breve nostrum de dicto scaccario, mandavimus quod ipsi mercatores illos dictas lanas, absque custuma inde solvenda, ad partes Brabantiae ducere permitterent, in partem solutionis debitorum in quibus eisdem mercatoribus, in garderoba nostra, tenebamur: etc. T. R. apud Stryvelyn, xv die Junii.

Per billam de scaccario.

CXIII.

34 Edw. I. m. 3.—*Pro Nicholao de Karliolo et Thoma filio Hugonis de Karliolo.*—Rex, *etc.* Allocate Nicholao de Karliolo et Thomæ filio Hugonis de Karliolo, collectoribus custumæ lanarum, pellium lanutarum et coriorum, apud Novum Castrum super Tynam, mille centum viginti et septem libras, quinque denarios et unum obolum, quos, per litteras nostras patentes, de exitibus dictæ custumæ, liberaverunt Catelano Consorti et Bonencountre Jacobi, attornatis Berti Pennuchii, Stoldi de Friscobald', Coppi Cottenne et sociorum suorum, mercatorum de societate Friscobaldorum de Florentia, a primo die Aprilis anno regni nostri tricesimo secundo, usque quartum diem Aprilis anno regni nostri tricesimo quarto, in partem solutionis debitorum in quibus nos tenemur dictis mercatoribus, pro diversis pecuniarum summis nobis per ipsos mutuatis, pro arduis negotiis nostris inde expediendis; et etiam in partem solutionis decem milium librarum, quæ nos eisdem mercatoribus concessimus, de dono nostro, in recompensationem dampnorum et jacturarum quæ iidem mercatores sustinuerunt, ratione retardationis solutionis debitorum prædictorum: pro quibus quidem debitis, et dictis decem milibus librarum, concessimus eisdem mercatoribus, pro nobis et hæredibus nostris, custumam lanarum, pellium lanutarum et coriorum, in omnibus portubus et locis regni nostri Hiberniæ, habendam a primo die Aprilis anno regni nostri tricesimo secundo, quousque iidem mercatores vel unus eorum, aut certus attornatus eorundem mercatorum aut unius eorum, tam prædicta decem milia librarum quam omnia alia debita sua, de mutuis prædictis, de custuma prædicta receperint vel receperit. Nisi prius inde allocationem habuerint, in toto vel in parte. Et recipiatis ab eis litteras nostras prædictas, necnon et quatuor litteras patentes dicti Catelani et duas dicti Bonencountre, attornatorum dictorum mercatorum, receptionem prædictarum mille centum viginti et septem librarum, quinque denariorum et unius oboli, testificantes. T. R. apud Wyntoniam, x die Maii.

Per billam de scaccario.

CXIV.

34 Edw. I. m. 3.—Rex, *etc.* Allocate, *etc. ut supra*, collectoribus novæ custumæ pro-
venientis de lanis, pellibus lanutis, coriis, et aliis diversis mercandisiis mercatorum ex-
traneorum et alienigenarum, ultra antiquam custumam, nobis concessæ, in villa Novi
Castri super Tynam, et abinde per costeram maris usque Berewycum super Twedam,
sexaginta libras, duodecim solidos et decem denarios, quos, per litteras nostras patentes,
de exitibus ejusdem novæ custumæ, *etc. ut supra*, a duodecim die Julii anno regni
nostri tricesimo secundo, usque quartum diem Aprilis anno regni nostri tricesimo
quarto, in partem solutionis debitorum in quibus nos tenemur eisdem mercatoribus, pro
diversis pecuniæ summis, *etc. ut supra, usque ad finem.* T. *ut supra.*

CXV.

34 Edw. I. m. 2.—*Pro Richero de Refham et Hugone Pourt.*—Rex, etc. Allocate Richero de Refham et Hugoni Pourt, collectoribus novæ custumæ provenientis de lanis, pellibus lanutis, coriis, et aliis diversis mercandis mercatorum extraneorum et alienigenarum, ultra antiquam custumam, nobis concessæ, in portu Londoniæ, et in singulis locis ex utraque parte Thamisiæ usque Grenewycum, mille sexcentas et quinque libras, decem et novem solidos et unum quadrantem, quos, per litteras nostras patentes, de exitibus ejusdem custumæ, liberaverunt Johanni Wulpis et Benchenino Belloti, attornatis Berti Pennuchii, Stoldi de Friscobaldis, Coppi Cottenne et sociorum suorum, mercatorum de societate Friscobaldorum de Florentia, a primo die Aprilis anno regni nostri tricesimo secundo, usque ad vigesimum quartum diem Junii anno regni nostri tricesimo quarto; in partem solutionis diversorum debitorum in quibus tenemur dictis mercatoribus, ex diversis causis; et pro quibus quidem debitis concessimus et assignavimus eisdem mercatoribus dictam novam custumam de lanis et pellibus lanutis, et coriis, habendam in singulis portubus et locis regni Angliæ et terræ nostræ Hiberniæ, una cum prædicta antiqua custuma eis per nos prius, pro prædictis debitis, assignata, quousque dicti mercatores vel unus eorum, aut certus attornatus eorundem mercatorum aut unius eorum, prædicta debita receperint vel receperit. Nisi prius inde allocationem habuerint, in toto vel in parte. Et recipiatis, etc. T. R. apud Norhamptoniam, xxvj die Junii.

Per billam de scaccario.

CXVI.

34 Edw. I. m. 2.—Rex, etc. Allocate Richero de Refham et Hugoni Pourt, collectoribus antiquæ custumæ nostræ lanarum, pellium lanutarum et coriorum, in Londonia, et in singulis locis ex utraque parte Thamisiæ usque Grenewycum, novem milia centum et sexaginta et decem et octo libras et viginti et unum denarios, quos, per litteras nostras patentes, de exitibus dictæ antiquæ custumæ de lanis, pellibus lanutis et coriis, provenientis, liberaverunt Johanni de Wulpis et Benchenino Belloti, attornatis Berti Pennuchii, Stoldi de Friscobaldis, Coppi Cottenne et sociorum suorum, mercatorum de societate Friscobaldorum de Florentia, a primo die Aprilis anno regni nostri tricesimo secundo, usque quartum diem Aprilis anno regni nostri tricesimo quarto; in partem solutionis diversorum debitorum in quibus dictis mercatoribus, pro diversis pecuniarum summis nobis per ipsos mutuatis, pro arduis negotiis nostris inde expediendis, tenemur; et, etiam, in partem solutionis decem milium librarum, quæ nos eisdem mercatoribus concessimus, de dono nostro, in recompensationem dampnorum et jacturarum quæ iidem mercatores sustinuerunt, ratione retardationis solutionum debitorum prædictorum: pro quibus quidem debitis et dictis decem milibus librarum, concessimus eisdem mercatoribus, pro nobis et hæredibus nostris, custumam lanarum, pellium lanutarum et coriorum,

in omnibus portubus et locis regni Angliæ et terræ nostræ Hiberniæ, habendam a primo die Aprilis anno regni nostri tricesimo secundo, quousque iidem mercatores vel unus eorum, aut certus attornatus eorumdem mercatorum aut unius eorum, tam prædicta decem milia librarum quam omnia alia debita sua, de mutuis prædictis, de dicta custuma receperint vel receperit. Nisi prius inde allocationem habuerint, in toto vel in parte. Et recipiatis, etc. T. R. apud Norhamptoniam, xxvj die Junii.

CXVII.

35 Edw. I. m. 4.—*Pro Waltero le Taverner et Adam Charles.*—Rex, etc. Allocate Waltero le Taverner et Adam Charles, collectoribus novæ custumæ provenientis de lanis, pellibus lanutis, coriis, et aliis diversis mercandis mercatorum extraneorum et alienigenarum, ultra antiquam custumam, nobis concessæ, in portu Sandwyci, excepta custuma vinorum ibidem, triginta et octo libras et novem solidos, quos, per litteras nostras patentes, de exitibus dictæ novæ custumæ, liberaverunt Betino de Friscobaldis, mercatori de societate Friscobaldorum de Florentia, in partem solutionis diversorum debitorum in quibus tenemur mercatoribus de dicta societate Friscobaldorum, ex diversis causis, etc. T. R. apud Lanrecost, x die Decembris.

CXVIII.

2 Edw. II. m. 5.—*Pro Thoma le Rente et Ricardo Lew.*—Rex, etc. Allocate Thomæ le Rente et Ricardo Lew, collectoribus antiquæ custumæ et novæ apud Gippeswycum, in exitibus ballivæ suæ, trescentas et triginta libras, duodecim solidos, tres denarios et unum obolum, quos, per præceptum nostrum, de exitibus custumæ prædictæ, anno regni nostri primo, liberaverunt Johanni Hugonis, mercatori, et attornato Emerici de Friscobaldis et sociorum suorum, mercatorum de societate Friscobaldorum de Florentia, ad opus ipsorum mercatorum: quibus quidem mercatoribus concessimus totam pecuniam provenientem de custumis prædictis, percipiendam a tempore mortis domini E. quondam Regis Angliæ, patris nostri, quousque ipsis mercatoribus de debitis in quibus eis tenemur plene fuerit satisfactum. Nisi prius, etc. Et recipiatis, etc. T. R. apud Westm. xxviii die Novembris.

CXIX.

2 Edw. II. m. 5.—Rex, etc. Allocate Lamberto de S. Omero et Johanni Lambert, collectoribus antiquæ et novæ custumæ nostræ lanarum, pellium lanutarum et coriorum, in portu Lenne, ducentas triginta libras, undecim solidos, undecim denarios et unum obolum, quos, per præceptum nostrum, de exitibus custumæ prædictæ, anno regni nostri primo, liberaverunt Gerardo Renouchi, mercatori, et attornato mercatorum de societate Friscobaldorum de Florentia, etc. *ut supra.* T. R. apud Westm. xxj die Novembris.

CXX.

2 Edw. II. m. 4.—*Pro mercatoribus de societate Friscobaldorum de Florentia.*—Rex, etc. Mandamus vobis quod Coppo Joseph', Taldo Janiany, et eorum sociis, mercatoribus de societate Friscobaldorum de Florentia, id quod eis a retro est de mille septingentis quinquaginta et tribus libris et octo denariis sterlingorum, quos, de voluntate et mandato Walteri Coventrensis et Lychfeldensis episcopi, nuper thesaurarii domini Edwardi, quondam Regis Angliæ, patris nostri, solverunt Arnaldo Guillielmi, dicto Comiti Dandoyns, tam nomine suo quam nomine Arnaldi Guillielmi de Bosco, Angeri de la Dyns, Petri de Tutdieus, Arnaldi de Pardieus, Arnaldi de la Garde, Reymundi Arnaldi de Clavoria, Gaillard du Pount, Arnaldi Guillielmi de Burdegala, Maurini de Mielsanz, Guillielmi Arnaldi de Sanguinieda et Arnaldi du Sages, hominum suorum, eandem solutionem recipienti, in quibus præfatus pater noster dicto Comiti et hominibus suis supradictis tenebatur, liberetis de thesauro nostro; juxta tenorem brevis dicti patris nostri de liberate, quod penes vos residet, in scaccario nostro. T. R. apud Stretford, xij die Martii.

CXXI.

2 Edw. II. m. 4.—*Pro mercatoribus de Societate Friscobaldorum de Florentia.*—Rex, etc. Mandamus vobis quod Coppo Joseph', Coppo Cottenne et Taldo Janiani, mercatoribus de societate Friscobaldorum de Florentia, id quod a retro est de mille trescentis quaterviginti et septem libris et duodecim solidis sterlingorum, pro illis septem milibus ducentis quaterviginti et quatuor libris et decem et octo solidis Turonensium Nigrorum, in quibus iidem mercatores obligarunt se pro domino Edwardo, quondam Rege Angliæ, patre nostro, erga quosdam mercatores de Vasconia, pro illis duobus milibus trescentis et duodecim libris, tresdecim solidis et quatuor denariis, Crocardorum, in quibus idem pater noster dictis mercatoribus Vasconie tenebatur, pro vinis ab ipsis, tam per Matheum de Columbariis quam per Adam de Rokesle, ad expensas hospitii dicti patris nostri, emptis, de thesauro nostro liberetis; juxta tenorem brevis dicti patris nostri de liberate, quod penes vos residet, in scaccario nostro. Teste, *ut supra*.

CXXII.

2 Edw. II. m. 3.—Rex, etc. Allocate Thomæ Gysors et Johanni filio Thomæ de S. Botulpho, collectoribus antiquæ custumæ et novæ lanarum, pellium lanutarum et coriorum, in portu de S. Botulpho, quatuor milia quaterviginti et tresdecim libras, viginti denarios et unum obolum, quos, de exitibus custumæ prædictæ, a festo S. Michaelis, anno regni nostri primo, usque ad idem festum proximo sequens, per præceptum nostrum, liberaverunt Emerico de Friscobaldis et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Friscobaldorum de Florentia, in partem solutionis debitorum in quibus dominus Edwardus,

quondam Rex Angliæ, pater noster, tenebatur mercatoribus antedictis. Nisi prius, *etc.* Et recipiatis ab eis breve nostrum de præcepto, per quod dictam pecuniam præfatis mercatoribus liberaverunt, necnon quatuor indenturas inter ipsos Johannem et Thomam et Paulum de Cano Rubeo de Florentia, attornatum dictorum mercatorum, in hac parte factas, receptionem ejusdem pecuniæ testificantes. T. R. apud Langele, xxviii die Aprilis.

CXXIII.

2 Edw. II. m. 3.—*Pro Philippo Burge, mercatore de societate Mozorum de Florentia.*—Rex, *etc.* Liberate de thesauro nostro Philippo Bourge, mercatori de societate Mozorum de Florentia, mille centum et decem et septem libras; et Johanni de Circulis Nigris, mercatori de societate Circulorum Nigrorum de Florentia, mille octingentas et triginta et sex libras sterlingorum; in forma per nos vobis, super hoc, per litteras sub privato sigillo nostro, plenius demandata. T. R. apud Westm. vj die Maii.

CXXIV.

2 Edw. II. m. 2.—Rex, *etc.* Allocate Roberto de Barton et Gilberto de Bedeford, collectoribus tam antiquæ quam novæ custumæ lanarum, pellium lanutarum et coriorum, in portu de Kingston super Hull, in compoto suo ad scaccarium prædictum, duo milia sexcentas tresdecim libras, decem solidos et undecim denarios, quos, per præceptum nostrum, de exitibus novæ custumæ prædictæ, liberaverunt Bettino Friscobaldi, mercatori de societate Friscobaldorum de Florentia, ad opus suum et sociorum suorum prædictorum: quibus quidem mercatoribus concessimus totam pecuniam de custumis prædictis provenientem, percipiendam a tempore mortis domini E. quondam Regis Angliæ, patris nostri, quousque sibi de eo quod eis a retro fuerit, tam de debitis quæ dictus pater noster eis debebat quam de debitis in quibus nos tenemur eisdem, plene fuerit satisfactum. Nisi prius, *etc.* Et recipiatis, *etc.* T. R. apud Kenyngton, xxvij die Maii.

CXXV.

2 Edw. II. m. 2.—*Pro mercatoribus de societate Friscobaldorum de Florentia.*—Rex, *etc.* Liberate de thesauro nostro Emerico de Friscobaldis et sociis suis, de societate Friscobaldorum de Florentia, duo milia ducentas viginti et duas libras, decem et septem solidos, novem denarios et unum obolum, sterlingorum, pro illis decem milibus librarum bonorum parvorum Turonensium quæ iidem mercatores, pro nobis, solverunt Johanni de Cabilone domino Darlay, pro tanta pecuniæ summa in qua dominus E. quondam Rex Angliæ, pater noster, per suas litteras patentes, præfato Johanni et quibusdam nobilibus de Burgundia tenebatur, de dono suo speciali. Et, facta liberatione prædicta, recipiatis ab eis litteras patentes antedictas. T. R. apud Westm. xj die Junii.

CXXVI.

2 Edw. II. m. 1.—*Rex, etc.* Allocate Roberto de Barton et Gilberto de Bedeford, nuper collectoribus antiquæ custumæ lanarum, pellium lanutarum et coriorum, apud Kingeston super Hull, in compoto suo ad scaccarium prædictum, octo milia quingentas et tresdecim libras, undecim solidos, quinque denarios, unum obolum et unum quadrantem, quos, per præceptum domini E. quondam Regis Angliæ, patris nostri, de exitibus dictæ custumæ, liberaverunt Petro Bonavint et Coppino Cotenne, attornatis Bettini Friscobaldi et Coppi Cotenne, et sociorum suorum, mercatorum de societate Friscobaldorum de Florentia: quibus quidem mercatoribus dictus pater noster, pro diversis debitis in quibus eis tenebatur, pro diversis pecuniarum summis ei per ipsos mutuatis, pro arduis negotiis suis inde expediendis, ac pro decem milibus librarum quæ eisdem mercatoribus concessit, de dono suo, in recompensationem dampnorum et jacturarum quæ iidem mercatores, ratione retardationis solutionis debitorum illorum, sustinuerunt, concessit, pro se et hæredibus suis, custumam prædictam, in omnibus portubus et locis regni nostri Angliæ et terræ nostræ Hiberniæ, habendam a primo die Aprilis anno regni dicti patris nostri tricesimo secundo, eodem die computato, quousque, *etc.* Nisi prius, *etc.* Et recipiatis, *etc.* T. *ut supra.*

CXXVII.

2 Edw. II. m. 2.—*Rex, etc.* Allocate Roberto de Barton et Gilberto de Bedeford, nuper collectoribus novæ custumæ quaterviginti denariorum de lanis et pellibus lanutis, et dimidiæ marcæ de lasta coriorum, in portu de Kingeston super Hull, in compoto suo ad scaccarium prædictum, duo milia sexcentas sex libras, duodecim solidos, duos denarios, unum obolum et unum quadrantem, quos, per præceptum domini E. patris nostri, *etc. ut supra.* T. *ut supra.*

CXXVIII.

2 Edw. II. m. 1.—*Pro Willielmo Fastolfe et Willielmo de la Mawe.*—*Rex, etc.* Allocate Willielmo Fastolfe et Willielmo de la Mawe, nuper collectoribus novæ custumæ quadraginta denariorum de lanis et pellibus lanutis, et dimidiæ marcæ de lasta coriorum, apud Jernemuth', in compoto suo ad scaccarium prædictum, sexaginta et decem et octo libras, sex solidos, decem denarios, unum obolum et unum quadrantem, quos, per præceptum domini E. quondam Regis Angliæ, patris nostri, de exitibus custumæ prædictæ, liberaverunt Chenino du Val, Galfrido Teste, et Berto de Cauche, attornatis Emerici et Bettini de Friscobaldis, et Coppi Cotenne, et sociorum suorum, mercatorum de societate Friscobaldorum de Florentia: quibus quidem mercatoribus dictus pater noster, volens maturare solutionem debitorum in quibus dictis mercatoribus tenebatur, ex diversis

causis, concessit et assignavit custumam prædictam, habendam, in singulis portubus regni nostri Angliæ et terræ nostræ Hiberniæ, una cum antiqua custuma prius eis per eundem patrem nostrum assignata, quousque dicti mercatores vel unus eorum, etc. Nisi prius, etc. Et recipiatis, etc. T. R. apud Westm. v die Junii.

CXXIX.

2 Edw. II. m. 2.—Rex, etc. Allocate præfatis Willielmo et Willielmo, collectoribus tam antiquæ quam novæ custumæ nostræ lanarum, coriorum et pellium lanutarum, in portu de Jernemuth, centum quaterviginti undecim libras, sexdecim solidos, unum denarium, unum obolum et unum quadrantem, quos, per præceptum nostrum, de exitibus custumarum prædictarum, liberaverunt Berto de Cauche, attornato Emerici de Friscobaldis et sociorum suorum, mercatorum de societate Friscobaldorum de Florentia: quibus quidem mercatoribus, etc. ut supra. T. R. ut supra.

CXXX.

2 Edw. II. m. 1.—Pro Willielmo Fastolfe et sociis suis.—Rex, etc. Allocate Willielmo Fastolfe et sociis suis, collectoribus custumæ lanarum, pellium lanutarum et coriorum, apud Jernemuth, in compoto suo ad scaccarium prædictum, septingentas et tres libras, undecim solidos et septem denarios, quos, per præceptum domini E. quondam Regis Angliæ, patris nostri, liberaverunt Nuchio Sek', attornato Guidonis Bardi, mercatoris de societate Spinorum de Florentia, pro mercatoribus de societate prædicta et aliis diversis societatibus, quibus dictus pater noster in viginti et octo milibus nongentis sexaginta et sex libris et una marca tenebatur, et quibus idem pater noster assignavit et concessit, pro se et hæredibus suis, omnes exitus provenientes de custuma prædicta, in portu prædicto et in omnibus aliis portubus regni nostri, per manus alicujus mercatoris quem iidem mercatores ad hoc assignare vellent percipiendos, quousque eisdem mercatoribus de summa pecuniæ eis debita plenarie fuisset satisfactum; ad recipiendum, ad opus eorundem mercatorum, omnes exitus supradictos, in portu prædicto, assignato. Nisi prius, etc. Et recipiatis, etc. T. R. apud Daventre, xxij die Junii.

CXXXI.

2 Edw. II. m. 1.—Pro Willielmo Fastolfe et Waltero Brun.—Rex, etc. Allocate Willielmo Fastolfe et Waltero Broun de Jernemuth, nuper collectoribus custumæ lanarum, pellium lanutarum et coriorum, in portu de Jernemuth, in compoto suo ad scaccarium prædictum, sexdecim libras et undecim solidos, quos, per præceptum domini Edwardi, quondam Regis Angliæ, patris nostri, de exitibus de custuma prædicta, a septimo die Maii, anno regni dicti patris nostri vicesimo septimo, usque ad vigiliam Pentecostes

proximo sequentem, provenientibus, liberaverunt Nuchio Sek' de Luca, attornato Coppi Joseph', mercatoris de societate Friscobaldorum de Florentia. Nisi prius, *etc.* Et recipiatis, *etc.* T. *ut supra.*

CXXXII.

3 Edw. II. m. 3.—*Pro Lamberto de Sancto Omero et Johanne Lambert.*—Rex, *etc.* Allocate Lamberto de Sancto Omero et Johanni Lambert, nuper collectoribus tam antiquæ quam novæ custumæ nostræ lanarum, pellium lanutarum et coriorum, in portu de Lenne, in compoto suo ad scaccarium, centum et quinquaginta et unum libras, duodecim solidos, tres denarios et unum obolum, quos, de exitibus dictæ antiquæ custumæ, in dicto portu, a festo S. Michaelis anno regni nostri secundo, usque ad festum Paschæ proximo sequens, provenientes, per præceptum nostrum, liberaverunt Gerardo Renuchi, attornato Emerici de Friscobaldis et sociorum suorum, mercatorum de societate Friscobaldorum de Florentia, in partem solutionis diversarum pecuniæ summarum in quibus dominus E. quondam Rex Angliæ, pater noster, eisdem mercatoribus tenebatur, et decem milium librarum quæ idem pater noster dictis mercatoribus concesserat, de dono suo; necnon et quorundam debitorum in quibus eis tenemur; et centum et viginti et tres libras, tresdecim solidos et sex denarios, quos, de exitibus dictæ antiquæ custumæ, a prædicto festo Paschæ usque ad primum diem Augusti proximo sequentem, ibidem provenientes, similiter, per præceptum nostrum, liberaverunt Vachino Cheste, attornato dictorum mercatorum, in partem solutionis dictorum decem milium librarum et debitorum prædictorum; et sex libras, sex solidos et decem denarios, quos, de exitibus dictæ novæ custumæ, in prædicto portu, a dicto festo S. Michaelis usque ad prædictum festum Paschæ, provenientes, per præceptum nostrum, similiter liberaverunt præfato Gerardo, in partem solutionis, *etc.*; et quatuor libras, undecim solidos, septem denarios, unum obolum et unum quadrantem, quos, de exitibus ejusdem novæ custumæ, in dicto portu, a prædicto festo Paschæ usque ad dictum primum diem Augusti, provenientes, similiter, per præceptum nostrum, liberaverunt præfato Vachio, in partem solutionis, *etc.* Et recipiatis, *etc.* T. R. apud Hereford', xxix die Januarii.

Et memorandum quod Petrus de Friscobaldis, unus mercatorum de societate prædicta, venit in cancellariam Regis, apud Westmonasterium, et fatebatur, pro se et sociis suis, mercatoribus de eadem societate, quod prædicti Gerardus et Vachius fuerunt eorum attornati, in hac parte.

CXXXIII.

3 Edw. II. m. 3.—Rex, *etc.* Allocate Simoni de Gysors, executori Thomæ de Gysors, nuper unius collectorum tam antiquæ quam novæ custumæ nostræ lanarum, pellium lanutarum et coriorum, ac aliarum custumarum pannorum, speceriarum, et aliarum rerum

minutarum, in portu villæ de S. Botulpho, ducentas sexaginta et sex libras, duodecim solidos et duos denarios, quos iidem collectores, de exitibus dictæ antiquæ custumæ, in portu prædicto, a festo S. Michaelis anno secundo, usque ad festum S. Martini proximo sequens, per præceptum nostrum, liberaverunt Paulo de Cano Rubeo de Florentia, attornato Emerici de Friscobaldis et sociorum suorum, mercatorum de societate Friscobaldorum de Florentia, in partem solutionis diversarum pecuniæ summarum, in quibus dominus E. quondam Rex Angliæ, pater noster, eisdem mercatoribus, die quo obiit, ex mutuo tenebatur, et decem milium librarum, quæ idem pater noster dictis mercatoribus concesserat, in recompensationem, *etc.* de dono suo; necnon et quorundam debitorum in quibus eis tenemur; et quingentas viginti et octo libras, decem et octo solidos et septem denarios, quos iidem collectores, de exitibus dictæ antiquæ custumæ, ab eodem festo S. Martini usque ad primum diem Aprilis proximo sequentem, ibidem provenientes, similiter, per præceptum nostrum, liberaverunt Petro Boniovint de Florentia, attornato dictorum mercatorum, in partem solutionis dictorum decem milium librarum et debitorum prædictorum; et ducentas quinquaginta et unam libras et decem solidos, quos iidem collectores, de exitibus dictæ antiquæ custumæ, ab eodem primo die Aprilis usque ad vicesimum septimum diem Junii proximo sequentem, ibidem provenientes, similiter, per præceptum nostrum, liberaverunt prædicto Petro, in partem solutionis decem milium librarum et debitorum prædictorum; et duo milia sexcentas quinquaginta et quinque libras, quatuordecim solidos, unum denarium et unum obolum, quos iidem collectores, de exitibus dictæ antiquæ custumæ, ab eodem vicesimo septimo die Junii usque ad festum S. Michaelis proximo sequens, ibidem provenientes, similiter, *etc.*; et quinquaginta et sex libras, duodecim solidos et duos denarios, quos iidem collectores, de exitibus dictæ novæ custumæ, a festo S. Michaelis anno secundo, usque festum S. Martini proximo sequens, ibidem provenientes, similiter, *etc.*; et quadraginta et quinque libras, quatuordecim solidos, novem denarios et unum obolum, quos iidem collectores, de exitibus dictæ novæ custumæ, ab eodem festo S. Martini usque ad primum diem Aprilis proximo sequentem, ibidem provenientes, similiter, *etc.*; et triginta et novem libras, decem et septem solidos, octo denarios, unum obolum et unum quadrantem, quos iidem collectores, de exitibus dictæ novæ custumæ, a prædicto primo die Aprilis usque ad vicesimum septimum diem Junii, ibidem provenientes, similiter, *etc.*; et octingentas quadraginta et duas libras, quatuordecim solidos, septem denarios, unum obolum et unum quadrantem, quos iidem collectores, de exitibus dictæ novæ custumæ, a prædicto vicesimo septimo die Junii usque ad festum S. Michaelis proximo sequens, similiter, *etc.*; et ducentas et quinquaginta et quinque libras, quas iidem collectores, de exitibus dictarum custumarum pannorum, specierum, et aliarum rerum minutarum, ibidem provenientes, similiter, per præceptum nostrum, liberaverunt præfato Petro, in partem solutionis debitorum prædictorum. Nisi prius, *etc.* T. R. apud Westm. x die Februarii.

Et memorandum quod Lopus, clericus, et unus mercatorum de societate prædicta, venit in cancellariam Regis, apud Westmonasterium, et fatebatur quod prædicti Petrus et Paulus fuerunt attornati ipsorum mercatorum, in hac parte.

CXXXIV.

3 Edw. II. m. 3.—Rex, *etc.* Allocate Johanni filio Thomæ, Stephano de Stanham, Galfrido de Sutton et Michaeli de Moliar', nuper collectoribus novæ custumæ lanarum, pellium lanutarum et coriorum, in portu villæ de S. Botulpho, quingentas quaterviginti decem et octo libras, octo solidos et unum denarium, quos, de exitibus dictæ custumæ, a decimo die Februarii anno regni domini Edwardi quondam Regis Angliæ, patris nostri, tricesimo primo, usque ad primum diem Aprilis anno regni dicti patris nostri tricesimo secundo, provenientes, per præceptum dicti patris nostri, liberaverunt Jacobo Hugolini de Luka, attornato Berti Pennuchii et sociorum suorum, de societate Friscobaldorum de Florentia, in partem solutionis quorundam debitorum in quibus idem pater noster præfatis mercatoribus tenebatur; et sexaginta et sex libras et undecim denarios, quos iidem collectores, de exitibus prædictæ custumæ, a dicto primo die Aprilis usque ad quartum decimum diem Julii proximo sequentem, similiter liberaverunt prædicto Jacobo, in partem solutionis debitorum prædictorum. Nisi prius, *etc.* Et recipiatis, *etc.* T. R. apud Westm. xv die Februarii.

CXXXV.

4 Edw. II. m. 3.—*Pro mercatoribus de societate Bardorum de Florentia.*—Rex, *etc.* Liberate de thesauro nostro Manetto Francisci, Tegio de Aye et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Bardorum de Florentia, vel uni eorum, duo milia librarum, pro illis duobus milibus librarum quæ dicti mercatores nobis mutuo liberarunt, ad quædam ardua negotia nostra inde expedienda. T. R. apud Berewicum super Twedam, xvj die Decembris.

CXXXVI.

6 Edw. II. m. 2.—Rex, *etc.* Liberate de thesauro nostro dilectis mercatoribus nostris Manente Francisci et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Bardorum de Florentia, duo milia librarum, quæ eis, per litteras nostras patentes, concessimus, de dono nostro, in recompensationem dampnorum et jacturarum quæ incurrerunt, ratione retardationis solutionum diversorum debitorum de quibus nobis, a tempore quo regimen regni nostri suscepimus, mutuum gratanter fecerunt. Et, facta liberatione prædicta, recipiatis a præfatis mercatoribus nostras litteras antedictas. T. R. apud Wyndesoram, xv die Aprilis.

Per ipsum Regem.

CXXXVII.

6 Edw. II. m. 1.—*Rex, etc.* Liberate de thesauro nostro dilectis mercatoribus nostris Manento Francisci et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Bardorum de Florentia, quadringentas triginta et unam libras, quinque solidos et tres denarios, in quibus eis tenemur, de claro, de diversis pecuniarum summis quas sibi debebamus, sicut per certificationem per vos, præfati locum tenens et barones nostri de scaccario nostro, ad mandatum nostrum, nobis inde factam, plene liquet. T. J. Bathoniensi et Wellensi episcopo, apud Cantuariam, vj die Aprilis.

Per ipsum Regem.

CXXXVIII.

7 Edw. II. m. 3.—*Pro Manento Francisci et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Bardorum.*—*Rex, etc.* Liberate de thesauro nostro, in festo Purificationis beatæ Mariæ Virginis proximo futuro, dilectis mercatoribus nostris Manento Francisci et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Bardorum de Florentia, tria milia septingentas et quindecim libras et decem et octo solidos, sterlingorum, in quibus eis tenemur; videlicet, mille ducentas sexaginta decem et novem libras et quinque denarios, per ipsos, in garderoba nostra, tam pro expensis hospitii nostri et Isabellæ Reginæ Angliæ, consortis nostræ karissimæ, quam pro diversis negotiis nostris inde faciendis, anno regni nostri septimo, solutos; et quadringentas libras, dilecto clerico nostro Johanni de Sandale, ad quasdam solutiones, pro negotiis nostris, inde faciendas, eodem anno, per ipsos solutas; et mille nongentas sexaginta et sexdecim libras, sexdecim solidos et quatuor denarios, pro pannis ab eis per dilectum clericum nostrum Radulphum de Stokes, clericum magnæ garderobæ nostræ, eodem anno et anno regni nostri sexto, ad opus nostrum, emptis; et viginti et quinque libras et quinque solidos, quos Johanni de Goldeneth, pro carnibus et pisce, tam per Robertum Turk quam per Godeneton' de Spray, annis regni nostri tertio et quinto, emptis, ad opus nostrum; et octo libras, decem et novem solidos et tres denarios, quos Ricardo de Gerseie, pro tot denariis per ipsum, in garderoba prædicta, ad expensas familiæ nostræ et prædictæ consortis nostræ, apud Montem Trolli, dicto anno regni nostri sexto, mutuo liberatis; et decem libras et decem et septem solidos, quos magistro Martino de Vear, chirurgico nostro, pro tot denariis in quibus eidem Martino, pro vadiis suis et expensis suis, inter primum diem Februarii anno regni nostri quarto, et septimum diem Julii proximo sequentem, et pro restauro unius somerii sui mortui, tenebamur; et quindecim libras, quas Pucheo de Portinal', pro panno ab eo per præfatum Radulphum de Stokes, eodem anno et anno regni nostri tertio supradicto, ad opus nostrum, empto—pro nobis solverunt: quas quidem pecuniæ summas eidem mercatoribus, in dicto festo Purificationis beatæ Mariæ, per nostras patentes litteras, sol-

vere promittimus, bona fide. Et, facta liberatione prædicta, recipiatis ab eisdem mercatoribus nostras litteras supradictas. T. R. apud Menstre in Insula de Taneto, vij die Decembris.

CXXXIX.

8 Edw. II. m. 4.—*Pro Antonio Pessaigne.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro dilecto mercatori nostro Antonio Pessaigne de Janua quingentas marcas, quas, pro expeditione negotiorum nostrorum, nobis, per manus vestras, mutuo liberavit; quas quidem quingentas marcas eidem Antonio, citra quindenam Paschæ proximo futuram, per manus vestras, de thesauro nostro, solvere promisimus, bona fide. Et, facta liberatione, etc. T. R. apud Langele, vj die Januarii.

CXL.

8 Edw. II. m. 4.—*Pro mercatoribus de societate Bardorum.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro dilectis mercatoribus nostris Manento Francisci et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Bardorum de Florentia, in quindenam Paschæ proximo futura, mille marcas, pro illis mille marcis quas nuper liberarunt in thesaurariam nostram; et quas eis promisimus solvere, ad scaccarium nostrum, in dicta quindenam. Et, facta liberatione, etc. T. R. apud Westm. viij die Februarii.

CXLI.

8 Edw. II. m. 3.—*Pro mercatoribus de societate de Perruches de Florentia.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro dilectis nobis Johanni Rustekyn et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate de Perruches de Florentia, ducentas libras, citra festum Pentecostes proximo futurum, pro illis ducentis libris quas dicti mercatores nobis nuper mutuo liberarunt, in thesaurariam nostram, ad scaccarium nostrum, pro negotiis nostris inde expediendis; et quas eis, citra dictum festum, per litteras nostras patentes, solvere promisimus, bona fide. Et, facta liberatione, etc. T. R. apud Westm. xxvij die Februarii.

CXLI.

8 Edw. II. m. 3.—*Pro Ingelramo de Maregny et Tutto Guidi.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Ingelramo de Maregny et Tutto Guidi, aut Vanno Forteguerr', ipsorum attornato, in festo Paschæ proximo futuro, ducentas libras, pro illis ducentis libris quas, per manus prædicti Vanni, ipsorum attornati, liberarunt nobis in thesaurariam nostram, ad scaccarium nostrum, pro negotiis nostris inde expediendis; et quas eisdem Ingelramo et Tutto, aut præfato Vanno, ipsorum nomine, in prædicto festo, per litteras nostras patentes, solvere promisimus, bona fide. T. R. apud Westm. secundo die Martii.

CXLIII.

8 Edw. II. m. 3.—*Pro mercatoribus de societate Bardorum de Florentia.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro dilectis mercatoribus nostris Manento Francisci et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Bardorum de Florentia, sexcentas et duodecim libras, et septem solidos et unum denarium, pro tot denariis per ipsos solutis, pro diversis negotiis nostris, anno regni nostri septimo; de quibus dicti mercatores quandam billam, summam præscriptam continentem, sigillo dilecti clerici nostri Ingellardi de Warle, tunc custodis garderobæ nostræ, signatam, in cancellariam nostram liberarunt: quos quidem ducentas et duodecim libras, septem solidos et unum denarium, præfatis mercatoribus nostris, in festo Purificationis beatæ Mariæ, anno supradicto, per nostras patentes litteras, solvere promissimus, bona fide. Et, facta liberatione, etc. T. R. apud Westm. xv die Martii.

CXLIV.

8 Edw. II. m. 3.—Rex, etc. Allocate . . . collectoribus customæ lanarum, pellium lanutarum et coriorum, in portu villæ de Kingston' super Hull, duo milia nongentas triginta et tres libras, quinque solidos, sex denarios et unum obolum, quos, per præceptum nostrum, liberaverunt Johanni de Sandale, in partem solutionis trium milium trescentarum quinquaginta et novem librarum, quatuor solidorum et unius denarii, in quibus eidem Johanni tenebamur; et trescentas quinquaginta et duas libras, decem et septem solidos, decem denarios et unum obolum, quos prædicti collectores liberarunt Jaketto de Sene, attornato Merlini de Sene, et in quibus eidem Merlino tenebamur. Nisi prius, etc. Et recipiatis, etc. T. R. apud Westm. primo die Maii.

CXLV.

10 Edw. II. m. 3.—*Pro mercatoribus de societate Bardorum.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro dilecto nobis Doffo de Barde et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Bardorum de Florentia, centum libras, pro illis centum libris quas nobis, pro munitione quarundam navium nostrarum, versus villam nostram Berewyci super Twedam mittendarum, mutuo liberarunt. T. R. apud Westm. xxj die Julii.

CXLVI.

10 Edw. II. m. 2.—*Pro mercatoribus de societate Bardorum.*—Rex, etc. Liberate dilectis mercatoribus nostris Doffo de Barde, Rogero Ardingelli et Dyno Forcetti, vel uni eorum, pro se et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Bardorum de Florentia, de denariis quos, de sextadecima, a communitate regni nostri, et decima, a clero ejusdem regni, nobis concessis, ad scaccarium nostrum deferri contigerit, septem milia septingentas quaterviginti et septem libras, novem solidos et duos denarios, pro sex milibus

marcarum, quæ dicti mercatores, pro quibusdam arduis negotiis nos contingentibus, in partibus Vasconiae, dilecto et fideli nostro Antonio de Pessaigne de Janua, et pro quadringentis libris, quas dilecto consanguineo et fideli nostro Rogero de Mortuo Mari de Wygemor, qui, in obsequium nostrum, per præceptum nostrum, profecturus est ad partes Hiberniae, pro nobis solverunt; et pro tribus milibus trescentis quaterviginti et septem libris, novem solidis et duobus denariis, quos iidem mercatores pro nobisolvere promiserunt, pro vasis argenteis et aliis jocalibus, tam ad opus nostrum quam ad opus Isabellæ Reginae Angliæ, consortis nostræ carissimæ, emendis, quæ domino Summo Pontifici presentari debent, ac pro expensis nunciorum nostrorum ad dictum Summum Pontificem destinatum, et pro passagio eorundem in portu Dovor' versus curiam Romanam, et pro diversis expensis in eadem curia faciendis: de quibus quidem septem milibus septingentis quaterviginti et septem libris, novem solidis et duobus denariis, liberetis eisdem mercatoribus tria milia trescentas quaterviginti et septem libras, novem solidos et duos denarios, de primis denariis provenientibus de primo termino solutionis sextædecimæ et decimæ prædictarum, et residua quatuor milia et quadringentas libras de primis denariis provenientibus de secundo termino solutionis sextædecimæ supradictæ. Et, facta liberatione prædicta, recipiatis a præfato Doffo, Rogero et Dyno, *etc.* T. R. apud Notyngham, iiij die Januarii.

CXLVII.

10 Edw. II. m. 1.—*Pro mercatoribus de societate Bardorum.*—Rex, *etc.* Liberate de thesauro nostro dilectis mercatoribus nostris Doffo de Barde, Rogero Ardingelli et Dino Forcinetti, et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Bardorum de Florentia, mille marcas; videlicet, quingentas marcas citra festum Nativitatis S. Johannis Baptistæ proximo futurum, et quingentas marcas infra tres septimanas post idem festum proximo sequentes; quas nobis in thesaurariam nostram, per manus vestras, pro quibusdam negotiis nostris inde expediendis, mutuo liberarunt, et quas, per litteras nostras patentes, præfatis mercatoribus, ad terminos prædictos,olvere promisimus, bona fide. Et, facta liberatione, *etc.* T. R. apud Westm. x die Junii.

CXLVIII.

10 Edw. II. m. 1.—*Pro mercatoribus de societate Bardorum.*—Rex, *etc.* Liberate de thesauro nostro dilectis mercatoribus nostris Doffo de Barde, Rogero Ardingelli et Dino Forcinetti, et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Bardorum de Florentia, quatuor milia marcarum, citra festum S. Michaelis proximo futurum, quæ eis, per litteras nostras patentes, pro bono servitio quod nobis impenderunt, ac in recompensationem dampnorum et jacturarum quæ sustinuerunt, ratione retardationis solutionis quarundam pecuniarum summarum in quibus sibi tenebamur, concessimus, ultra illas pecuniæ summas quas eis,

ex hujusmodi causa, ante hæc tempora, concessimus; percipiendas ad scaccarium nostrum, citra terminum prædictum, de exitibus regni nostri, de dono nostro. T. R. apud Westm. xvij die Junii.

CXLIX.

10 Edw. II. m. 1.—Rex, *etc.* Liberate de thesauro nostro dilectis mercatoribus nostris Duffo de Barde, Rogero Ardyngelli et Dino Forcineti, et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Bardorum de Florentia, mille sexcentas quaterviginti et duodecim libras, tres solidos et quatuordecim denarios, citra festum S. Michaelis proximo futurum, quos nobis in thesaurariam nostram, per manus vestras, pro negotiis nostris inde expediendis, mutuo liberarunt, et quas, per litteras nostras patentes, præfatis mercatoribus, ad dictum festum, solvere promisimus, bona fide. Et, facta liberatione, *etc.* T. R. apud Norhamton, vj die Julii.

CL.

11 Edw. II. m. 3.—*Pro mercatoribus de societate Bardorum.*—Rex, *etc.* Liberate de thesauro nostro dilectis mercatoribus nostris, Doffo de Barde, Rogero Ardingelli, Dino Forcineti et Francisco Balduch, et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Bardorum de Florentia, vel uni eorum, mille et centum marcas, quas nobis in thesaurariam nostram, per manus vestras, præfatę thesaurarie, pro quibusdam negotiis nostris inde expediendis, mutuo liberarunt, et quas eisdem mercatoribus vel uno eorum, citra festum S. Michaelis proximo futurum, per litteras nostras patentes, solvere promisimus, bona fide. T. R. apud Notingham, v die Augusti.

CLI.

11 Edw. II. m. 2.—*Pro mercatoribus de societate Bardorum.*—Rex, *etc.* Liberate de thesauro nostro dilectis mercatoribus nostris Doffo de Barde, Rogero Ardingelli, Dino Forcineti et Francisco Balduch, quinquaginta et septem libras, quas nobis, per manus vestras, mutuo liberarunt, et in quibus eisdem mercatoribus tenemur, per litteras nostras patentes. Et, facta liberatione, *etc.* T. R. apud Wyndesoram, xx die Decembris:

CLII.

11 Edw. II. m. 2.—*Pro mercatoribus de societate Bardorum.*—Rex, *etc.* Liberate de thesauro nostro dilectis mercatoribus nostris Rogero Ardingelli, Dino Forcetti et Francisco Balduch, ac sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Bardorum de Florentia, vel uni eorum, citra festum Pentecostes proximo futurum, octingentas et quadraginta libras; videlicet, quadraginta libras, quas nobis in garderobam nostram, per manus dilecti clerici nostri Roberti de Wodehouse, tenentis locum dilecti clerici nostri Rogeri de Northburgh, custodis ejusdem garderobę, pro diversis solutionibus; et octingentas libras,

quas nobis in eandem garderobam nostram, per manus ejusdem Roberti, pro expensis hospitii nostri, mensibus Martii et Aprilis, anno præsentis, inde faciendis — mutuo liberarunt; sicut per duas billas sigillo ipsius Roberti signatas, quas iidem mercatores penes se habent, plenius apparet; et quas octingentas et quadraginta libras eisdem mercatoribus, citra festum prædictum, per nostras patentes litteras, solvere promisimus. Et, facta liberatione, *etc.* T. R. apud Mortelake, xij die Aprilis.

CLIII.

11 Edw. II. m. 2.—*Pro mercatoribus de societate Bardorum.*—Rex, *etc.* Liberate de thesauro nostro dilectis mercatoribus nostris Rogero Ardingelli, Dino Forcetti, Francisco Balduch' ac sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Bardorum de Florentia, vel uni eorum, citra festum Pentecostes proximo futurum, quadringentas libras, quas nobis in thesaurariam nostram, per manus vestras, liberarunt, pro quibusdam negotiis nostris inde expediendis, et quas eisdem mercatoribus, citra festum prædictum, per nostras patentes litteras, solvere promisimus, bona fide. T. R. apud Wyndesoram, xv die Aprilis.

CLIV.

11 Edw. II. m. 2.—*Pro mercatoribus de societate Bardorum.*—Rex, *etc.* Liberate de thesauro nostro dilectis mercatoribus nostris Rogero Ardingelli, Dino Forcetti, Francisco Balduch' ac sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Bardorum de Florentia, vel uni eorum, citra quindenam Paschæ proximo futuram, quadringentas marcas, quas iidem mercatores, coram nobis, apud Westmonasterium, ad opus Isabellæ Reginæ Angliæ, consortis nostræ karissimæ, solvere concesserunt in garderoba ipsius consortis nostræ, nomine mutui, super expensis hospitii ipsius consortis nostræ, a prima dominica quadragesimæ proximo præterita usque in quindenam prædictam, per octo septimanas, videlicet, qualibet septimana quinquaginta marcas; et quas in eadem garderoba, ad rogatum nostrum, postmodum solverunt; sicut, per billam dilecti clerici nostri Henrici de Hale, custodis ejusdem garderobæ, *etc.* T. ut supra.

CLV.

11 Edw. II. m. 2.—Rex, *etc.* Liberate de thesauro nostro dilectis mercatoribus nostris Rogero Ardingelli, Dino Forcetti, Francisco Balduch' ac sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Bardorum de Florentia, vel uni eorum, citra festum Paschæ proximo futurum, quadringentas quadraginta et quinque libras et tres solidos, de quibus iidem mercatores satisfecerunt pro nobis, ad rogatum nostrum, dilecto consanguineo et fideli nostro Adomaro de Valencia comiti Pembrokiæ, pro expensis suis, in eundo in nuncium, una cum aliis nunciis nostris solempnibus, ad dominum Summum Pontificem, anno regni

nostri decimo, prout in quadam billa garderobæ nostræ eidem comiti inde facta, quam idem comes præfatis mercatoribus liberavit, plenius continetur; *etc.* T. ut supra.

CLVI.

11 Edw. II. m. 1.—*Pro mercatoribus de societate Bardorum.*—Rex, *etc.* Liberate de thesauro nostro dilectis mercatoribus nostris de societate Bardorum de Florentia, vel uni eorum, quadringentas et quinquaginta marcas; videlicet, ducentas marcas, quas iidem mercatores dilecto mercatori nostro Doffo de Barde, qui ad partes proprias profecturus est, pro jocalibus inde emendis et suis amicis dandis; centum libras, quas Rogero Ardingelli, pro laboribus quos sustinuit in negotiis nostris versus curiam Romanam et alibi; et centum marcas, quas Dino Forcetti, pro bono servitio quod nobis impendit et impendet in futurum, concessimus, de dono nostro, in usus proprios pro voluntate sua convertendas — solverunt, per præceptum nostrum, de pecunia prædictæ societatis; quas quidem quadringentas marcas præfatis mercatoribus de societate prædicta, per litteras nostras patentes, concessimus, habendas et percipiendas de primis denariis de decima nobis per clerum provinciarum Cantuariæ et Eboraci nuper concessa provenientibus, seu de aliis exitibus regni nostri. Et, facta liberatione illa, recipiatis ab eisdem mercatoribus, vel uno eorum, litteras nostras supradictas. T. R. apud Wyndesoram, viij die Maii.

CLVII.

12 Edw. II. m. 3.—*Pro mercatoribus de societate Bardorum.*—Rex, *etc.* Liberate de thesauro nostro, citra festum Pentecostes proximo futurum, dilectis mercatoribus nostris Rogero Ardingelli, Dino Forcetti et Francisco Balduch', ac sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Bardorum de Florentia, quingentas libras, in quibus sibi per litteras nostras patentes tenemur, pro diversis solutionibus per eosdem factis, pro nobis, per mandata nostra diversa, mensibus Septembris, Octobris et Novembris, anno regni nostri duodecimo, sicut per quandam billam, *etc.* T. R. apud Eboracum, xx die Nobembris.

CLVIII.

12 Edw. II. m. 2.—*Pro mercatoribus de societate Bardorum.*—Rex, *etc.* Liberate de thesauro nostro dilectis mercatoribus nostris Rogero Ardingelli, Dino Forcetti, Francisco Balduchii et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Bardorum de Florentia, vel uni eorum, mille marcas, quas nobis, per manus dilecti clerici nostri magistri Johannis Walewayn, nuper thesaurarii nostri, mutuo liberarunt, et quas eis, per litteras nostras patentes, solvere promisimus, bona fide. T. R. apud Eboracum, xx die Februarii.

CLIX.

12 Edw. II. m. 1.—*Pro mercatoribus de societate Bardorum.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro dilectis nobis Doffo de Barde et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Bardorum de Florentia, vel uni eorum, centum libras, pro illis centum libris quas iidem mercatores, ad mandatum nostrum, pro nobis solverunt Egidio de Ispania, de illis centum et octo libris, quatuordecim solidis, quatuor denariis et uno obolo, in quibus sibi tenebamur, tam pro vadiis suis, in rotulo marescalciæ et in guerra nostra Scotiæ, anno regni nostri septimo, quam pro restauro equorum suorum in eadem guerra perditorum, eodem anno. Et, facta liberatione, etc. T. R. apud Eboracum, ix die Junii.

CLX.

13 Edw. II. m. 3.—*Pro Rogero Ardingelli, Bono Philippi, et aliis, etc.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de primis denariis provenientibus de decima per clerum Eboracensis diocesis, necnon de duodecima per communitates civitatum et burgorum regni nostri, pro expeditione guerræ nostræ Scotiæ, nobis nuper concessis, dilectis mercatoribus nostris Rogero Ardingelli, Bono Philippi, Dino Forcetti, et Francisco Balduchii et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Bardorum de Florentia, vel uni eorum, duo milia marcarum, quæ eis, per litteras nostras patentes, pro bono servitio quod iidem mercatores nobis impenderunt, necnon pro dampnis et expensis quæ sustinuerunt, ratione retardationis solutionum diversarum pecuniæ summarum, nobis per ipsos prius mutuatarum, concessimus, percipienda de denariis prædictis. Et, facta liberatione prædicta, recipiatis a præfatis mercatoribus, vel uno eorum, litteras nostras supradictas. T. R. apud Eboracum, xxij die Januarii.

Per ipsum Regem.

CLXI.

13 Edw. II. m. 2.—*Pro mercatoribus de Florentia.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro dilectis mercatoribus nostris Rogero Ardingelli, Bono Philippi, Dino Forcetti et Francisco Balduchii, et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Bardorum de Florentia, vel uni eorum, in festo S. Martini proximo futuro, de denariis provenientibus de decima cleri Angliæ, ad opus nostrum, per dominum Summum Pontificem imposita jam de novo, vel aliunde, octingentas libras, pro illis octingentis libris quas nuper recepimus de magistro Guilielmo de Balaeto, tunc capellano et nuncio dicti domini Summi Pontificis in Anglia, jam defuncto, per manus dilecti mercatoris nostri Antonii Pessaigne de Janua, et quas dicti mercatores manuceperunt solvere, pro nobis, venerabili patri Rigando electo Wyntoniensi confirmato nuncio dicti domini Summi Pontificis in Anglia, citra festum Omnium Sanctorum proximo jam futurum. Et, facta liberatione prædicta, recipiatis ab eisdem mercatoribus, vel uno eorum, litteras nostras patentes, quas iidem inde habent. T. R. apud Westm. xxv die Aprilis.

CLXII.

14 Edw. II. m. 1.—*Pro Johanne de Merlawe.*—Rex, etc. Allocate Johanni de Merlawe, nuper uni custodum novæ custumæ apud Lenne, et Thomæ de Jernemuth, Thomæ Pleyndamour et Aliciæ quæ fuit uxor Roberti de London', defuncti, executoribus testamenti ejusdem defuncti, qui fuit alter custodum custumæ prædictæ, in compoto suo ad scaccarium prædictum, novem libras et decem solidos, quos iidem custodes, per præceptum domini Edwardi, quondam Regis Angliæ, patris nostri, de exitibus dictæ custumæ, liberarunt Chimino de Bello de Florentia, attornato societatis mercatorum de Friscobaldis de Florentia, anno prædicti patris nostri tricesimo primo; et viginti et duas libras et decem solidos, quos, similiter, per præceptum dicti patris nostri, de exitibus dictæ custumæ, liberarunt Bettino de Friscobaldis, mercatori de societate prædicta, anno prædicti patris nostri tricesimo secundo. Nisi prius, etc. Et recipiatis a præfato Johanne et executoribus prædictis breviam dicti patris nostri de præcepto, per quæ prædictam pecuniam liberarunt, necnon et indenturas factas in hac parte. T. R. apud Westm. viij die Maii.

CLXIII.

14 Edw. II. m. 1.—*Pro Bono Philippi et sociis suis.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro dilectis mercatoribus nostris Bono Philippi et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Bardorum de Florentia, in festo S. Martini proximo futuro, duo milia marcarum, in partem satisfactionis duorum milium ducentarum et quadraginta librarum, quindecim solidorum, septem denariorum et unius oboli, in quibus nuper tenebamur dilecto consanguineo et fideli nostro Adomaro de Valencia comiti Pembrokiæ, pro vadiis suis et hominum suorum ad arma, ac restauro equorum suorum, in servitio domini Edwardi, quondam Regis Angliæ, patris nostri, in guerra Scotiæ, diversis annis, perditorum, ac pro denariis per eundem Adomarum solutis diversis hominibus peditibus, demorantibus apud Kirkandres et alibi in Scotia, ad vadia dicti patris nostri, inter decimum diem Martii anno regni dicti patris nostri tricesimo quinto, et septimum diem Julii proximo sequentem, prout in quadam billa de garderoba dicti patris nostri, eidem Adomaro inde confecta, plenius continetur: quæ quidem duo milia marcarum præfati mercatores præfato Comiti, pro nobis, solvere manuceperunt, et quæ eisdem mercatoribus, in dicto festo S. Martini, per litteras nostras patentes, solvere promisimus. Et, facta liberatione prædicta, recipiatis a prædictis mercatoribus litteras nostras supradictas. T. R. apud Westm. primo die Junii.

CLXIV.

17 Edw. II. m. 2.—*Pro mercatoribus de societate Bardorum de Florentia.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro mercatoribus de societate Bardorum de Florentia mille marcas, quindecim denarios et unum obolum, sterlingorum, pro tribus milibus nongentis

quingenta et duo florenis auri de Florentia, quos iidem mercatores, juxta certas conventiones inter nos et ipsos initas, constabulario nostro Burdegalæ, pro negotiis nostris in partibus illis expediendis, liberarunt; non obstante ordinatione seu mandato per nos in contrarium inde factis. T. R. apud Westm. xxvj die Maii.

CLXV.

17 Edw. II. m. 2.—*Pro mercatoribus de societate Scalorum de Florentia.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro mercatoribus de societate Scalorum de Florentia mille marcas, quindecim denarios et unum obolum, sterlingorum, pro tribus milibus nongentis quingenta et uno florenis auri de Florentia, quos iidem mercatores, etc. *ut supra, de verbo ad verbum.* T. R. *ut supra.*

CLXVI.

17 Edw. II. m. 2.—*Pro mercatoribus de societate de Perruch'.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro mercatoribus de societate de Perruch' de Florentia mille marcas, quindecim denarios et unum obolum, sterlingorum, pro tribus milibus nongentis quingenta et uno florenis auri de Florentia, quos iidem mercatores, etc. *ut supra, de verbo ad verbum.* T. R. *ut supra.*

CLXVII.

20 Edw. II. m. 1.—*Pro Johanne de Oxendon'.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro dilecto clerico nostro Johanni de Oxindon, custodi garderobæ Isabellæ Reginæ Angliæ, consortis nostræ carissimæ, mille trescentas tresdecim libras, sex solidos et octo denarios, ad opus dilectorum mercatorum nostrorum Taldi Valoris et Petri Reinerii, et sociorum suorum, mercatorum de societate Bardorum de Florentia, pro tanta pecuniæ summa per ipsos mutuata præfatæ consorti nostræ, in subventionem expensarum suarum, dum eadem consors nostra nuper in partibus Franciæ, ad custus nostros, moram fecit: præfatum Johannem inde, modo debito, onerantes. T. R. apud Kenilworth, xv die Decembris.

Per ipsum Regem, nunciante Regina.

CLXVIII.

1 Edw. III. m. 5.—*Pro mercatoribus de societate Bardorum de Florentia.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro dilectis mercatoribus nostris Dino Forcetti et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Bardorum de Florentia, vel eorum attornato, in hac parte, duo milia librarum, pro tot denariis per ipsos mutuatis Isabellæ Reginæ Angliæ, matri nostræ carissimæ, super expensis suis, dum moram fecit in partibus transmarinis, ad custus domini Edwardi, nuper Regis Angliæ, patris nostri; quam quidem pecuniam eadem

mater nostra, per manus suas proprias, a præfatis mercatoribus recepit. T. R. apud Westm. viij die Februarii.

CLXIX.

1 Edw. III. m. 5.—*Pro Thoma de Londonia*.—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro dilecto nobis Thomæ de Londonia, nuper custodi garderobæ Isabellæ Reginæ Angliæ, matris nostræ carissimæ, trescentas et sexaginta libras, sex solidos et octo denarios, ad opus dilectorum mercatorum nostrorum Dini Forcetti et sociorum suorum, mercatorum de societate Bardorum de Florentia, pro tanta pecuniæ summa per ipsos mutuata præfata Reginæ, in subventionem expensarum suarum, dum eadem Regina nuper in partibus Franciæ, ad custus domini Edwardi, nuper Regis Angliæ, patris nostri, moram fecit: præfatum Thomam inde, modo debito, onerantes. T. ut supra.

CLXX.

6 Edw. III. m. 6.—*Pro mercatoribus de societate Bardorum*.—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro dilectis mercatoribus nostris Bartholomeo Barde et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Bardorum de Florentia, mille libras, in partem recompensationis dampnorum et jacturarum quæ præfati mercatores sustinuerunt, occasione non solutionum diversarum pecuniæ summarum nobis per ipsos mutuatarum, quas quidem mille libras eis, per litteras nostras patentes, concessimus, percipiendas super diversis custumis nostris ac medietate decimæ quadriennalis, clero Angliæ per dominum Summum Pontificem imposita, et nobis, pro altera medietate, concessa, de dono nostro. Et, facta solutione prædicta, recipiatis a præfatis mercatoribus litteras nostras supradictas, necnon litteras suas acquietantiæ, quæ pro nobis sufficientes fuerint, in hac parte. T. R. apud Waltham, xx die Februarii.

Per thesaurarium.

CLXXI.

6 Edw. III. m. 5.—*Pro mercatoribus de societate Peruch'*.—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro, in festo Nativitatis S. Johannis Baptistæ proximo futuro, dilectis mercatoribus nostris Reinero Perini et sociis suis, de societate Peruch', ducentas quadraginta et duas libras, tresdecim solidos et quatuor denarios, quos ab ipsis mutuo recepimus, per manus venerabilis patris W. Norwicensis episcopi, thesaurarii nostri, et camerariorum nostrorum, pro quibusdam negotiis nostris inde expediendis; et quos præfatis mercatoribus, in dicto festo, per litteras nostras, etc. T. R. apud Waltham Sanctæ Crucis, primo die Martii.

CLXXII.

6 Edw. III. m. 5.—*Pro mercatoribus de societate Bardorum*.—Rex, etc. Mandamus vobis quod, de primis denariis ad proximum profrum ad scaccarium nostrum venientibus, solvatis dilectis mercatoribus nostris Jacobo Nicholas, Bartholomeo de Barde et

sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Bardorum de Florentia, mille marcas, pro tanta summa pecuniæ quam iidem mercatores, pro nobis, solvere promiserunt nunciis nostris, quos ad partes Franciæ et curiam Romanam in proximum missuri sumus; ac pro passagio Alianoræ, sororis nostræ carissimæ, versus partes transmarinas: recipientes a præfatis mercatoribus litteras suas acquietantiæ, quæ pro nobis sufficientes fuerint, in hac parte. T. R. apud Westm. xxj die Martii.

CLXXIII.

6 Edw. III. m. 3.—*De denariis liberatis Roberto Tong, pro negotiis Alianoræ, sororis Regis, faciendis.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro dilectis mercatoribus nostris Jacobo Nicholas et Bartholomeo Barde, et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Bardorum de Florentia, mille sexcentas et triginta et quinque marcas, quas, ad requisitionem nostram, solverunt dilecto clerico nostro Roberto Tong', pro quibusdam negotiis Alianoræ, sororis nostræ carissimæ, faciendis. Et recipiatis a præfatis mercatoribus litteras ipsius Roberti, receptionem dictæ pecuniæ testificantes: ipsum Robertum inde, prout justum fuerit, onerantes. T. R. apud Craumpeden', xxix die Julii.

CLXXIV.

7 Edw. III. m. 6.—Rex, etc. Sciatis quod mutuavimus dilectis mercatoribus nostris Jacobo Nicholas, Bartholomeo de Barde et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Bardorum de Florentia, duo milia librarum, pro expeditione quorundam negotiorum suorum. Et, ideo, vobis mandamus quod eisdem mercatoribus dicta duo milia librarum de thesauro nostro, sine dilatione, solvatis; quacumque ordinatione in contrarium facta non obstante: recipientes a præfatis mercatoribus litteras suas obligatorias, per quas iidem mercatores promittant solvere nobis quingentas marcas in instante mense Aprilis, et mille marcas mense Junii proximo sequente, et residuas quingentas marcas mense Julii proximo sequente, pro expensis hospitii nostri. T. R. apud Pontem Fractum, xxij die Martii.

Per ipsum Regem.

CLXXV.

7 Edw. III. m. 5.—*Pro Antonio Bache.*—Rex, etc. Cum dilectus mercator noster Antonius Bache nuper octingentas sexaginta et tres libras, septem solidos et octo denarios, nobis, ad rogatum nostrum, per diversos homines mutuari fecisset, et diversa vasa nostra aurea et argentea, ac alia jocalia nostra, in custodia sua existentia, eisdem hominibus, pro denariis illis, usque ad certum diem adhuc venturum, pignorasset; Nos, volentes dictis hominibus de summis ab ipsis, ad opus nostrum, sic receptis satisfieri, vobis mandamus quod præfato Antonio prædictos octingentas sexaginta et tres libras, septem

solidos et octo denarios, dictis hominibus solvendo, de thesauro nostro solvatis; quacumque ordinatione in contrarium facta non obstante. Et taliter, in hac parte, vos habeatis quod vasa et jocalia nostra prædicta nullatenus amittamus. T. R. apud Dunolmiam, xvij die Aprilis.

CLXXVI.

7 Edw. III. m. 4.—*Pro mercatoribus de societate Bardorum de Florentia.*—Rex, etc. Sciatis quod, pro bono servitio quod dilecti mercatores nostri Jacobus Nicholas et Bartholomeus de Barde, mercatores de societate Bardorum de Florentia, qui jam ad partes proprias, de licentia nostra, sunt redituri, nobis multipliciter impenderunt, concessimus eis centum libras, de dono nostro. Et, ideo, vobis mandamus quod eisdem Jacobo et Bartholomeo dictas centum libras de thesauro nostro liberetis. T. R. apud Novum Castrum super Tynam, quarto die Augusti.

CLXXVII.

7 Edw. III. m. 1.—*Pro mercatoribus de societate Bardorum de Florentia.*—Rex, etc. Mandamus vobis quod dilectis mercatoribus nostris Dyno Forsetti et Alexandro de Barde, ac sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Bardorum de Florentia, trescentas quaterviginti et duodecim marcas, sex solidos et octo denarios, de thesauro nostro solvatis, pro certo numero florenorum de Florentia, quos iidem mercatores nuper, ad requisitionem nostram, solverunt dilecto et fideli nostro Willielmo de Tweng', apud Naples, pro quibusdam negotiis nostris, quæ idem Willielmus penes dilectum consanguineum nostrum Regem Cecilie fuerit prosecutus, expediendis: recipientes a præfatis mercatoribus billam, quam iidem mercatores inde penes se habent, sigillo prædicti Willielmi consignatam: illum qui inde onerari debet, onerantes. T. R. apud Marlebergh', viij die Decembris.

CLXXVIII.

8 Edw. III. m. 3.—*Pro Antonio Bache.*—Rex, etc. Mandamus vobis quod dilecto nobis Antonio Bache sexcentas libras, in quibus ei tenemur, pro tot denariis Arnaldo Garsye, apud Parisias, pro equis ad opus nostrum emendis, nuper mutuatis, de thesauro nostro solvatis: præfatum Arnaldum inde, prout justum fuerit, onerantes. T. R. apud Pontem Fractum, quinto die Julii.

CLXXIX.

8 Edw. III. m. 2.—*Pro mercatoribus de societate Bardorum.*—Rex, etc. Mandamus vobis quod dilectis nobis Dino Forcetti et Alexandro de Barde, et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Bardorum de Florentia, qui, nuper, ad mandatum nostrum, trescentas

libras Philippæ Reginae Angliæ, consortis nostræ carissimæ, apud Notyngham, de dono nostro, solverunt, easdem trescentas libras de thesauro nostro solvi; vel vos, præfati thesaurarie et barones, eisdem mercatoribus de summa prædicta debitam assignationem, in loco competente, sine dilatione, fieri faciatis. T. R. apud Eboracum, xxij die Octobris.

Per ipsum Regem.

CLXXX.

8 Edw. III. m. 2.—*Pro Dino Forcetti.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro dilecto mercatori nostro Dino Forsetti et . . . , uxori ejus, centum libras, quas eidem uxori concessimus, de dono nostro, in remunerationem grati obsequii ipsius Dini nobis, ante hæc tempora, pluries impensi. T. R. apud Northallerton', xxviii die Octobris.

Per ipsum Regem.

CLXXXI.

9 Edw. III. m. 4.—*Pro Bartholomeo de Barde et Alexandro de Barde, et sociis suis.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro dilectis mercatoribus nostris Bartholomeo de Barde et Alexandro de Barde, et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Bardorum, viginti et septem libras, octo solidos et decem denarios, quos iidem mercatores solverunt, de præcepto nostro, Berengario, custodi duorum leonum et duorum leopardorum nostrorum, apud Turrim nostram Londoniæ existentium, pro vadiis ipsius Berengarii, et sustentatione leonum et leopardorum eorundem, a festo S. Michaelis proximo præterito usque ad festum S. Hillarii proximo sequens. T. R. apud villam S. Johannis, xxv die Augusti.

CLXXXII.

9 Edw. III. 2.—*Pro Bartholomeo de Barde et sociis suis.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro dilectis mercatoribus nostris Bartholomeo de Barde et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Bardorum, viginti marcas, quas ipsi nuper solverunt, ad mandatum nostrum, fratri . . . [Guidonis] comitis de Namours, ad nos, cum eodem Comite, in Angliam venienti, de dono nostro. T. R. apud Novum Castrum super Tynam, xvj die Novembris.

CLXXXIII.

10 Edw. III. m. 8.—*Pro Alexandro de Barde.*—Rex, etc. Attendentes grata obsequia quæ dilectus mercator noster Alexander de Barde, mercator de societate Bardorum, nobis, tam pro honore nostro quam utilitate regni nostri, multipliciter impendit, ac volentes ipsi, ea consideratione, prospicere gratiose, concessimus eidem Alexandro et . . . , uxori ejus, centum libras, de dono nostro. Et, ideo, vobis mandamus quod eidem Alex-

andro dictas centum libras de thesauro nostro, ad opus suum et dictæ uxoris suæ, liberetis, sicut prædictum est. T. R. apud Walsingham, x die Februarii.

Per ipsum Regem.

CLXXXIV.

10 Edw. III. m. 6.—*Pro mercatoribus de societate Bardorum.*—Rex, etc. Cum, per breve sub privato sigillo nostro, mandaverimus dilectis mercatoribus nostris Bartholomeo de Barde et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Bardorum, rogando, quatinus Coro Bonecoursse, mercatori Londoniæ, septem libras, octo solidos et quatuor denarios, in quibus sibi, pro speceria ab eo ad opus nostrum empta, tenebamur, sicut per quamdam billam, sigillo dicti clerici nostri magistri Willielmi de la Zouche, nuper custodis garderobæ nostræ, signatam, et penes ipsum Corum remanentem, plenius poterit apparere, et quod dictam billam a præfato Coro, una cum litteris suis patentibus solutionem dictæ pecuniæ testificantibus, reciperent penes ipsos; ac prædicti mercatores dicto Coro prædictos septem libras, octo solidos et quatuor denarios solverint, virtute mandati et rogamini nostrorum prædictorum, sicut idem Corus, in cancellaria nostra personaliter constitutus, recognovit; Nos, volentes præfatis mercatoribus de summa illa solutionem fieri jubere, prout decet, vobis mandamus quod eisdem mercatoribus dictos decem libras, octo solidos et quatuor denarios, a thesauro nostro, sine dilatione, solvi faciatis: recipientes ab eisdem breve, litteras et billam, supradicta. T. R. apud villam de Sancto Johanne, vj die Julii.

CLXXXV.

10 Edw. III. m. 6.—Rex, etc. Cum dilecti nobis Bartholomeus de Barde et Petrus Byne, ac socii sui, mercatores de societate Bardorum, nuper, ad requisitionem nostram, solverint personis subscriptis, in obsequium nostrum, ad partes transmarinas, circa quædam negotia nostra, de quibus per nos et consilium nostrum oneratae extiterant, transmissis, summas subscriptas; videlicet, Arnaldo de Tibio quadraginta libras, Sandrardo de Aste viginti libras, Egidio de Ispannia sex libras, tresdecim solidos et quatuor denarios, et Thomæ de Kynelyngworthe sex libras, tresdecim solidos et quatuor denarios, super expensis suis, in obsequio supradicto; Nos, volentes eisdem mercatoribus de summis prædictis satisfieri, ut est justum, vobis mandamus quod eisdem mercatoribus dictos sexaginta et tresdecim libras, sex solidos et octo denarios, de thesauro nostro, sine dilatione, solvatis, vel eis inde competentem assignationem habere faciatis: præfatos Arnaldum, Sandrardum et Egidium, de summis prædictis per ipsos sic receptis, prout justum fuerit, onerantes. T. R. apud villam de S. Johanne, primo die Julii.

CLXXXV.

10 Edw. III. m. 6.—*Rex, etc.* Liberate de thesauro nostro dilectis nobis Bartholomeo de Barde et Petro Byne, ac sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Bardorum, decem libras, quas, ad requisitionem nostram, solverunt Petro de Brugges, habendas de dono nostro. T. R. apud villam de S. Johanne, secundo die Julii.

Per Regem.

CLXXXVI.

10 Edw. III. m. 5.—*Pro mercatoribus de societate Bardorum.*—*Rex, etc.* Cum teneamur dilectis nobis Bartholomeo de Barde et Petro de Byne, ac sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Bardorum, in decem et novem libris et undecim solidis, quos, ad mandata nostra, solverunt diversis cursoribus, pro expensis suis, ad diversas partes in obsequium nostrum missis; Nos, volentes eisdem mercatoribus de summa illa satisfieri, ut est justum, vobis mandamus quod præfatis mercatoribus dictos decem et novem libras et undecim solidos de thesauro nostro, sine dilatione, solvatis. T. R. apud villam S. Johannis, vij die Julii.

CLXXXVII

10 Edw. III. m. 3.—*Pro mercatoribus de societate Peruch'.*—*Rex, etc.* Attendentes grata et utilia obsequia quæ dilecti mercatores nostri Johannes Baronshal et Johannes Junctin, ac socii sui, mercatores de societate Peruch', circa felicem expeditionem diversorum negotiorum nostrorum, non absque magnis et sumptuosis laboribus, multipliciter impenderunt; volentesque ipsos mercatores, eo prætextu, gratiose prospicere, in hac parte; concessimus eisdem mercatoribus quingentas libras, de dono nostro. Ideo vobis mandamus quod eisdem mercatoribus dictas quingentas libras de thesauro nostro, sine dilatione, solvatis, vel eis competentem assignationem, ubi sibi inde celeriter satisfieri poterit, habere faciatis. T. R. *ut supra.*

CLXXXVIII.

10 Edw. III. m. 1.—*Pro mercatoribus de societate Bardorum.*—*Rex, etc.* Liberate de thesauro nostro dilectis nobis Bartholomeo de Barde et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Bardorum de Florentia, centum libras, quas, de mandato nostro, solverunt dilecto clerico nostro Willielmo de Custantin, pro expensis circa funeralia Johannis, nuper comitis Cornubiæ, fratris nostri, inde faciendis. T. R. apud Turrin Londoniæ, xv die Januarii.

CLXXXIX.

11 Edw. III. m. 6.—*Pro mercatoribus de societate Bardorum.*—Rex, etc. Cum teneamur dilectis mercatoribus nostris Dino Forcetti et Petro Byne, ac sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Bardorum, in decem milibus librarum, quæ pro nobis solverunt, ad requisitionem nostram, in partibus transmarinis, diversis hominibus, pro diversis arduis et urgentibus negotiis, nos specialiter contingentibus, inde expediendis; Nos, volentes præfatis mercatoribus de summa illa satisfieri, prout decet, vobis mandamus quod eisdem mercatoribus prædicta decem milia librarum de thesauro nostro, sine dilatione, solvatis: neminem inde onerantes. T. R. apud Staunford', xxx die Maii.

Per breve de privato sigillo.

CXC.

11 Edw. III. m. 5.—*Pro mercatoribus de societate Bardorum.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro dilectis nobis Dino Forcetti et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Bardorum de Florentia, centum libras, quas, pro expeditione quorundam arduorum negotiorum nostrorum, in partibus transmarinis, de quibus per nos specialiter onerati extiterunt, solverunt: de quibus quidem centum libris ipsos mercatores seu quemcumque alium nolumus onerari. T. R. apud Westm. xxx die Augusti.

Per ipsum Regem.

CXCI.

11 Edw. III. m. 5.—*Pro mercatoribus de societate Peruch'.*—Rex, etc. Cum teneamur dilectis mercatoribus nostris Johanni Barounshel, Johanni Stephani et Thomæ de Peruch', et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Peruch', in centum libris, quas de eisdem mercatoribus, per manus dilecti nostri Willielmi de Kildesby, super quibusdam expensis, circa apparatus et alia, naves pro obsequio nostro arestatas contingentia, faciendis, mutuo recepimus; prout, per litteras nostras obligatorias eisdem mercatoribus inde confectas, poterit plenius apparere; Nos, volentes eisdem mercatoribus de summa prædicta satisfieri, prout decet, vobis mandamus quod eisdem mercatoribus dictas centum libras de thesauro nostro solvatis; eo non obstante quod prædicti mercatores litteras ipsius Willielmi, receptionem dictarum centum librarum testificantes, penes se non habent: recipientes a præfatis mercatoribus litteras nostras supradictas. T. R. apud Westm. primo die Septembris.

CXCII.

11 Edw. III. m. 4.—*Pro mercatoribus de societate Peruch'.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro dilectis mercatoribus nostris Johanni Baronshel et Johanni Junctyn, ac

sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Peruch', duo milia librarum, quæ pro nobis in partibus transmarinis solverunt, pro expeditione quorundam secretorum negotiorum nostrorum, prout plenius nobis constat : de quibus quidem duobus milibus librarum neminem volumus onerari. T. R. apud Westm. xxviij die Septembris.

Per ipsum Regem.

CXCIII.

11 Edw. III. m. 3.—*Pro mercatoribus de societate Peruch'.*—Rex, etc. Cum teneamur dilectis mercatoribus nostris Johanni Baronschel, Johanni Stephani et Thomæ de Peruch', ac sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Peruch', in triginta et quinque milibus librarum, quorum majorem partem nobis solverunt, sicut per diversa memoranda scaccarii et receptæ nostrorum, et alias evidencias quas iidem mercatores penes se habent, poterit plenius apparere, et residuum dictorum triginta et quinque milium librarum certis personis, pro nobis, solvere assumpserunt; prout in litteris nostris obligatoriis, eis inde confectis, plenius continetur; Nos, volentes præfatis mercatoribus de summa prædicta satisfieri, vos mandamus quod eisdem mercatoribus dicta triginta et quinque milia librarum de thesauro nostro solvi, vel eis inde competentem assignationem, in locis ubi eis inde celeriter satisfieri poterit, habere faciatis: recipientes ab eis litteras nostras obligatorias supradictas. T. R. apud Westm. xv die Octobris.

CXCIV.

12 Edw. III. m. 9.—*Pro mercatoribus de societate Peruch'.*—Rex, etc. Cum dilecti nobis Johannes Baroncelli et Thomas de Peruch', et socii sui, mercatores de societate Peruch', solverint, de præcepto nostro, quingentas marcas, pro expeditione quorundam secretorum negotiorum nostrorum, et nos, volentes eisdem mercatoribus de summa illa satisfieri, ut est justum, dictas quingentas marcas præfatis mercatoribus solvere promiserimus, bona fide, nolentes quod aliquis inde oneretur; vobis mandamus quod eisdem mercatoribus prædictas quingentas marcas de thesauro nostro, sine dilatione, solvi, vel eis inde competentem assignationem, ubi sibi inde celeriter satisfieri poterit, habere faciatis: aliquem de eisdem quingentis marcis, ut præmittitur, nullatenus onerantes. Et, facta solutione, etc. T. R. apud Turrim Londoniensem, xvij die Septembris.

CXCV.

12 Edw. III. m. 9.—Rex, etc. Cum dilecti mercatores nostri Johannes Baroncelli, Johannes Stephani et socii sui, mercatores de societate Peruch', solverint, ad mandatum nostrum, per breve sub privato sigillo nostro, dilecto et fideli nostro Ricardo Talbot, quem nobiscum retinuimus pro guerra nostra Scotiæ, ducentas marcas, de præstito, super vadiis suis, et, per breve sub magno sigillo nostro, dilecto clerico nostro Johanni

de Watenhull quingentas libras, ad quædam vadia magistris et marinariis navium, quas apud Portesmuth, pro obsequio nostro, congregari mandavimus, inde solvendis, et, de præcepto venerabilis patris Johannis Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi, dilecto et fideli nostro Johanni Luterel viginti et quinque libras, pro expeditione quorundam secretorum negotiorum nostrorum, ac, per aliud breve nostrum sub magno sigillo nostro, Willielmo Bacon' quinquaginta marcas, super hujusmodi negotiorum expeditione, necnon, per aliud breve sub privato sigillo nostro, dilecto valletto nostro Berengario de Aragonia, custodi leonum et leopardorum in Turri nostra Londoniensi, decem et octo libras, sex solidos et octo denarios, pro vadiis ipsius custodis, et pro sustentatione leonum et leopardorum prædictorum, sicut per litteras acquietantiæ ipsorum Ricardi, Johannis, Johannis, Willielmi et Berengarii, quas iidem mercatores penes se habent, ut asserunt, poterit plenius apparere; Nos, volentes præfatis mercatoribus de summis prædictis satisfieri, vobis mandamus quod, visis brevibus et litteris prædictis, si vobis constare poterit ipsos mercatores dictas pecuniarum summas præfatis Ricardo, Johanni, Johanni, Willielmo et Berengario, in forma prædicta, solvisse, tunc easdem pecuniarum summas præfatis mercatoribus de thesauro nostro, sine dilatione, solvi, vel eis inde competentem assignationem, in locis ubi eis de pecunia prædicta celeriter satisfieri poterit, habere faciatis: recipientes, *etc.* T. R. apud Eboracum, xxv die Martii.

Per ipsum Regem.

CXCVI.

12 Edw. III. m. 9.—Rex, *etc.* Supplicarunt nobis dilecti nostri Johannes Baroncelli et Johannes Stephani, ac socii sui, mercatores de societate Peruch', ut, cum teneamur eis in decem et octo libris, quas, per manus Laurentii de Mees et Nicholai Moundelard, nuper collectorum custumarum nostrarum in portu Suthampton', ab eisdem mercatoribus, de decem et octo miliaribus stanni, in navibus per ipsos ibidem carcatis, exinde ad partes externas ducendis, mutuo recepimus, sicut per litteras nostras patentes sigillo nostro quod dicitur coket signatas, quas iidem mercatores inde penes se habent, ut asserunt, poterit plenius apparere, velimus eis inde solutionem fieri jubere competentem; Nos, volentes præfatis mercatoribus de dictis decem et octo libris satisfieri, ut est justum, vobis mandamus quod, visis dictis litteris nostris de coketto, si vobis constiterit ita esse, tunc præfatis mercatoribus dictas decem et octo libras de thesauro nostro solvi, vel eis inde, *etc. ut supra*: recipientes, *etc.* T. *ut supra*.

CXCVII.

12 Edw. III. 9.—Rex, *etc.* Liberate de thesauro nostro dilectis nobis Johanni de Baronshel, Thomæ de Peruch' et Johanni Junctyn, ac sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Peruch', trescentas viginti et octo libras, quatuordecim solidos et septem denarios, quos liberarunt dilecto nobis Antonio Bache, mercatori, ulterius per ipsum diversis mer-

catoribus civitatis nostræ Londoniæ, in remunerationem obsequiorum quæ iidem mercatores de civitate prædicta nobis benevole impenderunt, quasdam magnas pecuniarum summas nobis mutuando, et alia urgentia negotia nostra, prout eis injuncta fuerant, proseguendo, solvendas, de dono nostro; vel eisdem mercatoribus nostris competentem assignationem, ubi ipsis celeriter satisfieri poterit, habere faciatis. T. R. apud Novum Castrum super Tynam, xxviiij die Martii.

CXCVIII.

14 Edw. III. m. 2.—*Pro Gerardo Bonenseigne et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Bardorum.*—Rex, etc. Cum nos, considerantes grata et opportuna subsidia quæ dilectus nobis Gerardus Bonenseigne, mercator de societate Bardorum, pluries et benevole nobis fecit, ac affectionem solitam quam in procurandis nostris honore et commodo semper repperimus in eodem, et, proinde, volentes uxorem ipsius Gerardi regiæ liberalitatis gratia prævenire, concesserimus eidem uxori mille marcas, de dono nostro, quas præfato Gerardo, ad opus uxoris suæ prædictæ, plene et integre solvere promisimus, bona fide; prout in litteris nostris patentibus inde confectis plenius continetur; vobis mandamus quod eidem Gerardo dictas mille marcas, ad opus uxoris suæ prædictæ, de thesauro nostro, sine dilatione, solvatis, juxta tenorem litterarum nostrarum prædictarum. Et, facta solutione illa, recipiatis ab eodem Gerardo litteras nostras supradictas. T. custode prædicto, [Edwardo duce Cornubiæ et comite Cestriæ, filio Regis,] apud Waltham S. Crucis, secundo die Julii.

Per ipsum Regem.

Consimilia brevia habent mercatores subscripti, de summis subscriptis: videlicet,
Bartholomeus de Barde, ad opus uxoris suæ, de quingentis marcis.
Dynus Forcetti, ad opus uxoris suæ, de trescentis marcis.

T. ut supra.

CXCIX.

16 Edw. III. m. 9.—*Pro Petro Byne, uno mercatorum Bardorum.*—Rex, etc. Cum, nuper, considerantes bonum et gratuitum servitium nobis per dilectum nobis Petrum Byne, unum mercatorum de societate Bardorum, nobis multipliciter, a longo tempore, impensum, ac volentes, proinde, ipsum Petrum, qui jam ad partes suas proprias, de nostra licentia, est reversurus, prospicere gratiose, concesserimus ei ducentas marcas, pro expensis suis, eundo versus partes supradictas, de dono nostro; prout in litteris nostris patentibus inde confectis plenius continetur; vobis mandamus quod eidem Petro dictas ducentas marcas de thesauro nostro solvatis: recipientes ab eo litteras nostras supradictas. T. R. apud Westm. x die Aprilis.

CC.

18 Edw. III. m. 10.—*Pro mercatoribus de societate Bardorum.*—Rex, etc. Cum dilecti nobis Dinus Forcetti, Petrus Bini et socii sui, mercatores de societate Bardorum, assumpserint facere nobis chevanciam de duodecim milibus florenorum de scuto, in pretio duorum milium librarum sterlingorum, et eosdem florenos liberare magistro Paulo de Monte Florum, in partibus transmarinis, ad opus nostrum; et nos, volentes securitati eorundem mercatorum in hac parte providere, eadem duo milia librarum sterlingorum, et, ultra hoc, mille libras sterlingorum, in partem solutionis summarum dictis mercatoribus prius per nos debitarum, eisdem mercatoribus, primo die Decembris, anno regni nostri Angliæ sextodecimo, solvere promiserimus, bona fide; prout in litteris nostris patentibus inde confectis plenius continetur; ac præfati mercatores assignationem de dictis duobus milibus librarum, de dictis tribus milibus librarum, habuerint, et quicquam de residuis mille libris eis nondum assignatum vel solutum existit, sicut dicunt; Nos, volentes eisdem mercatoribus de prædictis mille libris satisfieri, vobis mandamus quod, si vobis constiterit ipsos mercatores dicta duo milia librarum præfato Paulo, ad opus nostrum, solvisse, et eis inde, et non de prædictis mille libris residuis, assignationem seu alias solutionem factam fuisse, tunc eisdem mercatoribus dictas mille libras solvi et habere faciatis, juxta tenorem litterarumstrarum prædictarum. T. R. apud Westm. xx die Februarii.

CCI.

20 Edw. III. m. 6.—*Pro Johanne Dyny mercatore.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Johanni Dyny, mercatori, ducentas et quinquaginta libras, pro tot denariis ab eo, ad opus nostrum, mutuatis; et centum et viginti et quinque libras, in partem satisfactionis debitorum in quibus mercatoribus de societate Peruch' tenemur: recipientes, etc. T. R. apud Porcestre, x die Junii.

CCII.

20 Edw. III. m. 3.—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Johanni de Stodeye et Danieli Gracerent quatuor milia librarum, pro tot denariis ab eis, ad opus nostrum, mutuatis, et duo milia librarum, in partem satisfactionis debitorum in quibus mercatoribus de societate Peruch' tenemur: recipientes ab eisdem Johanne et Daniele litteras nostras patentes, dictam summam duorum milium librarum continentes. T. ut supra.

CCIII.

21 Edw. III. m. 4.—*Pro mercatoribus de societate Bardorum.*—Rex, etc. Liberate de thesauro nostro Dino Forset et sociis suis, mercatoribus de societate Bardorum, duo-

decim florenos auri de scuto, quos, nuper, in curia Romana, per testimonium dilecti clerici nostri magistri Johannis de Offord, et quorundam aliorum nunciorum nostrorum, tunc in curia prædicta existentium, cuidam cursori, litteras ipsorum nunciorum nostrorum ab eadem curia usque ad nos in Angliam deferenti, solverunt. T. custode prædicto, [Leonello, filio Regis,] apud Redyng, xxiiij die Julii.

CCIV.

21 Edw. III. m. 2.—*Pro mercatoribus de societate Bardorum.*—Rex, etc. Mandamus vobis quod dilectis mercatoribus nostris de societate Bardorum centum et quinquaginta libras, in partem solutionis quinquaginta milium quadringentarum quaterviginti et tresdecim librarum, quinque solidorum, duorum denariorum et unius oboli, in quibus eis, per litteras nostras patentes, tenemur, si eisdem mercatoribus tantum de dicta majori summa adhuc debeatur, de thesauro nostro solvatis. T. R. apud Westm. xvij die Octobris.

CCV.

26 Edw. III. m. 3.—*Pro mercatoribus de Luca.*—R. etc. Cum Nicholaus Berthelme et socii sui, mercatores de Luca, quibus in centum et quadraginta milibus parvorum florenorum de Florentia, pretii cujuslibet trium solidorum sterlingorum, et etiam in sexdecim milibus florenorum de scuto, pretii cujuslibet trium solidorum et quatuor denariorum sterlingorum, quæ ad viginti et tria milia sexcentas et sex libras, tresdecim solidos et quatuor denarios, sterlingorum, se extendunt, per quasdam litteras nostras patentes et instrumentum publicum tenebamur, quadraginta milia parvorum florenorum, de dictis centum et quadraginta milibus florenorum de Florentia, nobis remiserint et quietumclamaverint, et, per certificationem vestram et baronum nostrorum de scaccario, in cancellaria nostra factam, est compertum quod novem milia centum quinquaginta et quinque libræ, undecim solidi, novem denarii et unus quadrans, de residuis decem et septem milibus sexcentis sexaginta et sex libris, tresdecim solidis et quatuor denariis, sunt soluti; et nos, consideratione remissionis prædictæ, et pro bono servitio nobis per ipsos, ante hæc tempora, impenso, concesserimus quod quatuor milia trescentæ triginta et tres libræ, sex solidi et octo denarii, qui, tam de octo milibus quingentis et undecim libris, decem et octo denariis, uno obolo et uno quadrante, quam de dictis decem et septem milibus sexcentis sexaginta et sex libris, tresdecim solidis et quatuor denariis, a retro existunt, præfatis mercatoribus solvantur et assignentur, percipiendi super exitibus customarumstrarum; videlicet, duo milia et quingentæ marcæ pro terminis Purificationis beatæ Mariæ et Paschæ proximo præteritis, mille marcæ ad festum Nativitatis S. Johannis Baptistæ proximo futurum, mille libræ ad festum S. Michaelis proximo sequens, et mille libræ ad festa Paschæ et S. Michaelis proximo sequentia, per æquales portiones; et quod litteræ patentes sub magno sigillo nostro fiant de residuis

quatuor milibus centum sexaginta et sexdecim libris, decem et novem solidis, novem denariis, uno obolo et uno quadrante, prædictis mercatoribus, quam citius commode poterimus, solvendis; et quod dictæ duo primæ litteræ nostræ patentes, quæ, una cum instrumento publico prædicto, in custodia dilectorum et fidelium nostrorum Guidonis de Bryan, Andreæ Aubrey et Johannis Malemayn, civium Londoniensium, usque ad finem terminorum prædictorum, remanere volumus, de summis quas eis ad terminos prædictos solvi contigerit indorsentur; prout in quadam indentura, inde inter nos et dictos mercatores confecta, plenius continetur; Vobis mandamus quod prædicti mercatores prædicta quatuor milia trescentas triginta et tres libras, sex solidos et octo denarios, super custodia prædicta, ad terminos prædictos, assignari et liberari faciatis, in forma prædicta: dictas duas litteras de summis quas eisdem mercatoribus sic assignari et liberari feceritis indorsantes, et easdem litteras, factis plenarie assignatione et solutione dictorum quatuor milium trescentarum triginta et trium librarum, sex solidorum et octo denariorum, ad terminos prædictos, in forma prædicta, ab eisdem mercatoribus recipientes. T. R. apud Westm. primo die Junii.

CCVI.

26 Edw. III. m. 3.—*Pro mercatoribus de Janua.*—Rex, etc. Cum teneamur Bartholomeo de Cauvilla, Vincentio de Flisco et Johanni Nouel, mercatoribus de Janua, in duobus milibus et quadringentis marcis, quas, pro quibusdam negotiis nostris inde expeditis, de præcepto nostro solverunt, et nos, volentes dictis mercatoribus de summa prædicta satisfieri, prout decet, decimo die Februarii proximo præterito, concesserimus dictis mercatoribus quod ipsi centum saccos lanæ, in portu Londoniæ seu alibi, prout sibi placuerit, carcare, et lanam illam ad partes Flandriæ, ad stapulam nostram ibidem, absque custodia seu subsidio nobis inde solvendis, traducere valeant, in recompensationem trescentarum et sexaginta et quindecim marcarum de summa antedicta; et residuum summæ illius eisdem mercatoribus vel eorum alicui, videlicet, sexcentas marcas inde in festo Paschæ tunc proximo futuro, et sexcentas marcas in festo S. Michaelis proximo sequente, et quadringentas et viginti et quinque marcas in festo Natalis Domini proximo sequente, et quadringentas marcas in festo S. Michaelis proximo sequente, solvere promiserimus; prout in litteris nostris patentibus inde confectis plenius continetur; Vobis mandamus quod eisdem mercatoribus sexcentas marcas, de termino S. Michaelis proximo præterito, solvatis, juxta tenorem litterarum nostrarum prædictarum. T. R. apud Westm. xx die Octobris.

CCVII.

44 Edw. III. m. 2.—*Pro Gerardo Walteri, de denariis solvendis.*—Rex, etc. Mandamus vobis quod, receptis penes vos litteris nostris patentibus, per quas tenemur solvere

Gerardo Walteri de Bardes de Florentia quadringentas et quadraginta et duas libras, octo solidos, duos denarios et unum obolum, et eisdem litteris in recepta scaccarii nostri cancellatis et dampnatis, eidem Gerardo, vel attornatis suis, dictos quadringentas et quadraginta et duas libras, octo solidos, duos denarios et unum obolum, de thesauro nostro solvatis. T. R. apud Westm. xv die Decembris.

CCVIII.

44 Edw. III. m. 2.—*Pro Guio de Gieri, de denariis solvendis.*—Rex, etc. Mandamus vobis quod, receptis penes vos litteris nostris patentibus, per quasolvere tenemur Guio de Gieri Makianello trescentas et viginti et octo libras, duos solidos et septem denarios, et eisdem litteris in recepta scaccarii nostri cancellatis et dampnatis, eidem Guio, vel attornatis suis, dictos trescentas et viginti et octo libras, duos solidos et septem denarios, de thesauro nostro solvatis. T. ut supra.

CCIX.

44 Edw. III. m. 1.—Rex, etc. Mandamus vobis quod, receptis penes vos litteris nostris patentibus, per quas tenemur Alexandro Bartholi de Bardes et Bartholomeo domini Radulphi de Bardes in nongentis viginti et quatuor libris, undecim solidis et decem denariis, nuper, ex mutuo, a præfatis Alexandro et Bartholomeo ad opus Regis receptis, et eisdem litteris in recepta scaccarii nostri, pro exoneratione nostra, cancellatis, præfatis Alexandro et Bartholomeo, vel attornatis suis, dictos nongentas viginti et quatuor libras, undecim solidos et decem denarios, de thesauro nostro solvatis, juxta tenorem litterarumstrarum prædictarum. T. R. apud Westm. xx die Augusti.

CCX.

44 Edw. III. m. 1.—Rex, etc. Mandamus vobis quod, receptis penes vos litteris nostris patentibus, per quas tenemur Ascelino Simonetti, mercatori de Luka, in ducentis marcis, nuper, ex mutuo, a præfato Ascelino ad opus Regis receptis, et eisdem litteris in recepta scaccarii nostri, pro exoneratione nostra, cancellatis, præfato Ascelino, vel attornatis suis, dictas ducentas marcas de thesauro nostro solvatis. T. ut supra.

CCXI.

44 Edw. III. m. 1.—Rex, etc. Mandamus vobis quod, receptis penes vos litteris nostris patentibus, per quas tenemur Jacobo Busdrag' et sociis suis, mercatoribus de Luka, in mille ducentis et sexdecim libris, ex mutuo, a præfatis Jacobo et sociis ad opus Regis receptis, et eisdem litteris in recepta scaccarii nostri, pro exoneratione nostra, cancellatis, præfatis Jacobo et sociis suis, vel attornatis suis, dictas mille ducentas et sexdecim libras de thesauro nostro solvatis, juxta tenorem litterarumstrarum prædictarum. T. ut supra.

XII. *On Anglo-Saxon Runes.* By JOHN M. KEMBLE, *Esq.*

THE particular object of the following remarks are the Runes of the Anglo-Saxons, whether as to their use in inscriptions, or the manner in which they are introduced into manuscripts. I shall therefore have but little to say of the Scandinavian or old Norse characters of the same description, unless by way of illustrating the indigenous alphabet: and indeed these require less attention from us, inasmuch as they have been profoundly and successfully studied by those who had the most right to take an interest in them, the antiquaries of Scandinavia and Iceland.

The characters of the Norwegians, Swedes, Danes and Icelanders are not less distinct from those of the Goths, High and Low Germans, and Anglo-Saxons, than the languages of the several nations which they represented. Unquestionably both the alphabets and the languages are, in the widest philosophical generalization, identical: but exclusive knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon or German Runes would as little enable us to decypher Old Norse inscriptions, as exclusive knowledge of the language of the Edda would enable us to read the Old German Krist, the Old Saxon Hêljand, or the Anglo-Saxon Beôwulf:

“Facies non omnibus una,

Nec diversa tamen; qualis decet esse sororum.”

These preliminary remarks will not be without service in assisting to explain why my interpretations of certain Anglo-Saxon Runic monuments differ *toto cœlo* from those of the learned Danes, who have been so obliging as to attempt to decypher them for us; and to save them this trouble in future, is partly the intention of this paper; especially as there seems to have been a sort of tacit understanding in this country, that the labour and the honour might just as well be left to them; in the propriety of which view it is difficult to concur.

Much has been written on the Norse Runes, and of this, very much successfully. The German Runes have been far less fortunate. The only treatises which have fallen under my observation are,—first, a little book published in 1821, under the title *Ueber Deutsche Runen*, by Wilhelm Carl Grimm, brother and fellow-labourer of James Grimm, the greatest philologist of modern times, and, like James Grimm, now an exile, and martyr to the love of constitutional liberty and respect for the sanctity of an oath. Secondly, an article by the same author in the *Wiener Jahrbücher der Literatur*, No. XLIII. containing additions to his former book. As far as these works go, they are no doubt excellent; and were they accessible to all of our countrymen who take an interest in the subject, it would be almost unnecessary to pursue the question further: but as German is as yet by no means so generally understood as it must be by all who pretend to any successful investigation of our national antiquities, I shall take the opportunity at once of stating some of William Grimm's results, and of furnishing him with new matter for a second edition of his book.

When we speak of Runes we intend a certain alphabet or set of alphabets: but in this we attach a very confined and merely conventional signification to the word *Rûn*, which it did not properly bear among the nations whose letters we denote by it. Its original meaning is strictly that of *mysterium*, a *secret*: hence the privy counsellor of a prince is called his *rûn-wita*, *e secretis*, his secretary, the person who knows his secrets (*Beôwulf*, l. 2650). And so the verb *rûnan*, which is derived directly from it, means, *to whisper*, *to tell secrets*, a sense which we still retain under the corrupt form *to round* in one's ear. So also *Rûna* denotes a whisperer; but in its far earlier and truer use, a magician, one who knows or practises secret arts, in which sense it is found in the compound word *hel-rûna*, *Beôw.* l. 324, (Old Germ. *helli-rûno*; and similarly Old Germ. *helli-rûna*, *ars magica*. *Docen.* 218, b. *Glossæ Florentinæ*, 982, b.), in the *Aliorunæ* of *Jornanthes*, and the *Alraun* of modern German superstition.

At what period the German tribes first possessed letters of the alphabet, whether invented by themselves or derived from some other race, in times of which history is silent, it would perhaps be hopeless, and now would certainly be useless to inquire. It is enough for my purpose that they had

them, when those tribes first came under the notice of the Romans. Some evidence of this will be adduced below: for the present it will be enough to call attention to a passage of Tacitus, principally for the purpose of explaining it. Speaking of the priestesses or prophetesses of the Germans, he says; “Sed et olim *Auriniam* et complures alias venerati sunt, non adulatione, nec tanquam facerent deas.” (Germ. VIII.) Now this word *Aurinia*, which Tacitus naturally took to be the proper name of a woman, and which has always been so construed, is in fact no more than the general appellative of a prophetess or sorceress, in short *Alrynia*; according to the passage already alluded to in Jornanthes, who relates that Filimer expelled from his kingdom, “quasdam magas mulieres, quas patrio sermone Aliorunnas cognominant.” (Vide J. Grimm, Deut. Myth. p. 227.) In confirmation of which it may be added, that Vēda, the name of Civilis’s high-hearted associate, may also be only a general appellative, closely connected etymologically with the old Norse Vǫlu (Völu), a prophetess. But if in the time of Tacitus, the general or even particular name *Alrynia* was found, it is sufficient evidence of the existence of that from which the word was derived, namely, Rûn, both the thing itself and its especial use for magical purposes.

But still, at this period, and till far later times, the knowledge of the letters and their powers was confined to certain classes only of the people. History and tradition assure us that they were known to that family which furnished the Teutonic tribes with priests and kings, and to both old and young among the women—the sacred sex. Yet to many even of these, and to all but these, they were in themselves mysterious and awful symbols: and hence the name given to them, viz. Rûn-stafas, *mysterious staves*, (Beôw. l. 3388) answering to the later Bôcstafas, or Latin characters, the modern German Buchstaben.

In times when there was neither pen, ink, nor parchment, the bark of trees and smooth surfaces of wood or soft stone were the usual depositories of these symbols: hence the word Writan, now *to write*, but whose primary signification was to *cut* or *carve* (Beôw. l. 5406). As Brynolf Svenonius remarks, “Runas incidere lignis, pro effectus varietate, variis et aliis generibus rerum, solens erat. Lignum porro hoc κεχαραγμενον, breviculum et

exiguum ferè, *Runakeffle* dicunt, quasi Claviculum Runicum dicas, et *Rista Runer*, incidere Runas, propriè, vel ut Saxo, insculpere; non scribere, aut pingere, dixeris." (in Stephanius, *Notæ Uberior. in Saxon. Grammatic.* p. 46.) Hence also *Stafas*, the smooth sticks on which they were cut; and hence even the word *Bôc*, *book*, which recalls the beechen tablets in which they were inscribed.

The earliest runes, then, were cut in surfaces of stone and wood. The former case would comprise inscriptions on rocks, gravestones and weapons: the latter would be confined to the wooden tablets or sticks used in casting lots and divination.

The concurrent testimony of tradition and the evidence of actual fact, assure us that throughout Europe short inscriptions were in use commemorative of great public events, or of distinguished individuals. One or two of these will occupy our attention presently, being yet extant in Anglo-Saxon Runes: while the immense number of *Bautasteinar* and other sculptured monuments in Scandinavia renders any further notice of them unnecessary. That weapons of stone and even of metal were marked with Runes in Scandinavia, is also certain: and the sword of stone with which Beôwulf slew the Grendel's mother, is described to have been furnished with them (l. 3388). Its hilt was marked with Runestaves, declaring "by whom it had first been fashioned in the olden time, when the proud giants perished." Brynhildr teaches Sigurdr to cut the Sigrunar on the hilt of his sword.

" Sigrúnar þu skalt kunna
ef þú vilt sigr hafa
ok rista á hialti hiörs.
Sumar á vetrimom
sumar á valbavstom
ok nefna tvisvar Ty'r."—(Brynhild, *Quid.* I. 6.) Vide

also, *För Skyrnis*, 32 and 36.

The use of lots in divination, by the Germans, is known to us from several passages, forming a chain of evidence from the earliest down to the latest periods. Some of these may be cursorily mentioned here.

" Quum ex captivis quæreret Cæsar, quamobrem Ariovistus prælio non decertaret, hanc reperiēbat causam; quod apud Germanos ea consuetudo

esset, ut matres familiæ eorum sortibus et divinationibus declararent, utrum prælium committi ex usu esset, nec ne." (De Bello Gallico, I. 50.)

Again,

"Is se præsentē, de se ter sortibus consultum dicebat, utrum igni statim necaretur, an in aliud tempus reservaretur: sortium beneficio se esse incolumem." (De Bell. Gall. I. 53.)

So much for the Germans when they first burst upon the Roman empire. In the eighth century we find the same custom prevailing upon the remote shores of Friesland. Alcuin, in his *Life of Willibrord*, who died in 739, after relating how the saint and his companions defiled the sacred wells, and slew the sacred cattle of the god Fosite, continues:

"Quod pagani intuentes arbitrabantur, eos vel in furorem verti, vel etiam veloci morte perire; quos cum nil mali cernebant pati, stupore perterriti regi tamen Râdbodo quod viderant factum retulerunt. Qui nimio furore succensus, in sacerdotem dei vivi suorum injurias deorum ulcisci cogitabat, et per tres dies semper tribus vicibus sortes suo more mittebat, et numquam damnatorum sors, deo vero defendente suos, super servum dei aut aliquem ex suis cadere potuit; nec nisi unus tantum ex sociis, sorte monstratus, martyrio coronatus est."

It is very clear from the circumstances that, in no one of these cases, a mere casting of lots is intended: they were obviously auguries or divinations. And such unquestionably were the following, although Beda does not expressly say so: speaking of the old Saxons, or Saxons of the Continent, he observes—

"Non enim habent regem iidem antiqui Saxones, sed satrapas plurimos suæ genti præpositos; qui, ingruente belli articulo, mittunt æqualiter sortes, et quemcumque sors ostenderit, hunc tempore belli ducem omnes sequuntur, huic obtemperant: peracto autem bello, rursum æqualis potentiæ omnes fiunt satrapæ."—(Hist. Eccl. v. ch. 10.)

The legend of Saint Andrew, in the *Vercelli Codex*, describes a similar casting of lots, with the very important notice that it was done in the presence of the heathen gods:

“ þá wæs callgeador
 tô þâm þingstede
 þeôð gesamnôð.
 Leton him þa betweonum
 tân^a wîsian,
 hwylcne hyra ârest
 ôðrum sceôlde,
 tô fôddurþege,
 feores ongyldan.
 Hlutan hellcræftum
 hâðen-gyldum,
 teledon betwinum.
 Ða se tân gehwearp
 efne ofer ânne
 ealdgesîða,
 se wæs uðweota
 corla dûguðe,
 heriges on ore.
 Hraðe syððan wearð
 fetorwræsnûm fæst
 feores orwêna.

Then was altogether
 in the public place
 the people collected.
 They let among them
 the twig decide,
 which of them first
 unto the others should,
 for a supply of food,
 his life give up.
 They cast lots with hellish craft
 before the heathen gods,
 they reckoned among themselves.
 Then went the twig
 even over one
 of the old comrades,
 who was a councillor
 to the power of the warriors,
 a leader in the host.
 Quickly was he then
 fast in fetters
 despairing of life.

A still later authority gives us additional information. Lazamon tells us, that, when Brutus's mother was found to be with child, lots were cast to discover what fortune was reserved for him :

“ Vnder;etene weren þe þinges
 þat þeo wimon was mid childe.
 þa sende Ascanius,
 þe was lauerd and dux,
 after heom 3end þat lond
 þe cupen dweomerlakes song.
 Witen he wolde

^a So, Old Norse Tein.

þurh þa wipercraftes
 wat þing hit were
 þat þeo wimon hefde on wombe.
 Heo wrpen heore leoten,
 þe scucke wes bitweonan;
 heo funden on þen crefte
 carefule leoðes,
 þet þeo wimon was mid ane sune,
 þat wes a selcuð bearn.

 þo leoten weren iworpen,
 and swa hit al iwearð.

That spells and magical chants, (*carmina diabolica*, þe scucke wes bi-tweonan) accompanied the ceremony of casting lots, whether in the time of Ariovistus or of Râdbod, there can be no question. In short, so undoubtedly magical is the whole process, that the Old German dialect has the one word *hlozzari*, a caster of lots, only in the sense of a magician. As an illustration of the “dweomerlakes song” in the last cited passage, and as a proper introduction to the next part of my argument, I must call attention to a passage in Saxo Grammaticus. Speaking of Hardgrepa, he says,—“Quo comite susceptum iter ingressa, penatibus forte pernoctatura succedit, quorum defuncti hospitis funus mæstis ducebatur exequiis. Ubi magicæ speculationis officio superum mentem rimari cupiens, diris admodum carminibus ligno insculptis, iisdemque lingua defuncti per Haddingum suppositis, hac voce eum horrendum auribus carmen edere coegit.”—(P. 11, Ed. Stephani.)

On this the excellent Bishop Brynolf Svenonius, whom I have already cited, observes, “Nullus dubito quin Runas Saxo intellectas velit.” In this I agree entirely; for unquestionably, in this case, as in that of the casting of lots, the tablets were invariably inscribed with Runes, from whose power the result of the ceremony depended. This is not denied, as far as the Scandinavians are concerned; it is therefore now only necessary to show that it is true of the German tribes also. Hrabanus Maurus, writing at the beginning of the ninth century, says (Ed. Colon. 1626, ii. 334):—

“Litteras quippe quas utuntur Marcomanni, quos nos Nordmannos vocamus, infra scriptas habemus ; a quibus originem qui Theodiscam loquuntur linguam trahunt : cum quibus carmina sua, incantationesque ac divinationes significare procurant, qui adhuc paganis ritibus involvuntur.”

He then gives his Marcomannic or Norman Runic Alphabet. The Cotton MS. Tib. D. xviii. furnishes another copy of them, with slight variations in the forms and names of the Runes ; and with the following observation :—

“Hæc etenim literarum figuræ in gente Nortmannorum feruntur primitus inventæ, quibus ob carminum eorum memoriam et incantationum uti adhuc dicuntur : quibus et Rûnstafas nomen imposuerunt ; ob id, ut reor, quod hiis res absconditas vicissim scriptitando aperiebant.”^b

Who then are these Marcomanni or Nordmanni ? The inhabitants of Holstein, Stormaria and Ditmarsh, the Nordalbingii or Saxons north of the Elbe, and the progenitors of our own Anglosaxon population. This will appear from a few passages taken at random from ancient German chronicles :—

“Nortliudi trans Albim sedentes.”—(Ann. Laurish. A. D. 796.) where the *Annales Einhardi* call them *Saxones Transalbiani*.”—(Pertz. i. 184-5-6.)

“Inde iter agens partibus Albiæ, in ipso itinere omnes Bargengauenses et multi de Nordliudis baptizati sunt.”—(Ann. Tiliens. A. D. 780. Pertz. i. 221.)

“Ad recipiendos qui de Nortliudis venerant Saxones.”—(Ann. Tiliens. A. D. 799. Pertz. i. 221.) “Quosdam Saxones de Nordliudis recipiendos.”—(Ann. Einhard. A. D. 799. Pertz. i. 186.)

“Gens quædam Aquilonaris, quam plerique Nordalbincoſ, alii usitatius Normannos vocant.”—(Fulcuin. De Gest. Abbat. Lobienſ. cap. xvi. in Achery Spicileg. 735.)

“Fuerunt parentes mandato ejus plebes Holzatorum, Sturmariorum, et Marcomannorum. Vocantur autem usitato more Marcomanni gentes undecumque collectæ quæ Marcam incolunt.”—(Helmold. Chron. Slav. in Leibnitz. Script. Rer. Brunsw. ii. 593.)

^b It is an interesting coincidence that in Welsh the Alphabet was called “The lot of the Bards,” *Coelbren y Beirdd*.

“ Saxonum populus quidam quos claudit ab Austro
Albia seiunctim positos aquilonis ad axem :
Hos Northalbingos patrio sermone vocamus.” —

(Poema de Gest. Caroli Magni, A. D. 798. Hist. Franc. Script. ii. 160.
Ed. Paris, 1636.)

These Marcomannic Runes I shall hereafter show do resemble the Anglo-Saxon, and do not resemble the Norse Runes, very closely. We have, therefore, evidence not only that the Germans attributed to these letters the powers which the Scandinavians believed them to possess, but that, of the Germans, the immediate progenitors of the Anglo-Saxons did so. A further point of coincidence in the belief of the two races lies in this; that both attributed the invention of the Runes to Odinn or Wôden. In the Icelandic Runa Capitul, Odinn says, “ Nam ek up Runar ’ (I invented Runes).^c In the prose Anglo-Saxon dialogue of Salomon and Saturn, and also in that of Adrian and Ritheus, the question is asked, “ Saga me, hwâ wrât bôcstafas ârest ?” (Tell me, who first wrote letters :) To which the answer is, “ Ic ðe secge, Mercurius se gigant,” (I tell thee, Mercurius the giant :) in other words, and according to the *interpretatio Romana*, Wôden the God : for Wôden is Mercurius, as it is plainly stated by Paulus Diaconus (i. 9.) “ Wodan sanè, quem adjecta litera Gwodan dixerunt, ipse est qui apud Romanos Mercurius dicitur, et ab universis Germaniæ gentibus ut deus adoratur.” And again by the still earlier Jonas of Bobbio, who writes : “ Illi aiunt, deo suo Wodano, quem Mercurium vocant alii, se velle litare.” Hence also it is that “ dies Mercurii” is Wôdnesdæg, and that Cæsar could say, Mercury was the principal God of the Teutons.

I have shown that the German Saxons shared with the Northmen, or Scandinavians, the belief in the magical properties of Runes. But even till a late period the same thing may be said of the Anglo-Saxons : Christianity, though it laboured successfully to destroy these superstitions, and so successfully as to make it difficult for us to say to what extent they had prevailed, has yet not been able to eradicate all traces of their former existence. Beda, relating the adventures of a Saxon nobleman, made prisoner in the battle

^c See also the following stanzas of the Runa Capitul, and particularly the Brynhild. Quid. I. 13.

between Ecgfrith of Northumberland and Aethilred of Mercia, A. D. 679, and whose bonds fell off whenever his brother, who supposed him dead, celebrated mass for his soul,—adds that his captor believed the miracle to be caused by his having magical Runes: “Interea comes qui eum tenebat, mirari et interrogare cœpit quare ligari non posset; an forte *literas solutorias*, de qualibus fabulæ ferunt, apud se haberet, propter quas ligari non posset.” (Hist. Eccl. iv. 22.) The Saxon translation renders *Literas solutorias*, by *âlÿsendlîce Rûne*.^d Again, in *Beôwulf*, a person commencing a flyting, which was likely to produce a quarrel, is said to “unbind the Rune of war,” *onband beadurûne*, (l. 996.) In the poetical dialogue of Salomon and Saturn, a very interesting passage occurs, which retains the feeling of the old superstition, although the word *rûn* is not found in it. According to the habitual practice of Christian times, the old heathen beliefs and usages have sunk down into diabolical illusions—mere results of the agency of the devil: among other things it is said of the fiends,—

| | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| “ Hwîlum hîe gefeterað | By whiles they fetter |
| fêges monnes honda, | the hands of the doomed, (fey) |
| gehefegað ðonne he | they make them heavy when he |
| æt hilde sceall | ought in war |
| wið lâðwerud | against the hostile troop |
| lifes tiligan : | to provide for his life : |
| awritað hîe on his wæpne | they write upon his weapon |
| wælnota heâp, | a crowd of fatal notes, |
| bealwe bôcstafas : | deadly letters : |
| bill forscrîfað, | they wear out the bill, |
| meces mârðo.” | the glory of the sword. ^e |

We can now understand why the Runes, which were the invention of Wôden, the secret character of the priests and prophetesses, the means of pagan augury, and the necessary adjuncts to the *Carmina diabolica* of the heathen, were proscribed by the Christian priesthood in every part of Europe ;

^d So Odinn says in the *Runa Capitul*,—“That kann ek fiorda, ef mer fyrdar bera baynd at boglimom. Sva ek gel at ek ganga ma, sprettr mer af fotumm fiôturr, en af hayndum hapt.”

^e So Odinn says in the *Runa Capitul*,—“Eggjar ek deyi minna Andskota bitaþ þeim vapn ne velir.”

and why these laboured with an energy apparently disproportioned to the necessity of the case, to introduce the Greek or Latin characters, together with, and almost as a part of, Christianity. The Runes, in this view, are the indigenous Pagan alphabet, as contrasted with the Greek characters introduced by Ulfilas among the Goths, and called Mæsogothic; the Latin characters introduced, probably by Augustine, into England, and called Anglo-Saxon: misnomers which, in spite of the doctrine and practice of the best scholars at home and abroad, still throw difficulties in the way of publishing our ancient monuments, by keeping up a respect for the barbarous mediæval forms of Greek and Roman letters, and saddling both editors and readers with a trouble and an expense not compensated for by any corresponding advantage.

The hostility of the Christian Missionaries to the Runes, if it requires any corroboration, may be proved by the assertion of the learned Bishop, before cited; Svenonius says,—

“Videlicet maximè a Christianis est laboratum, ut scripta et monumenta vetustatis gentilis penitus obruerentur, æterna oblivionis humo sepulta. Quia videlicet persuasum erat, quamdiu vestigium cultus et characterum antiquiorum, hominum animis obversaret, negotium conversionis non satis procedere, hominibus ad pristinas præstigias pronis et facilibus. Ideoque, ne obstrueret veritatis luminibus potestas tenebrarum, nec tamen ferret rude vulgus subtiliorem, quàm pro suo captu, usus ab abusu distinctionem, et accederet zelus verbi ministrorum pontificiis consuetus, et cupido Romanam ecclesiam omnibus modis propagandi, literas Romanas, ut sanctiores, Normannicis, tanquam gentili superstitione pollutis, commutare consilium visum est. De quo facto meum iudicium non requiri ut certò scio, ita libenter contineo.”—(Stephanus, Not. Uber. p. 46.)

The authority of two such estimable prelates as our author and Esaias Tegner will excuse a layman for lamenting that the ancient faith of our forefathers had not fairer play. But this hostility being once admitted, how are we to account for the undeniable fact, that at the very earliest period these characters were used in England for Christian inscriptions? It seems to me that the only way of solving this intricate problem, is to assume, that the earliest converts were the priests themselves; which fact, astounding as it is,

is rendered probable by positive evidence. If this were the case, they who knew what the Runes really were, might have the less scruple in using them, with or without the Roman characters. And, as nearly every inscription we have must be referred to Northumberland, we find this the more intelligible, when we bear in mind, that before the close of the eighth century Northumberland was more advanced in civilisation than any other portion of Teutonic Europe.

With these general and very cursory remarks upon Runes in general, I proceed to the immediate business of this paper, viz. the Anglo-Saxon Runic alphabets and inscriptions. I have said that the Marcomannic Runes mentioned by Hrabanus Maurus were in fact identical with those of the Anglo-Saxons. This will readily appear from a comparison of the characters themselves; for which purpose I have given the alphabets from Hrabanus, and the Cotton MS. Tib. D. XVIII. (Plate XV. figs. 1 and 2.) Other copies of this alphabet, some distinguished by important variations, may be seen in Hickes. *Thes. Gram. Isl. Tab. I. et II. 5. 12.* Wormius de *Lit. Runic. p. 46. 49.* Goldast. *Antiq. Aleman. Tom. II. pt. i.* Lazius de *Migrat. Gent. p. 645.* Trithemius *Polygraph. Lib. VI. p. 594.* Purchas, *Perigrin. I. cap. xvii. p. 183*: and lastly, in Wilhelm Grimm's Book on German Runes.

In order to point out clearly the relation which the Marcomannic Runes bear to our own, I proceed to give copies of two or three alphabets, which, to the best of my knowledge, have never been published in this country; and some of which I have myself copied from the MSS. on the Continent; premising that Anglo-Saxon Runic alphabets, of very different degrees of accuracy, are to be found in Hickes, *Thes. Gram. Island. Tab. II. 2, 3, 6, 8, 9, 10.* *Gram. Anglo-Sax. Thes. p. 136.*

No. 1. (Pl. XV. fig. 3.) is from a MS. of Isidor, at Brussels, No. 155: it is printed for the first time in Archivarius Mone's *Quellen und Forschungen.*

No. 2. (Pl. XV. fig. 4.) from a MS. in the Conventual Library of St. Gallen. No. 270. fol. 52.

No. 3. (Pl. XV. fig. 5.) from the same MS. and page.

No. 4. (Pl. XV. fig. 6.) from a MS. at Munich; printed by W. C. Grimm, in the *Wiener Jahrbücher, &c. XLIII.*

Fig. 1.

asc. birith. chen. thorn. ech. feth. gibn. haynt. is. gile. lagu. man. not. othil. perc. chon. rehir.
 a **A**. b **B**. c **C**. d **D**. e **E**. f **F**. g **G**. h **H**. i **I**. k **K**. l **L**. m **M**. n **N**. o **O**. p **P**. q **Q**. r **R**.
 sigil. lac. hur. halach. hugri. zuu.
 s **S**. t **T**. u **U**. x **X**. y **Y**. z **Z**.

Fig. 2.

asc. bira. cen. drom. ech. feth. gibn. haynt. is. kalk. lagu. man. not. ottil. perc. q'ou rehr. t.
 a **A**. b **B**. c **C**. d **D**. e **E**. f **F**. g **G**. h **H**. i **I**. k **K**. l **L**. m **M**. n **N**. o **O**. p **P**. q **Q**. r **R**.
 sigil. lac. ur. xelach. yn. zuu.
 s **S**. t **T**. u **U**. x **X**. y **Y**. z **Z**.

Fig. 3.

feth. ur. thorn. os. raä. ken. geuo. uung. hagat. not. is. ian. hio. per. ilix. sigil. ti. berc. hec. man. lag. hinc.
 f **F**. u **U**. th **T**. o **O**. r **R**. c **C**. g **G**. u u **U**. h **H**. n **N**. i **I**. ger **G**. th **T**. p **P**. il **I**. s **S**. t **T**. b **B**. e **E**. m **M**. l **L**. in **I**.
 dag. othil. as. e.
 H **H**. X **X**. F **F**. I **I**. J **J**. T **T**. K **K**. G **G**.

Fig. 4.

feth. ur. dorn. eos. rat. cen. gebo. hurin. hagat. nod. iis. ger. ih. perd. elix. sigi. ti. berg. ch. man.
 f **F**. u **U**. th **T**. o **O**. r **R**. c **C**. g **G**. u u **U**. h **H**. n **N**. i **I**. ger **G**. th **T**. p **P**. il **I**. s **S**. t **T**. b **B**. e **E**. m **M**. l **L**. in **I**.
 dag. inc. dag. ottil. ac. asc. yur. der.
 H **H**. X **X**. F **F**. I **I**. J **J**. T **T**. K **K**. G **G**.

Fig. 5.

a a b c d d e f g g h i k l m n o e p p q r s t t u x z
 f **F**. u **U**. th **T**. o **O**. r **R**. c **C**. g **G**. u u **U**. h **H**. n **N**. i **I**. ger **G**. th **T**. p **P**. il **I**. s **S**. t **T**. b **B**. e **E**. m **M**. l **L**. in **I**.

Fig. 6.

ag. ur. beric. cen. dai. ch. feth. geuo. heih. is. ker. lago. man. nat. os. perd. cen. rat. sil.
 f **F**. u **U**. th **T**. o **O**. r **R**. c **C**. g **G**. u u **U**. h **H**. n **N**. i **I**. ger **G**. th **T**. p **P**. il **I**. s **S**. t **T**. b **B**. e **E**. m **M**. l **L**. in **I**.
 tir. ur. elcd. uyr.
 t **T**. n **N**. x **X**. a **A**. z **Z**.

Fig. 7.

feth. ur. dorn. eos. rat. cen. geuo. heih. is. ker. lago. man. nat. os. perd. cen. rat. sil.
 f **F**. u **U**. th **T**. o **O**. r **R**. c **C**. g **G**. u u **U**. h **H**. n **N**. i **I**. ger **G**. th **T**. p **P**. il **I**. s **S**. t **T**. b **B**. e **E**. m **M**. l **L**. in **I**.
 dag. inc. dag. ottil. ac. asc. yur. der.
 H **H**. X **X**. F **F**. I **I**. J **J**. T **T**. K **K**. G **G**.
 ac. ea. y
 f **F**. a **A**. e **E**. i **I**. o **O**. u **U**.

No. 5. (Pl. XV. fig. 7.) from a MS. at Vienna. Salisb. No. 140, (formerly No. 71,) printed in the same periodical.

No. 6. (Pl. XVI. fig. 8.) from a MS. at St. Gallen, No. 878, f. 321 ; printed in W. C. Grimm, Ueber Deutsche Runen. Tab. II.

No. 7. (Pl. XVI. fig. 9.) from a MS. of Isidor at Paris ; from the same work.

No. 8. (Pl. XVI. fig. 10.) from a MS. in the Harl. Collect. No. 3017.

These will supply us with sufficient materials for any investigation in which Anglo-Saxon Runes only can possibly be concerned. The most instructive, however, of all the documents we possess on the subject, is the poem printed by Hickes, Thes. Gram. Anglo-Sax. p. 135, from a MS. now unhappily lost. As I know of no English translation of this, and William Grimm's version is inaccurate in one or two points, I shall give one of my own. It is to be observed, that the first word of every stanza is represented by the Rune of which the word itself was the name. These, for convenience sake, I have omitted in the text, where they stand one under another ; and have had them lithographed, one after another, in No. 9. (Pl. XVI. fig. 11.) The only changes I have made in the text, are one or two grammatical corrections, as *um* for *un*, &c.—

“ FEOR byð frôfur
fira gehwylcum ;
sceal ðeâh manna gehwylc
miclum hit dêlan,
gif he wile for Drihtne
dômes hleôtan.

Money is a consolation
to every man ;
yet shall every man
liberally distribute it,
if he will that, before God,
honour shall fall to his lot.

“ UR byð ânmod
and oferhyned,
felafrecne deôr
feohteð mid hornum,
mâre môrstapa :
ðæt is môdig wuht.

Bull is fierce
and horned above,
the very bold beast
fighteth with horns,
a mighty stepper over the moors :
that is a courageous creature.

“ ÐORN byð pearle scearp
þegna gehwylcum,

Thorn is very sharp
to every man,

anfengys yfel,
ungemetum rêðe
manna gehwylcum
ðe mid him resteð.

bad to take hold of,
immeasurably severe
to every man
that resteth with him.

“ OS byð odfruma
ælcere spræce,
wisdômes wraðu,
und witena frôfur,
and eorla gehwâm
eâdnys and tôhyht.

Mouth is the origin
of every speech,
the support of wisdom,
and comfort of councillors,
and to every man
blessing and confidence.

“ RAD byð on recyde
rinca gehwylcum
sêfte and swiðhwæt,
ðâm ðe sitteð on úfan
meare mægenheardum
ofer milpaðas.

Saddle is in the house
to every man
soft and very bold,
for him that sitteth upon
the very strong horse,
over the mile-paths.

“ CEN byð cwicera gehwâm
cûð on fýre,
blâc and beorhtlic
byrneð oftust,
ðær hî æðelingas
inne restað.

Torch is to all living
well known on fire,
pale and bright
it oftenest burneth,
where the nobles
rest them within.

“ GIFU gumena byð
gleng and herenys,
wraðu and weorðscype,
and wræcna gehwâm
âr and ætwist
ðe byð ôðra leâs.

Gift is of men
glory and exaltation,
support and honour,
and to every one
honour and sustenance,
that hath no other.

“ WEN ne brûceð
ðe can weana lyt,
sâres and sorge

Hope he needeth not
that hath but little want,
soreness and sorrow,

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>and him sylfa hæfð blæd and blýsse and eac byrga geniht.</p> | <p>and hath himself increase and bliss and also the enjoyment of borrows.</p> |
| <p>“ HÆGL byð hwītust corna, hwyrft hit of heofones lyfte, wealcað hit windes scuras, weorðeð hit tô wætere syððan.</p> | <p>Hail is whitest of grains, it sweepeth from the lift of heaven. the showers of the wind whirl it about, afterwards it turneth to water.</p> |
| <p>“ NYÐ byð nearu on breôste nīða bearnum, weorðeð heô ðealh oft tô helpe and tô hæle gehwæðre gif hī his hlystað æror.</p> | <p>Need is narrow in the breast for the sons of men, yet doth it become often a help and safety for any one if they the sooner attend to it.</p> |
| <p>“ Is byð oferceald, ungemetum slidor ; glisnað glæshluttur gimmum gelīcūst, flōr forste geworuht, fæger ansýne.</p> | <p>Ice is over-cold, immeasurably slippery ; glittereth bright as glass liketh unto gems, the plain wrought with frost fair to behold.</p> |
| <p>“ GER byð gumena hiht, ðonne God læteð, hālig heofones cyning, hrūsan syllan beorhte blæda beornum and þearfum.</p> | <p>Year is the hope of men, when God letteth, the holy king of heaven, the earth give her bright increase to rich and poor.</p> |
| <p>“ EOH bið ūtan unsmēðe treôw, heard, hrusan fæst, hyrde fýres, wyrtrumum underwreððyd, wyn on êðle.</p> | <p>Yew is outwardly an unsmooth tree, hard, fast in the earth, the shepherd of fire, twisted beneath with roots, a pleasure on the land.</p> |

“ PEORÐ byð symble
plega and hlehter
wlancum, ðær
wîgan sittað
on beôrsele
blîðe æt somne.

Chessman is ever
play and laughter
to the proud, where
warriors sit
in the beer-hall
blithe together.

“ EOLHX secg eardað
oftust on fenne,
weaxeð on wætere,
wundað grimme,
blôde breneð
beorna gehwylcne
ðe him ænigne
onfeng gedêð.

Sedge hath dwelling
oftest in the fen,
waxeth in water,
grimly woundeth,
burneth in the blood,
every man
that any way
toucheth it.

“ SIGEL sâmannum
symble byð on hihte,
ðonne hî hine feriað
ofer fises bæð,
oð hî brimhengest
bringeð tô lande.

Sail to seamen
is always confidence,
when they bear it
over the fishes bath,
till them the sea-horse
bringeth to land.

“ TIR byð tâcna sum ;
healdað trywa wel
wið æðelingas :
â byð on færylde
ofer nihta genipu :
næfre swîceð.

Tir is a token ;
it holdeth confidence well
with nobles :
ever is it moving
over the darkness of night :
never it resteth.

“ BEORC byð blæda leâs ;
bereð efne swâ ðeâh
tânas bûtan tuddre :
byð on telgum wlitig ;
byð ðeâh on helme
hyrsted fægere,

Birch is fruitless ;
nevertheless it beareth
twigs without increase ;
it is beautiful in its branches
still it is at top
fairly adorned,

geloden leáfum,
lyfte getenge.

laden with leaves,
heavy in the air.

“ EH byð for eorlum
æðelinga wyn,
hors hôfum wlanc
ðær him hæleðas ymb
welege on wicgum
wrixlað spræce :
and byð unstyllum
æfre frôfur.

Horse is for men
the joy of nobles,
steed proud of hoofs
where the heroes
wealthy on their horses
interchange speech :
and to the restless it is
ever a comfort.

“ MAN byð on myrgðe
his magan leôf ;
sceal ðeâh ânra gchwylc
ôðrum swîcan,
forðâm dryhten wile
dôme sînum
ðæt earme flâesc
eorðan betâcan.

Man is in mirth
dear to his kindred ;
and yet must every one
depart from other,
because the Lord will
by his doom
the wretched flesh
commit to earth.

“ LAGU byð leôdum
langsum gepûht,
gif hi sculun nêðan
on nacan tealtum,
and hî sê-ýða
swýðe bregað,
and se brimhengest
bridles ne gýmð.

Water to men
seemeth tedious,
if they must venture
on the unsteady boat,
and the sea waves
heavily whirl them,
and the sea stallion
heed not the bridle.

“ ING wæs ârest
mid Eâst Denum
gesewen secgum ;
oð he sîððan eft
ofer wæg gewât :
wân æfter ran.

Ing was first
among the East Danes
seen by men ;
till he afterwards again
departed over the wave :
his chariot ran behind him.

Ðûs heardingas
 ðone hæle nemdon.

Thus the warriors
 named the man.

“ EÐEL byð oferleôf
 æghwylecum men,
 gif he môt ðær rihtes
 and gerysena
 onbrûcan on blôde
 blædum oftast.

Native land is overdear
 to every man,
 if he there his rights
 and befitting (honour)
 may enjoy in his blood
 ofttest with increase.

“ DÆG byð drihtnes sond,
 deôre mannum,
 mære metodes leôht,
 myrgð and tôhiht
 eâdgum and earmum,
 eallum brice.

Day is the Lord's messenger,
 dear to men,
 the glorious light of God,
 mirth and consolation
 to rich and poor,
 useful to all.

“ Ac byð on eorðan
 elda bearnum
 flâscas fôdor,
 fereð gelome
 ofer ganotes bæð,
 garsecg fandað,
 hwæðer âc hæbbe
 æðele treôw.

Oak is on earth
 to the sons of men
 food of the flesh,
 often he goeth
 over the ganets bath,
 tempteth the ocean,
 he that hath oak
 the noble tree.

“ Æsc byð oferheâh
 eldum dýre
 stîð staðule
 stede rihte hylt,
 ðeâh him feohtan on
 fîras monige.

Ash is over high
 dear to men,
 stiff in its station
 well it holdeth its place,
 although against it fight
 many men.

“ YR byð æðelinga
 and eorla gehwæs
 wyn and wyrðmynd,

Bow is of nobles
 and of every man
 joy and dignity,

byð on wicge fæger,
fæstlic on færeldre,
fyrðgearewa sum.

it is fair on the horse,
firm in the expedition,
part of warlike arms.

“ IOR byð eafixa (sum),
and ðeâh â bruceð
fôðres on faldan,
hafað fægerne eard
wætre beworpen,
ðær he wynnum leofað.

Eel (?) is a river fish,
yet ever enjoyeth
its food on the ground,
a fair dwelling hath it
surrounded with water,
where it liveth in joy.

“ EAR^f byð egle
eorla gehwylcum,
ðonne fæstlice
flæsc onginneð
hrâw colian,
hrusan ceôsan
blâc tô gebeddan,
bleda gedreôsað,
wynna gewitað,
wera geswicað.

War is a terror
to every man,
when continually
the flesh beginneth
the corpse to cool,
to choose the earth
pale for its consort,
its joys depart,
its pleasures vanish,
it parteth from men.

The language, the introduction of Christian thoughts and words, and some gross blunders in the explanations given by the Anglo-Saxon poet himself, place the date of this composition at a late period. It nevertheless supplies us with valuable information. Among the most striking mistakes may be mentioned, the rendering given to Sigel. This, which in all the Teutonic tongues denotes a gem or jewel,—in a secondary sense, the sun—is here treated as if it were Segel, a sail.^g

^f This obscure and mythological word appears to be one of the names of Ziu, Tiw, Ty'r, the Old German, Anglo-Saxon, and Norse Mars. In some parts of Germany, Ertac is in use for Tuesday, (Tiwesdæg, Zistac,) and Eresberg is Mons Martis. (See, however, Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 133, 134.)

^g Were not Sigel neuter, the passage might still be construed properly; but the *hî hine feriað*, probably for *hî him farað*, renders it impossible, without correcting the text, to suppose that the writer meant anything but Segel. It is, however, to be observed that the genders are almost continually neglected in the latter lines of each stanza.

Now these, in all possible varieties which the caprice of individuals could produce, are the Anglo-Saxon, as distinguished from the Swedish, Danish, Norwegian and Icelandic Runes : and in these alone all the Anglo-Saxon inscriptions are written ; even as they are all, without exception, in dialects of the Anglo-Saxon, totally free from admixture of Danish or any other tongue.

The first inscriptions I shall take are those found at the ancient Northumbrian settlement of Hartlepool. They occur on two gravestones, and have already been engraved in the *Archæologia*, so that it will be unnecessary to do more than give the readings of them. (Pl. XVI. fig. 12.) These are, first,

HILDIDRYÐ,

and second,

HILDDIGYÐ ;

in which last name the second D is redundant, which led, no doubt, to the G having been afterwards cut above the line.

The next (Pl. XVI. fig. 13.) is a stone found in Dover, and also engraved in an earlier number of the *Archæologia*, (XXV. p. 604), but not so successfully read as the Hartlepool inscriptions. Gisohtus, which some one suggested, was as little to be found on the stones, as it was possible for a Saxon to have borne the name. The truth is, that the seventh character is an EA, and not a T : it requires, therefore, two slight strokes at the summit of the arms. The fifth character is an L, not an O ; the last but one is an R, not a U ; and the last is a D, but could never have been an S. The word is ✠ GISLHEARD, which is a Saxon name.

The Bewcastle inscription (Pl. XVI. fig. 14) is very easy to read, and has been read with accuracy by William Grimm. At the same time it must be remembered, that the dialect of this and other inscriptions is one which at the early period when these must have been cut, made the genitive singular in *æs*, and the dative in *æ*. The words are RICÆS DRYHTNÆS,^h *domini potentis* : there has, therefore, been either a portion of the inscription lost, or the cross or pillar on which it stood was meant to be taken as part of the legend :—thus, Signum Domini Potentis.

Whether this inscription, and the stone on which it was cut, stood alone,

^h Rynas Dryhtnes, which some one suggested, and which has been translated *Mysteria Domini*, labours under the disadvantage of not being Anglo-Saxon.

or whether they formed part of some larger monument, I do not know. But there is at Bewcastle a pillar which is said to have been surmounted by a cross, and on which the remains—and alas ! the hardly legible remains—of a long Runic inscription, may still be traced. I beg to refer to the careful copy of this, furnished by Mr. Howard, of Corby Castle, and published in the fourteenth volume of the *Archæologia*. This Plate (XXXIV.) contains three several portions of the inscription. Of fig. 1, but one letter, an R, is now legible. Fig. 2, which contains indistinct traces of nine lines of Runes, and of which the loss may be said to be irreparable, offers here and there a legible letter or two, but no more. Fig. 3, on the contrary, is still in perfect preservation : unfortunately, it supplies us with only one word, and that a proper name—CYNIBURUG, or CYNIBURUH,¹ which contains unquestionable evidence of great antiquity. (Fig. 15.) Who this lady was it would be absurd to attempt to guess ; but I think that the fifth line of the inscription in fig. 2 may also possibly have contained her name ; while the second line of the same, commencing with letters which apparently formed the word CRIST, render it likely that this, as well as the Ruthwell pillar, was a Christian work. The most important deduction from the name I have read is, that the inscription was an Anglo-Saxon, not a Norse one.

An inscription, printed in Whitaker's *History of Richmondshire*, vol. ii. p. 229, I shall, on this occasion, pass over. I do this on two grounds : first, because I question its being an Anglo-Saxon inscription, and still more because I have not the slightest faith in its accuracy. It is absolutely necessary that we should have a better copy of it before we can attempt to read it.

The Bridekirk inscription (Fig. 16.) is involved still in very great obscurity, owing principally to the state of dilapidation in which the font obviously is, and which, in spite of Mr. Howard's careful delineation, (*Arch.* vol. XIV. p. 113. and vol. XIX. p. 381.), leaves it very doubtful whether we have all the letters before us. There have been various attempts made to read the words, but none are satisfactory. Mr. Hamper's is the best, and he appears to have seized the general sense of the inscription ; though in almost every

¹ *Burug* and *byrug* are the usual Northumbrian forms of the West-Saxon *burh*.

word his want of accurate Anglo-Saxon betrays him into blunders. Of his reading, as well as Bishop Nicolson's, it is enough to say, that no such language ever existed as they find on this stone. In the state in which this inscription now is I cannot pretend to certainty in my exposition, particularly as many of the Runes are not in the usual Anglo-Saxon form, and several letters are altogether obliterated.

To the name RICARD I object at once: it was not in use among the Anglo-Saxons at all; and, had it been so, its form on this stone would have been RICHARD. Further, the third Rune is not the usual Anglo-Saxon C, and the last rune is þ, not D. I now suggest, whether the figure that precedes the R is so certainly a *cross*, as Mr. Howard makes it, and whether, in differing so widely as he does from older copyists, he is quite right. Without seeing the stone myself, I will not decide upon this: but I should suspect that close inquiry would furnish, in place of the cross, traces of the Runes $\mathfrak{N} \mathfrak{M}$ or $\mathfrak{N} \mathfrak{F}$, viz. HE, or HÆ. I read the third Rune X G, and believe the þ to be the initial of the succeeding word. The first word, then, is HERIGAR, or HÆRIGAR. Immediately after the þ is a space denoted by dots, but which unquestionably was once filled with a letter: this I take to have been an I or E; the next letter is a G, the next an N, and the second word is ðEGN. The next character, instead of being a compounded rune, is a G; it is followed by an abrasion, where a portion of a Rune once stood: coupling this with the remnant of a letter still extant, it is most probable that the whole Rune was \mathfrak{M} , that is E. The next character, which was not and could not be C or G, probably has lost a slight stroke at the summit, and was a W. The next Rune but one, I take, as all my predecessors have, to be \mathfrak{N} , that is O. The next must have been an H; for it could not be a C, nor unchanged could it be a G: Mr. Hamper would have it an F, reading GEGROFT, which word he justifies by an inscription on a ring engraved in Hickes's Thesaurus. (Præf. p. xiii.) But Gegroft is not and could not be a Saxon word; the verb *gegrāfan*, to engrave, making its preterite *gegrōf*, and it being utterly impossible for a T to be appended to any such preterite.^k The final T,

^k The reading of the inscription in Hickes is as follows: \mathfrak{A} Æðred mec ah. Eanred mec agrof. \mathfrak{A} That is, Æðred owns me, Eanred carved me.

not TE, is admitted; and I believe the dots which follow it, coupled with the strokes that remain, to have been an M, that is E. The third word then would be GEWROHTE. The next word must be a mere guess, the first and last letters being now obliterated: it is possible that it may have been $\cap \uparrow \text{f} \wedge$, UTÆL, a name of frequent occurrence among the signatures of Anglo-Saxon charters. The next letter is clearly a þ: then follow the fragments of wh at seems to have been an , E; G and N are plain, and we again have the word ðEGN. The next word is also merely made up of guesses; it being obvious that this part of the inscription is hopelessly abraded. The first letter I suppose to have been an I; the next is an R: the third, which varies much in the several copies, seems to have been an ill-formed M, M; I venture to guess that the next was an U: N and R are plain: the dots probably once made an I: K is plain. The next, which looks like an R, might still easily be an Y: the dots I take to have represented an S:—the word so guessed at is IRMUNRICYS. Supplying the E, which is wanting in the second place of the next word, we have GEBROHT, or, as it may be, GEBROHTÆ; and the whole inscription will be

HERIGAR ðEGN GEWROHTE. UTÆL ðEGN IRMUNRICYS
GEBROHTE.

This interpretation, I fairly confess, is anything but satisfactory to myself: all that it can claim for itself is, that it is Anglo-Saxon, which no other explanation hitherto published, is. The meaning is,

“Heregar the Thane wrought it. Utel, Eormanric’s Thane,
brought it.”

I now proceed to an inscription which has long been considered as hopeless, and which no doubt is very difficult. But the difficulties arise merely from the dilapidated state of the stone, by which large portions of the writing have been lost: what remains entire is as easy to read as any inscription can be expected to be. I allude to the Cross at Ruthwell, on the Scottish Border. This noble monument, which has been rescued by the

Rev. Mr. Duncan from the further ravages of neglect, has been several times described, with more or less accuracy. I use the copy of the inscription given by Hickes in his *Thes. Gram. Isl. Tab. III.*; by Gordon in his *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, p. 160; and lastly the accurate and beautiful delineation furnished by Mr. Duncan to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and engraved for their *Archæologia*, 1834, Pt. II.

It is a lamentable thing that no early copy should have been made of this before the sacrilegious fury of the Presbyterian iconoclasts, in 1642, caused the Cross to be flung down, and deprived us, probably for ever, of the hope of supplying the missing portion of the inscription. But it is also very strange that none of our philologists and antiquaries have so much as attempted to give any thing like a reasonable account of the few lines we have: that Hickes should have shrugged his shoulders at them, and William Grimm shaken his head, and passed on. Two learned Icelanders, however, with great valour, if not much discretion, have appeared in the field, to shame both England and Germany; Finn Magnusen in Copenhagen, and Repp in Edinburgh, have thrown down the gauntlet to the degenerate antiquaries of England; with what success we shall see hereafter. The plate of the Ruthwell Cross (Fig. 17, Pl. XVII.) requires some little explanation. III. is one of the two corresponding broad faces of the pillar; I. and II. on the contrary, are the sides, which are not quite so broad as the faces. The broader faces are sculptured with various scriptural subjects, in compartments; and on the spaces which separate one relief from the other, are inscriptions in Latin characters, referring to the subject matter of each compartment. These inscriptions begin, over the head of the figure, to the left, descend along the right side, and then return to the top of the left side. The centre figure on each side appears to be the principal one, and is rather the largest. One of these represents Christ glorified and trampling on the fiends, represented by swine; the other depicts Mary Magdalene washing the feet of the Saviour. Round the latter is the inscription ✠ ATTVLIT ALABASTRVM VNGVENTI ET STANS RETROSECVS PEDES EIVS LACRIMIS COEPIT RIGARE PEDES EIVS ET CAPILLIS CAPITIS SVI TERGEBAT. The corresponding inscription on the other face is as follows: ✠ IHS. XPS

IVDEX AEQVITATIS SERTO SALVATOREM MVNDI BESTIAE ET
DRACONES COGNOVERVNT INDE.

The two sides of the cross have also their sculpture and inscriptions. The former reaches unbroken up to the level of the top of the principal compartment on the broad faces: the continuation of it above this seems to have been an after-thought, as the arabesques are interrupted by the raised edge, and the execution of the upper portion is said to be inferior. It is along the raised edges of the sides that the Runic inscription is cut, which we are now to investigate; a matter which would hardly have presented any difficulty had the lowest part of the stone not been defaced, and so the connecting lines of the inscription obliterated. And what then is the meaning and object of this Runic inscription? Repp says it records the grant of a font, which he calls a Christ-bason (!) and of some cows and lands in Ashlafardhal, a place that never existed, by the advice of the Monks or Fathers of Therfuse, a monastery of which no one ever heard. Professor Finn Magnusen improves on his learned countryman—makes the cross out to be the record of Ashlof's marriage settlements, gives us chapter and verse for Ashlof, with a full account of her birth, parentage and education, and winds up 105 stupendous pages, by composing a chapter of Anglo-Saxon history, such as I will take upon myself to say was never ventured before by the wildest dreamer even in Denmark. I should not be doing the learned Professor justice, if I did not quote his translation at full length. Here it is:—"I, Offa Woden's kinsman, transfer to Eska's descendant, to you two the property, field, meadow, give we Ashlof! The words of the noble I below make known. To Erinc young promised *she* riches, estates good; I for the *marriage* feast prepare in the mean time. Received he now,—the noble spoke,—the gift, and aye preside in the hall *over* the guests! I have magnanimity, I bring rings These three estates Erincred possesses. Christ was among when to all we gave all that they owned—the married pair: At their home, the rich women's, you were a guest, *their* down dwelling — — — Give every the advice is willing (willingly given). Back spoliation, if *yet living* on earth! Well the Ætheling possesses now me this property. Saw I us my Son! Every where again rule!" The italics are, no doubt, put in to show the scrupulous accuracy with which the trans-

lation has been made; and by their help it seems indeed to run on all fours: unluckily there is not one word of it on the pillar.

Now it is very remarkable, that both Repp and Magnusen have read the mere letters with tolerable accuracy: it is only when they come to divide them into words, that their good star deserts them. This can arise from nothing but their Danish prepossessions and imperfect acquaintance with Anglo-Saxon and its northern dialects. Hence Repp amuses himself with jumbling Dansk and Anglo-Saxon together; one word of one language, one word of another, just as may best make out his story of the Christ-bason: while Magnusen plumes his wings for a higher flight; and, having invented an Offa, Erincred and Eska, a history and a wedding, completes his large plan by inventing a new language, in which he says the inscription is written, and a people, by whom he says the language was spoken.

The inscription is in the usual Anglo-Saxon Runes, in that Anglo-Saxon dialect which was spoken in Northumberland in the eighth and ninth centuries, and the fragments of it which remain contain a few couplets of a religious poem relating to the events represented in the two principal compartments, viz. the washing the Saviour's feet by Mary Magdalene, and the glorification of Christ through his passion. Having said thus much of its general meaning, I proceed to illustrate it more in detail; and I only regret that the want of a fount of Anglo-Saxon Runes prevents me from placing the letters side by side. I shall, however, follow the tables seriatim, using Hickes's, Gordon's, or Duncan's readings, in proportion as one seems more accurate than the other.

Fig. I.—On the right-hand margin of the compartment, above the horizontal line, in a different position from all the rest of the inscription, stand the letters D (or M) ÆGISGÆ.^h On the transverse rim across the shaft stand the four Runes, GERE.

^h These letters have been left entirely out of consideration, partly because it is very questionable whether they formed part of the original inscription: but still more because, from the ruined state of the stone, their connexion with any other Runes is now impossible to be made out.

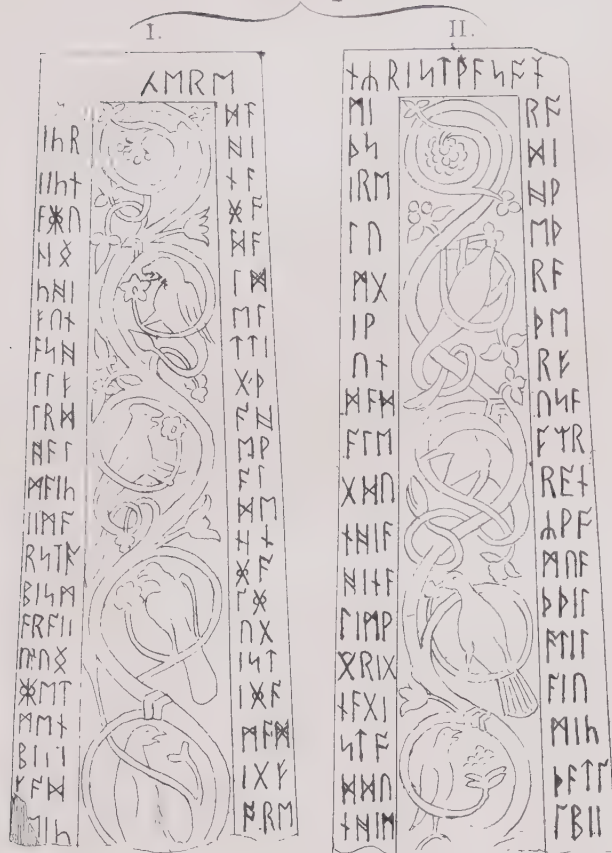
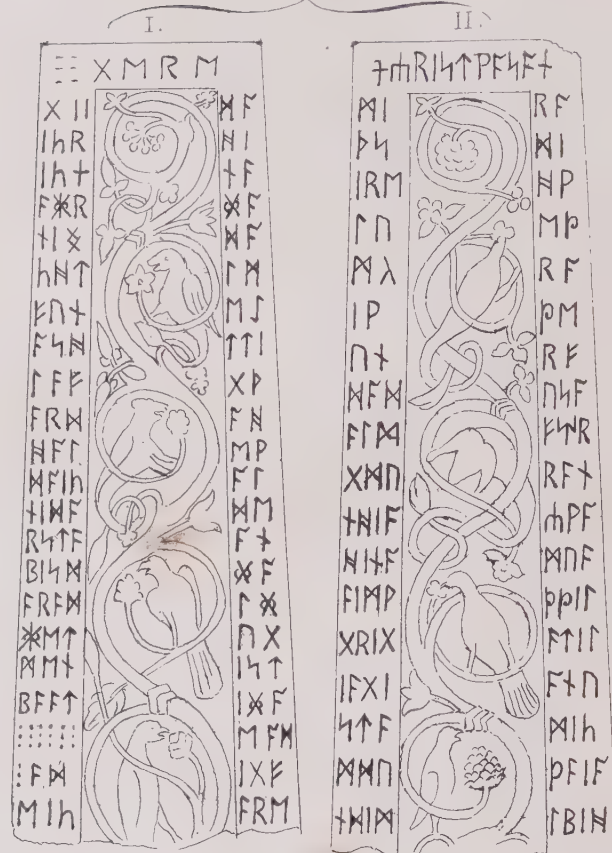



Fig. 12.
Gordon. [C]Fig. 18.
Hickes. [H]

Fig. 20.

NŌTILTFEERBITMŌHNS
 MTFRMŌIDŌMIPHTETK
 EMTPE+MŌNĖHĖTFRIM
 HTRIPTHTMTNŌFRRTMŌ
 HFXRGTIKYXDEAMXEP
 MRPMHIEPTHYŌMMŌPŌ:

On the left hand margin are these letters :

I.

1. IKR
2. IKN
3. ÆKR
4. NING
5. KHI
6. FUN
7. ÆSH
8. LAF
9. ARD
10. HÆL 
11. DAIK
12. NIDA
13. RSTÆ
14. BISM
15. ÆRED
16. EUNG
17. KET
18. MEN
19. BAÆT
20. GÆD
21.  IK
22.  ITHB
23. ÆDI
24. BIST
25.  MI
26.  H

On the right hand margin, these :

II.

1. DÆ
2. HI
3. NÆ
4. GA
5. MÆ
6. LD
7. EL
8. TTI
9. GTH
10. AH
11. EW
12. AL
13. DE
14. AN
15. GA
16. LG
17. UG
18. IST
19. IGA
20. MOD
21. IGF
22. ORE
23. MEN









For convenience of reference, I have given copies of the inscription according to Hickes and Gordon. Pl. XVIII. figs. 18 and 19.

I. 1. 1. Previous to these characters, which are placed two lines lower than the transverse margin, Hickes and Gordon place the fragments of letters now illegible. I shall assume by and by, that the last of these was an M. 1. 3. Duncan gives a very ill-formed and doubtful R, Hickes a distinct one,

as the last letter. Gordon reads U : there can be no question but that it is a Y. 1. 5. Hickes reads the last letter as T ; Duncan and Gordon have I, which is right. 1. 8. The initial L, wanting in Duncan, is very clear in the other two copies. The second letter, doubtful in Gordon, and rather O than A in Duncan, is certainly A in Hickes. 1. 9. A in Hickes, doubtful in Gordon, but probably also A ; Æ in Duncan. 1. 12. NI clear in Hickes and Duncan, in Gordon only two strokes. 1. 13. Æ clear in Hickes and Gordon, abraded in Duncan. 1. 14. BI very distinct in Hickes and Gordon, wanting altogether in Duncan. 1. 15. ÆD clear in Hickes, the last letter doubtful in Gordon, the two last in Duncan. 1. 16. E doubtful in Gordon, but very clear in Duncan ; in Hickes the whole line omitted. 1. 19. in Gordon the three last letters doubtful ; in Duncan the last is rather L than T, which Hickes reads rightly. 1. 20. Gordon reads the first letter clearly : Hickes and Duncan omit it. 1. 21. Gordon and Hickes have the first letter, which Duncan omits. 1. 22. The rest is found only in Duncan.

II. 1. 4. Hickes GA, Gordon and Duncan rather GO. 1. 5. Æ Gordon, A Hickes and Duncan. 1. 7. The last letter in Hickes and Gordon and Duncan resembles an L ; it probably has lost the lower stroke, and should be read Æ. 1. 8. The first letter is clearly a T in Hickes, but is very confused in Gordon and Duncan : I suggest an S. 1. 10. The last letter doubtful in Duncan, but very clear in Gordon and Hickes. 1. 14. A clear in Duncan and Hickes, doubtful in Gordon. 1. 20. The second letter A in Duncan, Æ in Hickes, O in Gordon. 1. 22. nearly lost in Duncan, ÆRE in Hickes, ORE in Gordon. 1. 23. only in Duncan.


The letters above the transverse line, I leave out of the question altogether, believing them to have nothing to do with the rest of the inscription ; to be very probably a later addition ; and even if not so, to be now so isolated from their context as to be unintelligible. The first line on the left I read thus :

..... MIK. RIIKNÆ KYNINGK. HIFUNÆS HLAFARD. HÆLDA
IK NI DARSTÆ. BISMÆREDE UNGKET MEN. BA ÆT GÆD[R]E.
IK[N]IÐ BÆDI BIST[E]ME[D] : that is,








..... *me. The Powerful King, the Lord of Heaven, I dared not hold.
They reviled us two, both together. I stained with the pledge of crime*

Now commencing with the transverse line, and continuing down the right hand column, the words run thus :









GEREDÆ HINÆ. GAMÆLDÆ. ESTIG ÐA HE WALDE. AN GALGU
GISTIGA. MODIG FORE MEN: that is,
*prepared himself: he spake benignantly when he would go up upon the cross,
courageously before men*

Proceeding now to the other side of the cross, and taking first the left
hand column, next the transverse rim . CIST WÆS ON, and then the
right hand column, we have the following letters :

Left hand margin.

1. MI
2. THS
3. IRE
4. LU
5. MG
6. IW
7. UN
8. DÆD
9. ALE
10. GDU
11. NHlÆ
12. HINÆ
13. LIMW
14. ORIG
15. NÆGI
16. STO
17. DDU
18. NHIM
19. 
20.  ÆS
21.  LF
22.  D
23.  T
24.  W
25. 
26. E

Right hand margin.

1. RO
2. DI
3. HW
4. ETH
5. RÆ
6. THE 
7. RF
8. USÆ
9. FEAR
10. RAN
11. CWO
12. MU  Æ
13. THTHIL
14. ÆTIL
15. ANU
16. MIC
17. THÆTA
18. LB  IH
19. 
20. SÆ
21. IKW 
22. SM 
23. GA 
24. GUÆ
25. G 
26. RO
27. DH
28. A

I. l. 3. All the copies read IRE. I believe a cross stroke over the I to have been lost, and read TRE. l. 4. The L, which is partially abraded in Duncan, is clear in Gordon and Hickes. l. 8. A in Duncan, Æ in Gordon and Hickes. l. 9. Æ in Hickes, A in Gordon and Duncan. l. 13. ÆIM in Hickes, LIM in Gordon and Duncan. l. 14. O in Gordon and Duncan, G in Hickes. l. 15. Duncan and Hickes read the first letter I, Gordon distinctly N, which I prefer, on palæographical grounds: the word makes equally good sense whether we take it to be the nom. pl. which would be the case with Duncan's reading, or the acc. sing. with Gordon's. l. 20. and the rest only in Duncan, and very mutilated.

II. Transverse line. The cross before the words is indistinct in Duncan. l. 12. The last letter, which in Hickes and Gordon is distinctly Æ, has lost the lower stroke in Duncan, and appears like an L. l. 15. Duncan and Gordon clearly an A; Hickes perhaps an Æ. The second letter clear in Duncan and Hickes; doubtful in Gordon. l. 17. The second letter distinctly Æ in Hickes and Gordon, but A in Duncan; the third letter doubtful in Hickes, clear in Gordon and Duncan. l. 18. The first letter is perfectly distinct in Hickes and Gordon, but doubtful in Duncan. From l. 19 is found only in Duncan, and from the state of dilapidation of the stone, can only be guessed at. The inscription then I read thus;

I. MITH STRELUM GIWUNDÆD. ALEGDUN HIÆ HINÆ. LIM-
WERIGNÆ. GISTODDUN HIM

wounded with shafts. They laid him down, limb-weary. They stood by him

II. ✠ KRIST WÆS ON RODI. HWETHRÆ THER FUSÆ. FEARRAN
KWOMU. ÆTHTHILÆ TI LÆNUM. IK THÆT AL BIH SÆ
IK W(Æ)S MI(D) GA(L)GU Æ (.) ROD. HA.

Christ was on the Cross. Lo! There with speed, came from afar nobles to him in misery. I that all beh(eld) I was with the cross

Before I leave this noble monument of Anglo-Saxon antiquity, I shall take the liberty of making a few philological remarks on the versification and language, the latter of which is in fact the strongest proof of the accuracy of my reading. We have portions of four columns of verse, which must be thus arranged:

| | | | |
|--------------------|-------------------|------------------|----------------------|
|mik. | geredæ | ..... | ✠ Krist wæs on |
| Riikne kyningk | hinæ gamældæ | mid strelum gi- | rôdi |
| hifunæs hlafard | estig ða he walde | wundæd | hweðræ ther fûsæ |
| hælda ik ni darstæ | an galgu gistîga | alegdun hiæ hinæ | fearran cwomu |
| bismærede ungket | môdig fore | limwêrigne | æððilæ ti lânum |
| men | men | gistôddun him .. | ic that al bih(eôld) |
| bâ ætgæd(r)e | ..... | ..... | ..... sæ(...) |
| ik (n)iðbædi bist- | ..... | ..... | ic w(æ)s mi(d) |
| (e)me(d) . . . | ..... | ..... | ga(l)gu |
| . . . . . | ..... | ..... | æ (...) rod . ha .. |
| | | | |
| | | | |

Fragmentary as these lines are, the alliteration is perfectly obvious in the first, third, and fourth columns. The second has none in the third and fourth lines, which is sufficient ground for believing that the suggestion ESTIG is not altogether accurate; it requires a word commencing with G: but I could suggest none that would not do violence to the traces of letters which remain, beyond the fair liberty of interpretation. The dialect of these lines is that of Northumberland in the seventh, eighth, and even ninth centuries, and from the mass of Northumbrian documents which we possess is capable of an easy comparison. The first characteristic peculiarity is the *æ* for *e* in the oblique cases, and which I have observed in the contemporaneous MS. of Cuðberht's letter, at St. Gallen, from which, as a singular and noble monument of language, I cite the words quoted by the dying Beda:

Fore the neidfaerae
naenig uuiurthit
thonc-snotturra
than him tharf sie
to ymbhycgannae
aer his hiniongae
huaet his gastae
godaes aeththa yflaes
æfter deothdaege
doemid uuieorthae.

Before the necessary journey
no one is
wiser of thought
than he hath need,
to consider
before his departure,
what for his spirit
of good or evil
after the death-day
shall be doomed.

This, which is strictly organical, and represents the uncorrupted Gothic Genitive in *as* and dative in *a*, as well as the Old Saxon forms of the substantive, is evidence of great antiquity: it was one of the first forms that perished as the language became what is somewhat questionably called improved and polished. Till the middle of the ninth century this is found in Northumberland and Kent: and so also the *a* for the usual West-Saxon *o*, in Hlafard, generally Hlâford, but which here in col. 1. has the archaic form. But that which is perhaps the most characteristic of the Northumbrian dialect is the formation of the infinitive in *a* or *æ*, instead of *an*. We have two instances of this, namely *hælda* in the first and *gistiga* in the second column: but this, which is essential to the dialect, and in which it resembles the old Norse and Frisic, is so sure a test that it is enough of itself to decide upon the true locality of any inscription or manuscript.ⁱ The Durham book (MS. Cott. Nero, D. iv.) has I believe throughout but one single verb which makes its infinitive in *an*, and that is the anomalous verb *bian*, *to be*, even *wosa* and *wiortha* following the common rule. I subjoin a few examples:

geboeta emendasse. gebrenga traducere. geceasa captari. unclænsia inquinare. geceyga vocare. gecoma, gecumae, gecyma venire. gecuoëða dicere. gedoema arbitrari. gedoa facere. druncnia mergi. fordoa perdere. gedeigla abscondi. æteaua ostendere. eatta manducare. oferfara transire. ondfoa accipere. geflitta contendere. gegema corrigere. forgeafa ignosci. gehera servire. huerfa mutuari. gehera audire. gehyda abscondi. habba habere. geleda traducere. eftarisa resurgere. astiga ascendere. spreca loqui. sealla dare. gesea videre. onsaca abnegari. wiðsaca repelli. gespreca loqui. sueria jurare. efttotea retrahere. gewuna manere. wutta nosce. wosa esse. weortha esse. gewyrca facere. gewiga postulare. gewrixla mutare. ðerhwunia perseverare. gepenca cogitare. gepolega pati.

The Durham Ritual, now in course of publication by the Surtees Club, contains equally strong evidence of the real form of the Northumbrian infinitive.

ⁱ This has been attributed to Danish influence, because about the beginning of the ninth century the Danes began to ravage Northumberland. To this I answer, that it is universal in the Northumbrian monuments anterior to the Danish invasion. For its Frisic origin much more may be said; but it is generally forgotten that Procopius names the Frisians among the earliest Teutonic colonists of Britain. Throughout this paper I beg to observe that I use *Northumbrian* in the Anglo-Saxon, and not the English, meaning of the word.

The word Hifunæs differs from the usual Anglo-Saxon form Heofones ; but the variation is a proof only of antiquity. The Gothic word Sibuns, *seven*, in like manner became first Sifun, then Seofon or Seofen. Just so here, the Gothic word Hibuns, which once existed, first became Hifun, afterwards Heofon and Heofen.

The word Ungket is another incontrovertible proof of extreme antiquity ; having to the best of my knowledge never been found but in this passage. It is the dual accusative of the first pronoun personal Ic, and corresponds to the very rare dual of the second personal pronoun, Incit, which occurs twice in Cædmon, p. 165 and p. 174, and from which James Grimm long ago predicted the appearance of this *uncit*, at some time or other. (Deut. Gramm. I. p. 781.)

Walde, in column 2, is the Northumbrian form of the more usual *wólde*, I would. It is of universal occurrence in the Durham Evangeles and the other Northumbrian documents, as well as the negative Nalde, *I would not*, more commonly *nólde*.

The termination -un for -on is further evidence of antiquity, and, though not by any means confined to Northumberland, was of constant use there.

The only word which remains to be noticed is Fearran, in col. 4, instead of the more usual *feorran*. This, however, is no inaccuracy, but the common Northumbrian form, continually occurring in the Durham Evangeles and Ritual. Cwomu for Cwomun in the same line can only be looked upon as a piece of carelessness, since the stone shews no sign of abrasion here, and no dialect of Anglo-Saxon could omit this final N. The Norse did indeed omit it, but I beg once and for all to say that Norse forms have nothing whatever to do with Anglo-Saxon inscriptions. It was by trusting to Norse forms that Thorkelin misread every line and mistranslated nearly every word of Beôwulf. It is by trusting to Norse forms that Dr. Repp has plunged himself into his ludicrous *Christ-bason*, and that Finn Magnusen has recorded his own rashness throughout 105 of the most adventurous pages I ever remember to have read. One word more : this, like every other Anglo-Saxon composition, is as strict in its grammar and its grammatical forms as any passage from any Greek or Latin classic : and in construing such compositions just as little

can be left to chance as we leave to chance in rendering sentences from Thucydides or Cicero.

I shall not attempt now to investigate any other inscription, as I am not aware of there being any which are written in Anglo-Saxon : and I therefore hasten to say a few words of the use of Runes in manuscripts. This is confined for the most part to MSS. of late date, and periods when paganism had long ceased to be connected with this alphabet. The first and simplest use of them is where they serve the purpose of a kind of short-hand, the figure of the Rune being written instead of the word which was its name. Thus the priest who wrote the interlinear glosses to the Rushworth Book, now in the Bodleian Library, meaning to write *Færman* presbyter pas boc gloesede, uses the Runic M (MAN) instead of the three last letters of his name. So again in *Beôwulf* (ll. 1035. 1819.) we twice find the Rune Eðel instead of the word, apparently introduced for no purpose on earth but to save the transcriber the trouble of writing the word at length. And so in the Durham Ritual the words *dæg* and *man* are, almost without exception, replaced by the Runes bearing those names. There are two passages in Anglo-Saxon poems which introduce several such characters in this way, but with a definite object, to which I will call attention. In the Vercelli MS. is contained a long poem on the finding of the Cross by the Empress Helena : after the close of the poem, and apparently intended as a tail-piece to the whole book, comes a poetical passage consisting of one hundred and sixty lines, in which the author principally refers to himself, and after a reference to his own increasing age and the change from the strength and joyousness of youth, he breaks out into a moralizing strain, in which he concludes his work. The following lines, containing Runes, form a portion of this poem.

A wæs sæc oð ðæt
cnyssed cearwelnum,
h · drûsende,
ðeâh he in medohealle
mâðmas þege,
æplede gold ;

Ever till then was the man
tossed with the waves of care,
the bold one, sinking,
though in the meadhall he
received treasures,
dappled gold ;

M̃. gnornode,
 ʒ. gefera
 nearusorge dreáh,
 enge rûne,
 ʒær him M̃. fore
 milpaðas mæt,
 môdig þrægde,
 wîrum gewlenced.
 F̃. is geswîðrad
 gomen æfter gearum,
 geôgoð is gecyrred,
 ald onmedla:
 Ñ. wæs geara
 geôgoðhâdes gleâm,
 nû synt geardagas
 æfter fyrstmearce
 forðgewitene,
 lifwynne geliden,
 swâ. ʒ. tôglideð,
 flôdas gefýsde.
 F̃. æghwâm bið
 læne under lyfte.
 landes frætwa
 gewîtað under wolcnum, etc.

he lamented his misery,
 the enforced comrade
 suffered close sorrow,
 a narrow mystery,
 when the steed before him
 measured the mile paths,
 boldly hastened,
 adorned with wires.
 Hope is violated
 pleasure after years,
 youth is departed,
 his ancient pride:
 of old it was
 the exultation of youth,
 now are the days of life
 after the appointed time
 departed,
 life-joys slid away,
 as water glideth,
 floods hastened.
 Money is to every one
 mean under the heaven,
 the ornaments of the land
 depart under the welkin, etc.

The extreme rudeness and abruptness of these lines, and the apparent uselessness of the Runes, led me to suspect that there was more in them than merely met the eye. And this I found to be the case: for on taking the Runes out of the context, using them as single letters and uniting them in one word, they supplied me with the name CYNEWULF, undoubtedly no other than the author of the poems. It was now with the utmost interest that I read the following passage from the still more celebrated Codex Exoniensis, fol. 19, b.

ʒær monig beoð
 on gemôt læded,

There shall many be
 led into the meeting,

| | |
|-------------------------|--|
| fore onsyne | before the face |
| êces dêman. | of the Eternal Judge. |
| Ðonne h cwacað; gehýrað | Then shall the bold quake; shall hear |
| cyning mæðlan, | the king discourse, |
| rodera ryhtend sprecan | the Ruler of the Heavens speak |
| rêðe word ðâm ðe him | stern words to them who him |
| æ̅r in worulde | before that in the world |
| wáce hýrdon, | weakly (ill) obeyed, |
| þendan n̅ 7 ʒ | while misery and need |
| ýðast meahtan | might most easily |
| frôfre findan. | find consolation. |
| Ðær sceal forht monig | There shall many a one in terror |
| on ðâm wongstede | on that plain |
| wêrig biðan, | weary await, |
| hwæt him æfter dædum | what to him after his deeds |
| dêman wille | [God] shall adjudge |
| wrâðra wita. | of angry penalties. |
| bið se f̅ scæcen, | Hope hath departed, |
| eorðan frætwa; | the treasures of earth; |
| n̅ wæs longe | long was it of old |
| f̅ flôdum bilocen, | surrounded with the sea-streams ^e , |
| lifwynna dêl, | a portion of the joy of life, |
| f̅ on foldan; | money on the earth; |
| ðonne frætwe sculon | then shall treasures |
| byrnan on bæle, &c. | burn in fire, etc. |

Here then we have the same Runes, and that in a passage which bears a remarkable similarity in the thoughts and images to the one last cited: only the Rune M. i. e. E, is wanting, from which we may conclude that at least one couplet is lost. I cannot here bestow space upon a long argument to show who this Cynewulf was: I believe him to have been the Abbat of Peterborough of that name, who flourished in the beginning of the eleventh

^e The Anglo-Saxons believed the world to be inclosed within four (or two seas), fresh and salt: hence the constantly recurring phrase, *be s̅æm t̅weonum*, etc. etc.

century, who was accounted in his own day a celebrated poet, both in Latin and Anglo-Saxon, whose works have long been reputed lost, but whose childish ingenuity has now enabled us with some probability to assign to him the authorship of the Vercelli and Exeter Codices.

It is more to my purpose to show how the use of the Runes has degenerated. I have twice rendered *Cên*, by "the bold:" now this strictly speaking could not be done: for in the first place the adjective answering to our word *k een* is not *cên* but *cênē*: and in the next place, *cên* denotes *a torch*, as is apparent not only from the context in the Rune poem, but from the old German Glosses, Kero. 126. fax, fachla edo, *ken*. Paris Glosses, fax: facla, *chen*. (Diutiska. I. 225.) In this case then it is clear that some license was taken by the poet, and that, if the word was one very nearly resembling the name of the Rune, he thought himself at liberty to use this, although in a sense which the name of the Rune really never bore. In the same way in the Exeter Book the rune *Wên*, which properly denotes *hope*, is used for the word of the same sound, but different spelling, denoting a waggon (*wæn*. N.E. *wain*). And so in the two passages now under consideration *Ur*, which strictly signifies the Urus or Bull bison of the German forests, is merely used for the same sounding word *ûr* (of old).

Not content with having once already given us this acrostic of his name, the poet repeats it at a later period in the Exeter book, and in a manner which renders it very difficult to translate the lines, so great is their obscurity.

Donne me gedælað
deôrast ealra,
sibbe tôslitað
sinhiwan tu,
micle môdlufan;
mîn sceal of lîce
sâwul on sîðfæt,
nât ic sylfa hwider,
eardes uncyððu,
of sceal ic þissum
sêcan ôðerne,
ârgewyrhtum,

Then for me shall part
the dearest of all,
their relationship shall sever
the two consorts,
their great love;
then shall from the body
my soul upon its journey,
I know not myself whither,
what unknown land,
I must from this
another dwelling seek,
according to my old doings,

| | |
|----------------------|-----------------------------------|
| gongan iudædum. | go according to my ancient deeds. |
| Geômor hweorfeð | Sadly will wander |
| h . ſ . 7 . þ . | C, Y and N, |
| cýning bið rēðe, | stern will be the king, |
| sigora syllend, | the giver of glory, |
| ðonne synnum fáh | then stained with sins |
| . M . ƿ . 7 . ƿ . | E, W and U |
| acle bîdað, | in terror will abide, |
| hwæt him æfter dædum | what to them after their deeds |
| dēman wille | he will doom |
| lifes tô lêane. | as retribution for their life. |
| l . f . beofað, | L, F will tremble, |
| seômað sorgcearig, | sorrowful they will lour, |
| synna wunde ; | with the wound of sins ; |
| sâr eal gemon | the pain I shall all remember |
| ðe ic sîð oððe âr | which I before or since |
| geworhte in worulde, | wrought in the world, |
| ðæt ic wôpig sceal | that shall I with weeping, |
| tearum mânan. | moan with tears. |

It is evident here that the poet literally means to use the letters that make up his name, and that he does not introduce them as words, which he had done in the passages previously quoted.

This riddling use of the Runes brings us to a common practice in the Exeter Book: it is well known that many pages of that collection are filled with ænigmas. Now some of these are rendered even more obscure by the introduction of these characters. Many of these I must confess remain unexplained; but with one or two I have been more successful, and it may not be uninteresting to give the explanation of what our simple-minded forefathers may have exercised their wits upon, ten centuries ago.

The first of these riddles is engraved by Hickes, *Thes. Gr. Ist. Tab. VI.*

| | |
|-----------------|-----------------------|
| Ic seáh ʒ R ƿ ƿ | I saw a SROH (horse), |
| hygewloncne | proud of spirit, |

| | |
|-----------------------|------------------------------------|
| heáfodbeorhtne, | bright of head, |
| swiftn e ofer sælwong | swift over the level plain |
| swiðe þrægan ; | strongly run ; |
| hæfde him on hrycge | he had upon his back |
| hildeþryðe ƿ ƿ ƿ ƿ, | a NOM (man) bold in war, |
| nægledne rād. | a studded saddle. |
| ƿ ƿ ƿ ƿ wīdlast | The wide wandering ANEW (waggoner) |
| ferede ryne, | bore in his course, |
| strong on rāde, | strong in his saddle, |
| rōfne ƿ ƿ ƿ ƿ ƿ ƿ | a proud KOFOAH (hawk) ; |
| fōr wæs ðý beorhtre | the brighter was the passage |
| swylcra siðfæt. | the journey of such. |
| Saga hwæt ic hātte. | Say what is my name ! |

The second, which is of the same kind, occurs also in the same book.

| | |
|-----------------------|------------------------------|
| Ic swiftn e geseāh | I beheld swift |
| on swaðe feran | on the swathe to go |
| ƿ ƿ ƿ ƿ ic āne geseah | a DNUH (hound) : alone I saw |
| idese sittan. | a lady sit. |

I will not venture to say what may be the meaning attempted to be conveyed in either of these riddles, although my present impression is that both contain mythological allusions. But the Runes in them made them riddles to the eye as well as ear, and till the meaning of the Cabalistical characters themselves was ascertained, it was hopeless to attempt the solution of the difficulty. This was increased in these cases by the Runic words being written backwards, that is from right to left. Thus in the first line of the first riddle SROH for HORS, afterwards NOM for MON, ANEW for WENA, and KOFOAH for HAOFOK : and in the second, DNUH for HUND.^f

The practice of writing the name of the person who had composed or transcribed a book, in Runic characters, is not uncommon either at home or

^f Professor Finn Magnussen, in an essay on the Runic Inscription at Blekingen, states that those Runes also are to be read from right to left. This may be : but I do not at all subscribe to the professor's readings, which appear to me to rest solely on a total misconception of a passage in Saxo Grammaticus. This, their proper business, I leave to the antiquaries of Denmark.

abroad. The length to which this paper has already extended forbids my wasting time and space upon so intrinsically unimportant a portion of my subject : but it may be worth while to give the reading of a few of these colophons.

No. 1. Is in Runes of a rather unusual and fantastic kind : they are German characters, differing slightly from those of the Nordalbingians and Anglo-Saxons : when deciphered, they give the following Latin lines :

OMNIS LABOR FINEM HABET PREMIUM EIUS NON HABET
FINEM MADALFRID SCRIPSIT ISTAM PARTEM DO GRATIAS QUOD
PERFECI OPUS MEUM.

These figures, which were communicated to Aufsesse. *Anzeige* for 1834, from a MS. at Freisingen, No. iv. 6, b. by Professor Massmann, are supposed to be of the ninth century, an antiquity which I greatly doubt. The practised reader will perceive at once that some of the old and well-known Runes appear here under new, unusual, and rather ornamented forms. (Plate XVIII. fig. 20.)

No. 2. From the Harl. MS. 1772, containing a very early copy of the Latin Bible, written in Germany, I take the following notice in large and beautifully executed Runes (Plate XIX. fig. 21.) The characters in the original are nearly three quarters of an inch high.

EGO IUSUES HACSI INDIGNUS DIACON ANC LIBRUM QUEM AD
OPUS PECULIARE UOLO OFF SCO.

No. 3. William Grimm, in his book *Ueber Deutsche Runen*, gives a similar entry in Anglo-Saxon Runes from a MS. at Strasbourg (Plate XIX. fig. 22) : when read, this gives us the name ERCÆNFRIT, where the last letter, T for TH, betrays a German rather than an English hand.

No. 4. Is from a MS. of Aldhelm de Virginitate in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. (Plate XIX. fig. 23.) It contains the name of the lady who transcribed the book ; I read it thus : ÆDILFLÆD DESCRIPSIT.

There are several other Runic lines, some printed in Hickes, some in my own collection, which can hardly be looked upon as anything but the idle amusement of transcribers, (See Plates XIX. XX.) some of them being apparently mere collections of consonants without vowels, and vowels without consonants.^g

^g There are inscriptions in Anglo-Saxon Runes, but in no Teutonic language. The Runic legend on two rings, mentioned in the twenty-first volume of the *Archæologia*, are certainly not in Anglo-Saxon

Fig. 21.

MXÆINONMÆK
 YIIIDIXINONDIÆÆ
 EIKGVRNMØNMM
 EDEENONEMKONÆERM
 NEÆÆÆÆ ÆÆ

Fig. 22.

M3hÆÆÆIT.:

Fig. 23.

III DI: FFFHMH: 4hR: 84: T

The following Monuments, though in Anglosaxon Runes, are not in the Anglosaxon language or any of its dialects.

I

XFBIHFhPpRÆhTIRFÆhFB
 Nhh

Whittaker. Richmondshire. ii. 229.

II

hÆtYTRNIMINPÆ

Cott. M.S. Otho. C. 5. (Hickes. Thes. Gram. Isl. Tab. III.

J. Basire lith

The last document I propose to call attention to is a portion of the Anglo-Saxon poem of Salomon and Saturn, in a MS. at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

This contains several Runes, the use of which I shall proceed to point out.

And seðe wile geornlice
 ðone Godes cwide
 singan sôðlice,
 and hine symle wile
 lufian bútan leahtrum,
 he mæg ðone lâðan gâst,
 feohtende feônd,
 fleôndne gebringan ;
 gif ðû him ârest on úfan
 ierne gebringest
 Prologa prima
 ðâm is K . P. nama :
 hafað gûðmecga
 gyrde lange,
 gyldene gâde, and â
 ðone grimman feônd
 swiðmôd swâpað ;
 and him on swaðe fylgeð
 N . A. ofer-mægene
 and hine eac ofslyhð.
 ↑ . T. hine teswað and hine
 on ða tungan sticað,
 wræstað him ðæt woddor, and him
 ða wongan briceð :
 M . E. hine yflað,
 swâ he â wile
 ealra feônda gehwone

or any cognate tongue. Rask supposed them to be Celtic, a conclusion adopted by the Welsh antiquaries. Vide *Cambrian Quarterly Magazine*, vol. i. p. 318.

fæste gestandan ;
 ƿonne hine on unƿanc R . R.
 eorringa gesêceð ;
 hôcstafa brego
 bregdeð sona
 feond be ƿâm feaxe,
 læteð flint breccan
 scines sconcan ;
 he ne besceâwað nô
 his leomena lið,
 ne bið him læce gôd.
 wendeð he hine ƿonne under wolcnum,
 wigsteall sêceð,
 heolstre behelmed ;
 huru him bið æt heortan wá
 ƿonne he hangiende
 helle wisceð,
 ƿæs engestan
 êðelrices ;
 ƿonne hine forcinnað ƿâ
 ƿa cyrican ge tûnas ;
 [ʁ] N. [ʁ] O. somod
 æghwæðer bringeð
 sweôpan of sîðe ;
 sârgiað hwîle
 fremdne flâschoman,
 feorh ne bemurnæð ;
 ƿonne ʁ . S. cymeð,
 engla geræswa,
 wuldores stæf,
 wrâðne gegripeð
 feond be ƿâm fôtum,
 læteð foreweard hleor

on strangne stân,
and stregdað tôðas
geond helle heâp :
hýdeð hine æghwylc
æfter sceades scîman :
sceaða bið gebysigod,
Satanes ðegn
swiðe gestilled.
Swylce hine 𐌺 . 𐌚 . and 𐌵 . 𐌶 .
cwealme gehnægeð,
frome folctogan
farað him tôgegnes ;
habbað leôht speru,
lange sceaftas,
swiðmôde sweôpan,
swenga ne wyrnað
deôrra dynta,
him bið ðæt deôfol lâð.
ðonne hine 𐌽 . 𐌺 .
and se yrra 𐌶 . 𐌷 .
gûðe begyrdað,
geâp stæf wigeð
bîterne brogan :
býdað sona
hellehæftling
ðæt he on hinder gæð :
ðonne hine 𐌱 . 𐌴 . and 𐌱 . 𐌶 .
ûtan ymbðringað
scyldigne sceaðan ;
habbað scearp speru
atole earhfare ;
æled lætað
on ðæs feôndes feax,
flâna stregdan

bîterne brôgan ;
 banan heardlice,
 grimme ongildað
 ðæs hie oft gilp brecað ;
 ðonne hine æt niehstan
 nearwe stilleð
 Φ . G. se geápa
 ðone God sendeð
 freôndum on fultum,
 færeð æfter H. D.
 fifnægnum full :
 fýr bið se ðridða
 stæf stræte neâh
 stille bîdeð :
 [H]. H. onetteð,
 engel hine scyrpeð
 on cwîcum wêdum.

In this poem the Runes might have been omitted altogether without making any alteration in the sense: that is to say, they stand only for letters and not for words, as in former passages cited in this paper. Accordingly each one is accompanied by the corresponding Roman capital; and in a second copy of the same poem, in the same library, the Runes are altogether omitted, and the Roman letters stand alone. The subject matter of the lines are the powers and virtues of the paternoster, and in dilating upon these Salomon attributes certain peculiar effects to each *letter* of which the prayer is composed. Now the whole prayer may be written with the following letters, variously repeated and combined: P.A.T.E.R.N.O.S.Q.U.I.C.L.F.M.G.D. and H; and these are the very Runes introduced into the poem. I however is omitted and L misplaced, from which, as well as some abruptness in the sequence of the lines, I argue that we have lost one or more couplets.

I have now examined in detail all the Runic writings which are clearly Anglo-Saxon, and which were at present accessible to me, making a very large majority, nearly all in short, of those which are known to exist. Should any

others hereafter be found, I may take an opportunity of returning to them. The limits of such a paper as this have compelled me to abstain from entering upon several points closely connected with the subject of German Runes, and German mythology; still more, to refrain from any notice of the Northern Runes, which must nevertheless occupy an important space in any complete treatise on our heathen alphabets. My main object was. I confess, to show that the Ruthwell obelisk was by no means so profound a mystery as our countrymen have been contented to believe, and that we really are not under the necessity of appealing either to Danish or German industry and ingenuity for the elucidation of our national antiquities. In the course of my argument, I have also made it clear that a knowledge of Anglo-Saxon and its dialects, as well as familiarity with the Anglo-Saxon Runes, are qualifications without which no one can pretend to explain Anglo-Saxon inscriptions. For many of the industrious and learned antiquaries of Scandinavia I entertain the highest respect; and shall be still more ready to express it, when I find that they give up their narrow and ludicrous manner of interpreting tradition for a wider and more generous recognition of its profound meaning; when, in a word, they cease to treat the mythological and epic legends which they have, more richly indeed, but still in common with all the Germanic tribes, as if they were the exclusive, ascertained, prosaic data of their own national history.

JOHN M. KEMBLE.

I owe some explanation to Professor Finn Magnusen, of the reason why I have refrained altogether from noticing the copy of the Ruthwell inscription, which he thinks much older than Hickes' or Gordon's, and which he says Thorkelin picked up in England. I cannot but believe that Thorkelin misled both himself and Finn Magnusen: for no one here has ever heard of such an engraving: it appears to contain just as much, and no more, than Duncan's copy now contains, which would scarcely be possible had the drawing been made a century and a half ago, when half the column was buried in the earth. The capitals on which the professor finds the words *Offa*, *Vodo Khonmed*, and *Erincred*, show no traces now of such characters, nor are there any Runic characters whatever on the faces of the pillar to which

those capitals belong ; nor do the apocryphal readings thus discovered, and which may be Danish, Pictish, or any thing Finn Magnusen pleases, except Anglo-Saxon, belong to the pure Anglo-Saxon inscription on the column. In this, and very much besides, the wish seems to have been father to the thought !

XIII. *Observations on some ancient Pieces of Ordnance, and other Relics, discovered in the Island of Walney, in Lancashire. By C. D. ARCHIBALD, Esq. F.R.A.S., M.R.I.A., F.G.S. Deputy Lieutenant of Lancashire, in a Letter to SIR HENRY ELLIS, K.H. F.R.S. Secretary.*

Read 9th January, 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,

3, York Terrace, Regent's Park, December 25th, 1839.

IN undertaking to submit to the Society of Antiquaries a notice of the ancient pieces of ordnance, and other relics, lately discovered in the Island of Walney, I am influenced by the wish you have so kindly expressed, rather than by any sense of fitness, on my part, for the task.

The Isle of Walney (or *Waughney*, as it was called by the Saxons,) lies upon the northern side and at the entrance of Morecambe Bay, adjoining that part of the county palatine of Lancaster called FURNESS, and is about twelve miles in length by one in breadth. It appears formerly to have been covered with trees, and in ancient charters is called "the Forest of Walney;" but at the present day it is entirely under tillage, and no trees of any magnitude are now to be found. It is to be observed, that it is an island only at high tide; and, in general, when the waters are out, the sands may be crossed to the main land, throughout the greater part of its length. Near the south end of Walney is another small island, called Peel or Pile of Fouldrey, on which stand the extensive remains of an ancient castle, built by the Abbots of Furness, towards the end of the reign of Edward the Second. During the ordinary spring tides the waters recede so far that the channel between Walney and Peel is quite dry, so that persons may pass over on foot; nevertheless, on the eastern side of the latter island there is a safe

and commodious harbour, accessible at all times to vessels of no great draught of water. A considerable part of the district now called Furness, including these islands, was originally granted by King Stephen to St. Mary's Abbey, the stupendous ruins of which still remaining (at a distance of four miles from the Pile of Fouldrey) bear testimony to the wealth and taste of its former possessors. The Abbots of Furness built the castle of Peel partly, it is supposed, as a place of refuge in troublous times, and partly as a fortress for the safeguard of the haven which it commands. According to their ancient tenures the vassals of the abbey were bound to provide for the defence of this castle; and after the dissolution of the religious houses, when this property came into the possession of the Crown, this service was still demanded. Even in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when a decree passed granting important privileges to the customary tenants of Furness (and particularly to those in the Isle of Walney), it was expressly stipulated that they should, at their own costs and charges, have, at all times, in readiness *threescore* able men, horsed, harnessed, and weaponed, according to the Statute of Armour, to serve in the wars against the Queen's enemies, or "for the defence of the haven and castle called the Pile of Fouldrey."

The place at which the various relics, which form the subject of this memoir, have been found, is on the western shore of the Isle of Walney, between high and low water mark; at a distance of two miles from its southern extremity, and at about the same distance, in a straight line, from the Pile of Fouldrey. During a residence of several months last summer in this remote, but prosperous and happy island, I learned that a tradition had been handed down for many generations, to the effect that, in very early times, a ship of war, or vessel laden with warlike stores, had been wrecked at this spot. In consequence of the salubrity of the air, and the temperate habits of the people, remarkable instances of longevity are to be met with, and I was enabled, through one family, to trace back this tradition for between two and three hundred years. A man, by name Nixon, died several years ago, at the age of ninety-seven. His father attained the same age, and had frequently told his son that, when he was a boy, the oldest people then living knew nothing of the disaster, except what they had learned from preceding generations. In the course of my inquiries I ascertained that, at different times, during a long series of years, a number of clumsy pieces of

ordnance, and other curiosities, had been found upon the shore, the greater part of which, unfortunately, had either been converted into implements of husbandry or otherwise disposed of. An opinion generally prevailed among the islanders that the vessel itself still remained buried in the sands; and having at the time a number of men employed in forming defences against the sea, I determined upon making an attempt to raise her. A piece of timber, which stood in a vertical position, and just appeared above the sand, was confidently pointed out as the stem or stern post of the wreck; and here, when the tides would admit, operations were commenced and carried on from day to day. After removing the sand and shingle to a depth of two feet, a strong blue clay was discovered, in which the treasure was supposed to lie embedded. This was carefully searched in all directions to its extreme depth; but no part of the wreck could be found, except some detached planks and timbers scattered up and down, and a few iron bolts, all in a state of decomposition and decay. That the investigation was made at the right spot, is evident, from the fact, that a great number of the objects enumerated below were found during the excavations; and all agreed in pointing this out as the place where all former discoveries had been made. I feel, therefore, perfectly satisfied that no considerable portion of the wreck exists; and, in fact, the strongest ship in the navy could not for any length of time withstand the force of the waves which the strong westerly winds, sweeping across the Irish sea, drive with tremendous violence against this exposed coast. There is, however, an old man, by name of Haslem, still living, who assures me that he has frequently seen parts of the wreck protruding through the clay; and that, several years ago, he obtained possession of a large fragment consisting of several planks and timbers bolted together in their original form. From the dimensions which he gave me the vessel must have been of very inconsiderable strength and burthen; the planks and timbers corresponding with those which would be employed nowadays in the building of craft of less than *fifty* tons.

I shall now proceed to enumerate and describe the various objects discovered, and will commence with those represented in the annexed plate, (Plate XXI.) which are now in my possession.

No. 1. When first discovered, was nearly perfect, and was about ten feet in length. The breech was in the middle; at which part the piece was

raised and strengthened by additional bands of iron. It had two touch-holes, one on either side of the breech, and fired right and left. Near to each muzzle on the upper side was a ring, supposed to be for the purpose of suspending it. This piece is altogether made of hammered iron, and is constructed upon the principle of the oldest guns of which we have any account. The tube, or inner lining, consists of three plates of iron, of the third of an inch in thickness, disposed in a cylindrical form, and placed longitudinally, side by side, like the staves of a cask, but, apparently, not forged or welded together. These are strengthened and held together by means of bands or hoops, which have been driven on one after the other, and are overbound at their junction by strong iron rings. This gun was found several years since, and was carried to a forge to be wrought up; but, when placed in the fire, it mouldered away; and being found unsuitable for any purpose, was thrown aside. The remnant subsequently came into the possession of ROGER TAYLOR, Esquire, of FINSTHWAITE HOUSE, Lancashire, who (understanding that my intention was to institute an inquiry into the historical event connected with these remains, and afterwards to place them in one of the national repositories,) in the kindest manner placed this valuable relic and several other objects at my disposal.

No. 2 is 2 feet in length and of 2 inches calibre. It is also of wrought iron, and formed of bars welded together, and hooped; has two strong rings to handle it by, but no trunnions or cascabel. There is a small cast-iron ball suited to its calibre.

Nos. 3 and 4 are also of wrought iron, but without hoops. They are supposed to be chambers or moveable breeches, which were much used in early times. They contained the charge of gunpowder, and were fitted into the breech of iron tubes which served to give direction to the balls. By degrees these chambers came to be used as independent pieces for throwing small shot. They are of great weight and strength, and prove that at the time of their employment very exaggerated ideas of the power of gunpowder were entertained.^a

^a These chambered pieces, called *Patereros*, were considered the most efficient of all the ancient artillery, and continued to be employed down to a comparatively late period. Indeed, even in the present day, they are in use amongst some of the Eastern Nations; and there are now in the repository at Woolwich several pieces of this description, which were captured from the Burmese

Besides the above, I have seen or had accurate descriptions of the following:—viz. a large gun of bars and hoops, 6 or 7 feet in length, and 3 inches bore. This piece had a strong iron bar or handle, running along the upper side, like a tailor's goose, fastened at one end just before the touch hole, and at the other near the muzzle, thus ;



a miniature gun, about 16 inches long, probably a chamber, was found jammed into the muzzle of the above.

Three guns nearly resembling No. 2. One was carried off by a Scotch cruizer ; another exists at Biggar in Walney, in the shape of a pair of axle trees.

Three chambers. One was found to contain a charge of gunpowder and a wadding of oakum.

Two small iron tubes, 15 or 18 inches long. These were described as parts of musket barrels, but it is more probable they were the earliest form of *hand cannon*.

during the late war. Through the kindness of Mr. Gould, of Tavistock Square, I have been favoured with a sketch of a cannon of this construction found, in the year 1826, in the small river Jacques Cartier, which falls into the St. Lawrence, about 30 miles above Quebec. This river derives its name from the famous French circumnavigator, who discovered this part of Canada, and wintered there in 1535 ; and this piece of ordnance must have been left behind by him. It is now in the Museum at Quebec.

The two chambers (3 and 4) were found charged with a quantity of pulverulent ochreous matter, which gave out a strong sulphureous smell, and was supposed to be gunpowder. Upon a hasty examination, made by Mr. Brande at the Royal Institution, it was found to contain a small quantity of sulphur and organic matter mixed up with oxide and muriate of iron, sand, and other foreign substances. My friend Dr. Ure has kindly favoured me with the result of a careful analysis of a portion of the contents, from which it appears that he discovered evidence of the existence of the three constituents of gunpowder, but in *very minute* quantity. The ancient gunpowder contained a much less proportion of nitre than is now employed in the manufacture ; and the combustion would consequently be incomplete, so that a few explosions would leave a sufficient *residuum* adhering to the chamber to account for all the traces which Dr. Ure has been able to detect.

I have, besides, in my possession, a dozen balls of stone and iron of different sizes :—

Six of granite, varying in diameter from 6 to $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

One of grey sandstone, 6 inches diameter.

One of clay ironstone, 6 inches diameter.

One ball of *hammered* iron, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and weighing 18lbs.

One cast iron, 2 inches.

One cast iron, 1 inch ; it was found enveloped in folds of lead to increase its size or weight.

Two balls, supposed to be lead, but when opened the kernel of one was discovered to be a *flint pebble*, and of the other a *square* piece of hammered iron.

Two old cutlasses.

A pair of curious brass compasses, or dividers, ingeniously contrived both to open and shut by pressure.

It is to be observed, that the whole of the relics just enumerated have been found within comparatively a very few years, and it is only reasonable to suppose, that during the several centuries which have elapsed since this disaster happened, a great number of objects, of which no trace now exists, have been carried away or destroyed. I have in my possession no less than six or seven balls of stone of different sizes, not suitable for any one of the pieces yet discovered ; and allowing that for every class of bullets there was a gun of corresponding calibre, the quantity of *materiel* originally deposited must have been very great. It happens, too, that the largest pieces are those which are not forthcoming, and I account for their disappearance as follows :—I am of opinion that the pieces, for which the larger stone balls were intended, were nothing more than open tubes to which the chambers or moveable breeches were adapted. As the gunpowder would thus be exploded in, and its violent action confined to the *chambers*, there would be no necessity for making these *tubes*, which merely served to give direction to the bullets, of any great strength or weight. They would probably, therefore, be formed of thin plates of iron, which would soon decay, or being light would lie upon the surface, and so be washed away, whilst the chambers and small heavy pieces would sink into the clay, and be preserved.

Impressed as I am with a firm conviction that the *materiel* just described belongs to a remote period, and intending to give an early date to the armament of which it formed a part, I must beg permission, in support of my opinion, to refer to the ancient history of ordnance, and to trace the application and improvement of the invention. It is asserted that gunpowder was employed in an early age by the Chinese, as well as by the Greeks; but, however that may be, it is quite certain that a compound of its elements was known about the middle of the thirteenth century to Roger Bacon, who suggested its application to purposes of war; and it is probable this suggestion was acted upon, for we find that guns are mentioned in the Romance of Sir Tryamor, written during the reign of Edward the Second. Albert the Great, Bishop of Ratisbon, who died in 1280, in his work "*de mirabilibus mundi*," describes gunpowder, which he states to consist of one part of sulphur, two of charcoal of willows, and six of saltpetre. Many old chronicles, however, ascribe the invention to Bartholdus Schwarz, a German monk, who appears, about the year 1320, to have compounded the elements of gunpowder in such proportions as to produce a powerfully explosive mixture. It is probable that very soon after this date, some apparatus was contrived for the employment of this agent in war, for the purpose at first, perhaps, of producing confusion and dismay in the ranks of the enemy, by the noise of the explosion and the smoke and smell by which it was accompanied. The Flemings at this period took the lead of all the Northern nations of Europe in every thing pertaining to the arts, and there is every reason to believe that they were the first to contrive engines for the application of this novel invention to the destruction of armies and besieged places. Our Edward the Third, the greatest captain of his time, is generally admitted to have been the first who brought this new species of artillery into efficient action; and there is no doubt that he was indebted to his alliance with the Flemings for this powerful auxiliary, which probably contributed in a great degree to the wonderful success of his campaigns. I am not disposed to question the credit of any author who speaks of *fire arms* at any time after Schwarz's invention, and I therefore refer to the testimony of John Barbour, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, who in his beautiful metrical history of King Robert the Bruce relates that *guns*, then known as "crakys of war," were seen in the army of

Edward the Third in his first expedition against the Scots in the year 1327.^b He was accompanied in this campaign by John de Hainault and a company of his countrymen, who, it is not very unreasonable to suppose, may have brought over with them, and then first taught the English monarch the value of, their inventions. Barbour, besides being a dignitary of the church, is quoted with great respect by subsequent historians; and in any event his evidence is good for this much, that in 1375, when his history was composed, the fame of fire arms had penetrated into Scotland.

Before proceeding further with a chronological account of the application of the invention, it may be convenient to inquire what were the forms and construction of the earliest pieces of ordnance and the material of which they were composed. Diego Ufano in his work, originally written in Spanish, but afterwards translated into French, and republished at Franckfort in 1614, under the title "*Vraie Instruction de l'Artillerie*," speaking of early cannons, and particularly of those used at Claudia fossa, according to his account in the year 1366, says, "*Mais quant à la façon, il est tout certain, que les premières pièces ont été fort mal faites, composées avec grande peine, et non sans danger mises en œuvre. Car ne sachant encore rien de fonte d'icelles, on se contentoit de prendre quelques grosses et fortes tables ou lames de fer, lesquelles on composait et ageançoit en rond, les serrant de gros anneaux ou cercles de fer, comme on voit les tonneaux, et ceci on le chargeoit d'une poudre grosse et mal propre, comme elle étoit du commencement de son invention, à discretion.*"

St. Remy, another ancient writer upon the same subject, says, "*Qu'elles ne consistoient qu'en de fortes tables de fer qu'on disposoit à peu pres cylindriquement, les serront avec de cercles de fer. Avec le temps cette forme s'est perfectionnée et elle s'est approchée insensiblement de celle que nos*

b " Twa noweltyeis that dai thai saw
That forouth in Scotland had been nane,
Tymmriss for helmys were the tane.
That t'other ' crakys wer of war,'
That thai before heard never er,
Of thai tua things thai had ferly
That nycht thai walkyt stalwartly."

Book 19.

canons ont aujourd'hui." ^c It is quite clear, therefore, that the earliest cannon of which we have any account were constructed upon the same principles, and composed of the same material, as those above described. The invention, however, was of too important a nature to allow of its remaining long stationary, and, as no subject was likely to engage so much attention, so we may suppose that no branches of the mechanical arts would make more rapid progress in improvement than those engaged in the manufacture of ordnance. There is good reason to suppose that even before the close of the fourteenth century cannons of brass and other cast metals existed, and that they were by no means uncommon in the early part of the fifteenth century is well ascertained. I shall now proceed to quote, in chronological order, such notices of the early employment of artillery as I have had an opportunity of referring to, and will, from time to time, advert to the progressive improvement in the manufacture, in order to be able to fix a date to the *materiel* under consideration.

According to Du Cange, ^d cannons were used at the siege of Puy Guillaume, a castle in Auvergne, in 1338, and he quotes the account of Barthelemi de Drach, treasurer of war for that year : " A Henri de Faumechon pour avoir poudre et autres choses necessaires aux canons qui estoient devant Puy Guillaume." The Chronicle of Du Guesclin, in relation to this siege, also states, " they ordered cannons to attack the town." Voltaire, in his general history, dates the introduction of ordnance a few years before this time ; and Marion says that cannons first appeared in France in the time of Philip of Valois, who reigned from 1328 to 1350.

In 1340 Lè Quesnoy is besieged by Mirepoix, and defends itself with cannons and bombards, which threw great stones ; ^e and in the same year the English are said to have had at the siege of Eu large iron pieces, with which they threw round stones.

Next in order of time comes the famous battle of Crecy (1346), in which it is generally admitted that Edward the Third employed pieces of ordnance. Froissart, it is true, does not mention them ; but, in my present temper of

^c Artillerie, l. viii.

^d v. Bombarda.

^e Decliquerent contre eux canons et bombardes qui jettoient grands carreaux.—Froissart, i. 55.—Père Daniel.

mind, I prefer the account of Villani,^f and those who agree with him.^g In the very next year he speaks of artillery being used at the celebrated siege of Calais, which appears to have been a famous school for the improvement of ordnance. He says,—“The King made no attacks upon the town, as he knew it would be only lost labour, and he was sparing of his men and artillery.”^h Again: “The King of England and his Council studied night and day to invent engines to annoy the town.”ⁱ Camden says,—“It is certain King Edward III. used guns at the siege of Calais, for *gunnarii* had pay there, as appears of record.” It may here be observed that Froissart, who was a Fleming, had probably all his life been familiar with the manufacture and use of cannon; and, therefore, did not feel it necessary to make particular mention of them, except in extraordinary instances. Thus we find him very ready to offer an almost incredible account of the great cannon, or bombard, said to have been employed at the siege of Oudenarde, which, he says, “was fifty feet long, threw great stones, and when discharged made a noise as if all the devils in hell had broken loose.” I am not able to ascertain the date of this siege, but I find it stated that this *monstre* cannon was made under the direction of D’Arteville, the famous Brewer of Ghent, who was dead before the year 1346, and consequently before the battle of Crecy.^k

In 1359, Peter King of Aragon had a bombard on board his ship, with which he dismasted a vessel belonging to his enemy, the King of Castile.^l

Petrarch, in his *Dialogus de remediis utriusque Fortunæ*, written in 1358, speaks of cannon as no longer the objects of astonishment or alarm: “ita communis est ut quolibet genus armorum.”^m

As early as the year 1368 the French artillery was so respectable, that there was an officer whom we would now call “the Master of the Ordnance.”

^f Sismondi, the elegant historian of Liberty in Italy, pays this tribute to Villani: “L’Histoire était écrite avec bonne foi, avec une recherche scrupuleuse de la vérité, avec une naïveté pleine de grace, par Jean Villani et son école.” And again: “Les deux Villani écrivirent l’histoire avec autant de jugement, d’elevation d’âme, et de philosophie, que l’avait fait Polybe.” John Villani died of the plague, at Florence, in 1348, and must therefore have written his account of the battle of Crecy immediately after it took place, and when all the circumstances were well known; whereas Froissart was at that time a boy of only nine years. Villani also mentions that the English had iron cannons before Monsegur, in the preceding year (1345).

^g Rapin, Mezerai.

^h Ch. 131.

ⁱ Ch. 138.

^k Froissart, ch. 116. Hume.

^l Suritædus Ara.

^m Dialogue, 99.

There is an account dated in this year, in which a payment is recorded to "William l'Escuyer, Master of the King's cannons, for seeking 100lbs. of material, to make powder for four great cannons, to put in the garrison of Harfleur."

In the fifth volume of the *Archæologia* is an interesting account of an antique piece of ordnance, which was fished up off the Goodwin Sands in 1776. It was of brass, *cast*, and had trunnions, and a variety of ornaments. Mr. King, an eminent antiquary of that time, supposes this piece to have been lost about the year 1370, and states several cogent reasons in support of his conjecture. He adds, that he had seen, at a place called the Fort, at Margate, in Kent, a very large old iron cannon, of extraordinary length, which had upon it the date 1354.

In 1372 the city of Augsburg had three large cannon of *bronze* (ad explodendos saxorum globos) which threw bullets of stone of 50, 70, and 127 lbs., that were said to be able to break down walls.ⁿ In this year also the French vessels were armed with cannon, at the sea-fight of La Rochelle.

In 1377 it is stated that iron cannon were *cast* at Erfurth, and that the inhabitants of Franckfort ordered a piece to be cast whose bullet should weigh 1000 lbs.^o

In 1378, when the English besieged St. Malo, they had 400 cannon: probably hand-cannon, or early musketry, which came into use about this time.^p In this year a founder, named Aarau, of Augsburg, cast 20 pieces in bronze, or brass, and also iron bullets, both solid and hollow. At this time the Venetians used cannon against the Genoese, at the siege of Chioggia,^q at which the renowned Peter Doria was killed by a *stone* bullet, weighing 195 lbs., discharged from a famous bombard called *la Trevisienne*. This fact is of importance, as showing that the first balls or *stuffing* used for ordnance were made of stone.

In the reign of Richard the Second there is good reason to suppose that both cannon and gunpowder were manufactured in England. There is in Rymer,^r in the first year of this reign (1377), a commission directed to Sir

ⁿ Technol. des Armes à feu.

^o Tech. des Armes à feu.

^p Froissart, ch. 332.

^q Guicciardini considers this the first introduction of cannons into Italy; but he is in error. See Petrarch, ante. Corrazzano, lib. 3, ch. 2.

^r Rot. Fran. 1 R. II.

Thomas Norbury, “to buy two large and two small cannon; also saltpetre, sulphur, and charcoal, for making gunpowder, and 600 stone balls for cannons, and other ammunitions and stores to be sent to the Castle of Brest, in Brittany.”

In 1383, at the siege of Ypres, by the English, under the Bishop of Norwich, “the garrison defended themselves so well with stones, arrows, lances, Greek fire, and certain engines called *guns*, that they obliged the besiegers to decamp with such precipitation, that they left behind them their *great guns*, which were of inestimable value.”^s

In 1385, when Charles VI., King of France, besieged the strong fort of Dam, in Flanders, “les pierres des canons venoient jusque à ses tentes.”^t

In 1386 the English fleet met two French ships sailing towards Sluys, which were taken and brought into Sandwich. There was on board a master gunner, who had served at Calais under Sir Hugh Calverly, and also, as Walsingham relates, “gonnæ plures cum magna quantitate pulveris, cujus pretium prævaluit omnibus manubiis supra dictis.”^u “Gonnæ, Galli canones vocant.” In this same year a naval engagement took place, and Froissart relates that “Jean Bucq, the Flemish admiral, was in a ship that carried three cannons, which cast forth darts and quarrels so large and heavy, that they did great damage where they fell.”

In 1390 a memorable expedition was conducted into Africa by the Duke de Bourbon. Froissart, in his account of the siege of Tunis, which was gallantly defended by the Saracens against the Christians, makes frequent mention of artillery and cannons as employed by both parties. Amongst other things, he says, “the Christians sent some light vessels called brigandines, armed with *bricolles* and *canons* first towards the harbour.” It appears from this that the introduction of ordnance did not immediately supersede the ancient military engines; on the contrary, the old *mechanical* artillery continued to be used, in conjunction with the new, for upwards of two hundred years after the invention of gunpowder.

About the year 1400, a foundry for casting cannon was established at Marienbourg, and from inventories of this period it appears that many towns

^s Walsingham, 327. ^t Père Dan. i. 477. ^u Wals. 323. 398.

in Germany possessed brass pieces of ordnance and gunpowder. A few years later a cannon foundry was established in the city of Dantzic.^x

Towards the end of Richard the Second's and the beginning of Henry the Fourth's reign, cannon appear to have been so plentiful in England, that they were placed in distant castles and fortresses. In an inventory taken at Holy Island in 1401, there are among other things, "iiii *gonnys*"—in another taken in 1409 there are "iii *gunnes*"—and at a still later period the inventory taken at the same place contains "iiii *gunnæ bene reparatæ cum pulvere*."

Henry the Fifth, besides the artillery which he inherited from his predecessors, provided himself with a large supply, and in his time we first hear of a Master of the Ordnance. In the fourth year of his reign, when he prepared to go over into France, he stocked himself with "all manner of ordynance, that is to say, canones, gonnes, tripgettis, engines, scales, bastilles, &c." and when he was engaged in the siege of Harfleur "there came unto him ships laden with gonnes and gunpowder."^y In 1414 the King directed an order to Nicholas Mewbury, Master of the Ordnance, "commanding him to cause 7000 stone balls to be cut in the quarries on Maidstone heath for guns of different sorts; also to prepare twelve carriages for large guns, twenty pipes of gunpowder of charcoal of willows, and various other stores for the use of the guns."^z

At the siege of Orleans in 1428, the English had fifteen cannons, which did great execution. It is said that they were laden at the breech, and probably were chamber pieces, or *patereros*. There is still at Toulouse a brass cannon cast in the year 1438, and it is said that one exists of the year 1418.^a It is not necessary to pursue this branch of the subject further than to say that from year to year great improvements appear to have taken place in the manufacture of ordnance, and that a great many varieties of guns had been introduced about the middle of this century. In 1471, when preparations were making against an invasion of the Scots, King Edward the Fourth ordered to be seized for his use, "Bunbardos, canones, culvereynes, fowellers, serpentynes, et alios canones quoscunque, ac pulveres sulphureos,

^x Technol. des Armes à feu.

^z Rymer's Fœd.

^y Chron. de Dunstable.

^a Capo Bianco.

saltpetre, petras, ferrum, plumbum et omnimodas alias stuffuras pro eisdem canonibus necessarias et oportunas.”^b Louis XI. at the same time possessed a powerful artillery, and had extensive foundries at Paris, Tours, Orleans and Amiens.^c

I have been thus particular in tracing the history of the progress of the invention and the art of gunnery, in order to establish the fact that great improvements had taken place in the manufacture of ordnance before the time at which we are now arrived in this inquiry. It appears quite certain that even before the close of the fourteenth century, cannons of brass and cast metal were known, and that early in the succeeding age they were in general use. There is no doubt that guns of forged iron still continued to be employed, but at the time of which I am now speaking, I apprehend *they* formed the exception to the general rule, and that any miscellaneous collection of artillery from the beginning to the middle of the fifteenth century, would contain a great majority of pieces of *brass* or *cast metal*. It is, therefore, a very strong fact in support of the opinion that this *materiel* belongs to a very early period in the history of fire arms, that among so many pieces, *not one* has been found of *brass* or *cast metal*, or indeed of any metal except *forged iron*, which we have seen was the first material employed. There is good evidence, I think, to shew that at the time these objects were

^b Rym. xii. 140.

^c The first cannons cast in England are said to have been executed by John Owen in 1521 ; but the art appears to have been introduced in a state of high perfection. There are now at Woolwich several guns lately recovered from the wreck of the “ Mary Rose,” which was sunk at Spithead in 1545, and amongst them two large brass cannons, the one a 68, the other a 24 pounder, which in beauty of design and workmanship are equal to any thing that could be produced in the present day. I must not omit to mention, however much it may interfere with my subsequent conjectures, that there are also two pieces of hammered iron which were raised from the same spot. The one of them is of great length, formed of bars and hoops of iron, and is firmly imbedded in a large and heavy piece of timber. It must at all times have been an unwieldy and inefficient engine, and I cannot imagine that it could have co-existed, for purposes of active service on shipboard, with those highly finished pieces just mentioned. The gunpowder which would be suitable for the one would blow the other to pieces, and the gunners accustomed to the former would hardly be persuaded to run the risk of discharging the latter. It occurs to me, therefore, that these rude pieces of the olden time, if indeed they ever were on board the Mary Rose, must have been used for ballast or some other illegitimate purpose.

produced, the casting of metals was an art still in its infancy, or imperfectly known. It is true there are two small bullets of cast iron, but the large shot (18 lb.) is of *wrought* iron, clumsily hammered into shape; from which I infer that the manufacturers of these particular specimens wanted the skill or the means to cast any considerable mass. Other circumstances in favour of the claim of great antiquity, are the *rudeness* of the *materiel* itself, attesting the low state of the mechanical arts—the want of trunnions and cascabel in every instance—the absence of every kind of ornament—the nature of the stuffings, &c.

I have carefully examined the oldest specimens of artillery which exist in the Tower and at the Repository at Woolwich, but can find nothing that does not appear to be much more modern than my own. The oldest piece in the Tower is referred by Sir Samuel Meyrick to the time of Henry the Sixth, and is formed of bars and hoops like No. 1; but the workmanship is very superior, and there are several attempts at ornament. Those at Woolwich, apparently of the same date, are all more or less ornamented, and are generally provided with trunnions and cascabel.

In the hope of discovering something to enable me to fix a date to the armament to which this antique artillery belonged, I have referred to some of the earliest pictorial representations of ordnance which exist, and from which I have taken a few sketches. Nos. 1 and 2 (Plate XXII.) are copied from those beautifully illuminated MSS. of Froissart in the British Museum, supposed to have been executed in his own time, or shortly after, and consequently about the commencement of the fifteenth century, since this author died early in the reign of Henry the Fourth. No. 1 is from a picture of the siege of Aubenton, by the Earl of Hainault, in 1339. I do not find that Froissart makes mention of cannon being employed on this occasion; but it is reasonable to suppose that the painter must have had some good ground for introducing them. I consider that this picture furnishes strong evidence of the *existence* of ordnance at the date of the siege, if not of its employment there. It is the work of an accomplished artist, who was illustrating an event which probably happened within the century in which he lived; and the introduction of *cannon*, if they did not then exist, would be an instance of anachronism as egregious and inexcusable, as if an eminent painter of the present day should introduce a *steam boat* into the representation of a sea-

fight of the year 1750. No. 2 is a sketch of one of three cannons presented in a picture of the siege of Tunis in the year 1390, before referred to. Mr. King, speaking of this, says, "it is a representation of the form of cannon, constructed with rings and iron bars, and of the manner in which they were mounted at sieges on their first introduction into this country, in the time of Edward the Third."^d

No. 3 is taken from an ancient MS. in the Sloanian Library, called the Chronicle of St. Denys; and, according to Sir Samuel Meyrick, portrays the cannons in use at the commencement of Henry the Fourth's reign. It appears to be cast, and has a process for the purpose of elevation and depression.

No. 4 is copied from that exquisitely illuminated manuscript in the British Museum, entitled, "le Roman de la Rose," which is coeval with the reign of Henry the Sixth.

No. 5 is from a manuscript translation, by Vasqua de Lucene, of the works of Quintus Curtius, executed in the fifteenth century.

Nos. 6 and 7 are taken from a beautifully illustrated MS. (in the King's Library, Brit. Mus.) of the time of Edward the Fourth, and represent the cannons in use during this reign. These pieces appear to be highly finished, and to have considerable ornament; and the peculiar azure colour given to them in the original, I imagine, is intended to represent bronze or some cast metal. I may sum up the result of my investigations in a few words, namely, that I can nowhere find pictorial representations of cannon more rude and inartificial than those discovered in the Island of Walney.

It now remains for me to endeavour to answer a most important inquiry, namely, when and by what means, and with what intent, were these munitions transported to the particular place where they were found? It is beyond question that they could only have been brought there by sea; and I have adduced some evidence to show that the vessel must have been of very inconsiderable size, which favours the presumption that it belonged to an early age. It is quite clear that such a number and variety of pieces could never have been employed on board such a ship as we must suppose this wreck to have been; and the inference is therefore irresistible that it

^d Archaeol. vi. 315.

must have been a transport laden with warlike stores ; but whence coming, or whither proceeding, is alike subject of conjecture. The only event recorded in history which would seem, at first sight, to account for the accumulation of such a quantity of *materiel* at this particular position is the fact, that, in 1487, Lambert Simnel, the pretended Earl of Warwick, landed here with a considerable army ; but notwithstanding the near coincidence of the place of Simnel's descent with the locality of the discovery, I think I shall be able to show good grounds for my opinion, "that these munitions were not brought there by him." The main spring and support of this mad enterprise was Margaret, widow of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, and sister of our Edward the Fourth, who is stated at this time to have possessed great wealth, and to have acquired by her virtuous conduct and demeanour great authority among the Flemings.^e She would consequently have at command all the resources of Flanders, which long before this time was famed for excellence in the mechanical arts, and particularly for the manufacture of ordnance. Martin Swart, who commanded the 2,000 Germans hired for this service, is represented as a leader, not only of peerless valour, but of great experience and knowledge in the art of war. He had in all probability been trained in arms under the conduct of that warlike Prince, Charles the Bold himself, who, in his campaign against the Swiss in 1476, is said to have had a battering train of 50 great cannons, besides field artillery, and small fire-arms.^f If therefore the armament was provided with artillery, of which, however, no mention is made in history, it is but reasonable to suppose that it would have corresponded with that which existed at that time in Flanders, and with which Swart must have been too well acquainted to think of employing this clumsy and ill appointed *materiel*. The armament fitted out in Flanders, passed over into Ireland, and after proclaiming and crowning Simnel in Dublin, according to Holinshed, "with a great multitude of beggarly Irishmen, they sailed into England with this new found King, and landed, *for a purpose*, at the Pile of Fouldrey, within a little of Lancaster." This purpose was to join Sir Thomas Broughton, one of the chiefs of the conspiracy, whose estates lay in the immediate neighbour-

^e Hume.

^f At the battle of Newburg, the Swiss captured "400 fortes pièces de batterie, 800 arquebuses à croc, et 200 barils de poudre."

hood ; and they might besides have been influenced to make their descent on this particular part of the coast, knowing that they were likely to encounter no resistance from the Abbot of Furness and his peaceful vassals. The army lay encamped for some time on a moor near Ulverstone, which is still called Swart-moor, after the gallant conductor of the enterprise. They were afterwards, after a desperate struggle, defeated and put to rout by the King's forces at Stoke, and I apprehend the fortune of the day would have been the same if they had been in possession of this "battering train," which, however, according to my view, had then been quietly reposing for more than a century in the sands of the Island of Walney.

In considering all the circumstances connected with these antiquities, and referring back with a view of giving them a date, I find it difficult to get out of the fourteenth century. If Mr. King, who appears to have been a very industrious and able antiquary, is justified in giving to a *brass* cannon, *cast* and highly *ornamented*, the date of 1370, surely I need not hesitate to give a later, though still very ancient, date to these ill-fashioned pieces of iron. In the first of Richard the Second (1377 or 8) we find the King, or rather the Council of Regency, making preparations of warlike stores to send over to the Castle of Brest in Britany ; and among other things cannon, stone balls for cannon, and material for gunpowder are enumerated.^g In the next year "There went to sea an army of men that should go over into Britany to aid the Duke there, under the command of Sir John Arundell, Sir Thomas Percy, and others ; a sufficient power, undoubtedly, to have done a great enterprise."^h They encountered a tremendous storm, and part of the fleet was driven into the Irish sea, when twenty-five ships and one thousand men, with Sir John Arundell himself, were lost. Walsingham and Holinshed both give a particular account of Arundell's losses, and speak generally of "horses and other riches," but nowhere is mention made of arms or munitions of *any* kind. It is, however, not unreasonable to suppose that the military stores, which we have seen were providing for this particular service, were on board some transport

^g Rym. vii. 187. "Duo magna et duo minora ingenia vocata canones ; sexcentas petras pro eisdem ingeniis et aliis ingeniis—300 libras de saltpetre ; 100 libras sulphuris vivi ; unum dolium carbonum de salagh * * * pro stauro et munitione castri nostro de Brest."

^h Holinshed, Chron.

in the fleet, and once *en route* we may go on to conjecture that this unfortunate craft may have been driven by the tempest upon the Lancashire coast.

Passing on to other historical events which may afford further ground for conjecture, I come to the two expeditions which Richard the Second conducted in person into Ireland, the first in 1394, the other in 1399. Before this time we have traced into his possession a good quantity of artillery; for besides what we may suppose him to have inherited from his grandfather, and what he himself legitimately obtained by manufacture and purchase, we learn that the capture of the two French ships, as mentioned by Walsingham, in 1386, brought him a considerable supply. It is only reasonable to suppose that this weak and vain-glorious prince (who appears particularly to have laboured under the delusion that he possessed talents for military affairs) would take care to provide himself, in the campaigns which he personally conducted, with those engines which his grandfather Edward the Third, and his father the Black Prince, had employed with such wonderful success. The latter expedition was undertaken in a romantic spirit to avenge the death of his cousin Mortimer, and the preparations which he made were upon so expensive and extravagant a scale as to give rise to the disaffection and discontent amongst his subjects which favoured the designs and contributed to the success of the Duke of Lancaster. In this last campaign the King was accompanied by the intrepid young Harry of Monmouth, afterwards King Henry the Fifth, (who, a few years later, made such successful use of artillery in France,) and who on this occasion received the honour of knighthood. Admitting then that Richard the Second in both or either of these expeditions was provided with artillery, nothing is so easy as to suppose a thousand accidents which may have caused the wreck of one of his transports on the Island of Walney. Holinshed relates that at the time the King was desirous to return from Dublin to hinder the designs of the usurper of his throne, great storms and tempests prevailed for several successive weeks; but

“I’m weary of conjectures, this must end them.”

I venture to express a hope that some member of the Society of Antiquaries, whose acquirements and precedent pursuits have better qualified him for the task, will be induced to take up this inquiry with a view of arriving at some reasonable conclusion as to the date and object of the

armament and the cause of the disaster. If, in future years, anything likely to contribute to the solution of the problem should be brought to light, I will not fail to communicate it to you ; and in the meantime, begging to apologise for this lengthy and, I fear, very tedious detail,

I remain, my dear Sir,

Very truly yours,

C. D. ARCHIBALD.

SIR HENRY ELLIS, K.H. F.R.S.
Sec. S. A.

XIV. *Copies of Two Letters from Queen Elizabeth to Dr. Dale, Her Majesty's Ambassador in France, A.D. 1573, relating to the proposed Marriage with the Duc d'Alençon. Communicated by FRANCIS WORSHIP, Esq., in a Letter to HENRY HALLAM, Esq., F.R.S., Vice-President.*

Read 23d January, 1840.

DEAR SIR,

66, Lincoln's Inn Fields, 20th January, 1840.

I BEG to send for your perusal two official letters, addressed by Queen Elizabeth to Dr. Dale, her Ambassador at Paris, relative to her proposed marriage with the Duke of Alençon, afterwards Duke of Anjou. If you should think them worthy of the notice of the Society of Antiquaries, I hope you will feel no hesitation in having them read at their next meeting.

I am, dear Sir,

Your faithful servant,

FRANCIS WORSHIP.

Henry Hallam, Esq.

BY THE QUEENE.

ELIZABETH R.

Trusty and welbelovid, we greete you well. We haue vnderstand by o^r trusty ſ^rũnt Edward Horsey in what sort yow and he haue proceedid withe the Frenche King and the Queene his mother, according as we did direct yow bothe, at his going thitherward. And do allow very well of all your doinge. And do let yow vnderstand that by our said ſ^rũnt^e report we do perceau^e your diligence and discretion in your service to be suche as we haue expectid, and as dothe very well content vs. Sence his returne the Frenche Ambassadour hath ben twice with vs, laboring very

much to procure vs to assent that Mons^r. Le Duc D'Alençon might come hither. And notwithstanding our former allegations of the doubt^e that we had, that if the Duke should not obteyn his desire heere, than there might grow an alteration of the good amitie that is now betwixt vs and that King, Yet th' ambassado^r still psisteth that the King and his mother and the Duke himself are fully resolvid, not to impute it as any vnkyndnes, nor to dimisshe any part of the force of the present amitie, though he shuld not speede. Whervnto nevertheles we replied, that we must needes deale plainely with the King and his mother. And therefore we did not onely reiterate the doubt^e afore remembrid for the deminution that might happen to the amitie, but we did also declare that whan we entrid into the deliberation of this matter of his co^ming, considering also the cause therof was manifest, we fownd a great nombre of mo reasons as motyves in our mynde, to make vs doubt that we shuld not assent to this mariage, than otherwise. Comparing the weight therof to the comparison of a ballance, that although on the one side there wer some to weye our mynde toward^e the lyking of the mariage; yet on the other syde in one of the ballance wer more, bothe in nombre and weight, to declyne vs. And so the very mater and intent of his co^ming being so inequally doubtfull to take effect, we shuld not do well, if we did not discover it. And this speeche we did not onely vse to the ambassado^r himself in pryvate conference, but did also repete the same to him in presence of the best of our counsell, whome we call'd to vs for the same purpose. But for all this the ambassado^r persistid still in requiring of vs a convenient safconduct, whiche he tearmid assurances for the Dukes co^ming. Alleging that the King his M^r and his mother had well considerid of all these thinge allegid by vs. And in the end, pceaving by vs that we wold gladly that the King might vnderstand first of this our now last speeche, before any further proceeding shuld be, for the making of the safconduct^e and assurances, he desyrid that he might haue the said safconduct^e delyverid to him, to the ende the King might be so advertisid. And yet not to be sent over into France, vntill he shuld heere how the King wold resolve vpon this our last answer. Finally, through his importunitie, and considering if the cause of his co^ming wer not (as it is) for mariage, we could not with honor refuse to graunt lycence to any prince being in amitie with vs, to come to visit vs, vpon his so earnest a request, we did yeld to him that the assurance

shulde be put in writing, and he shulde see them. But not to haue them delyverid to him, for that wer by a kynde of writing that he shuld haue in his custody, to say that he shuld coñi, and be favourably vsid (as the forme of the assurance or safconduct must needes conteyn suche a sence) and yet in wordē at one self tyme to declare our self not onely doubtfull whether it were meete he shulde coñie, but rather inclynid to think it not meete. And if, notwithstanding this our last answer made to him, whiche also he desyrid might be impartid to the King from vs by yow as our ambassado^r, the King and his mother wolde persist in requiring that his brother shulde coñie, than th' ambassado^r shulde haue the said saufconduct. In this sort briefly yow may see how we haue proceedid in this mater, whiche, when yow have well considerid, we requyre yow to declare the same to the King and to the Queene mother. And to require them that they will think the better of our good meaning in that we deale thus plainly wth them. And yet we leaue the further consideracion herof to theinselfe. Meaning certainly both in this and in all other thinge to be answerable to them in all good offices that may conserne o^r amitie with them. Th' ambassado^r also told vs that he perceavid that Edward Horsey had not dealt with the King nor his mother for declaracion of our doinge in Scotland. Whervnto we answerid, that in deede o^r said serūnt tolde vs that the fault was not in him. For, as yow can tell, there was no motion made by them therof to him nor to yow. For if there had, yow were both directid to haue fully satisfyed the King. And for the more justificacion of our intent herin, we told him that Horsey talking with the Queene mother of other thinge, vpon occasion offrid by the Queene mother in praysing our government for the happines therin, he made a speciall mention to shew our sinceritie in o^r actions, not onely at home but in other countrees. How of late we had procurid a good peace in Scotland, ceassid their civill warres, and restorid to the King his strongist castell of Edinburgh, deteynid by rebelle. And though we might have impatronized our selfe therof, yet, wthout seeking to have any interest in that realme in any thing, we yeldid to the King all thinge to our great charge. To whiche his speeche the Queene mother seemid to applaud, onely coñiending vs in so doing, wthout demanding any further question. And so th' ambassado^r might pceave where the lack was, that in that matter no furer declaracion was made. But at his request we will that yow shall take occasion to speake

heerof to the King, or to his mother. And lett them see our sinceritie in that mater. Wherin it is manifest that we sought altogether the pacificacion of that realme, and not o^r own proffit. No, we have not taken that advantage that we might, and that o^r progenitors in lyke tymes wold haue done; that is, so to hynde that realme and state to vs in streight amitie, that it shuld dissolve their leagues with that crowne of France. Which we mynde not to doo, in respect of the good amitie that we meane to keepe with that crowne of France our selfe. And so can be content there be and remayne a mutuall frendship betwixt vs all three, without intention that either of vs shulde seeke the preiudice or damage of the other. And as long as that Crowne of France shall meane none other, there neede be no doubt of our intencion, otherwise to deale with Scotland but as we have done. And this you may well assure them. Th' ambassado^r also movid vs to graunt lycence to a gentleman whom the Frenche King wold send into Scotland to visit the King. Whervnto we assentid. Adding that therby the King shuld well vnderstand (if the party wold deale well being there) how sincerely we had dealt in this our late actions in Scotland. And so yow may tell the King.

If yow shall fynde it convenient to the furdurance of the late reconciliation of theim of the religion to the King, that our co^mendation and well lyking therof may doo good, or that our request in some point^e reasonable to furdre the same to some more benefite and surety for theim, yow shall vse your discretion to say somewhat to the King in our name, for the one or the other. For the more they shalbe avancid in their libertie for their exercise of their religion and for their surety, the gladder we wold be. Geven vnder out signet, at Croydon, the xvijth of July, 1573. In the xvth yere of o^r reign.

(Seal.)

To o^r trusty and welbelovid D. Dale,
our ambassado^r resident with our
good broth^r the Frenche King.

BY THE QUEENE.

ELIZABETH R.

Right trusty and welbilovid, we grete you well. Wheras the French ambassado^r, sithens the retourn of our servaunt Randolph, hath sundry tymes had acces vnto vs, requiring our aunswer wheder we could allowe of the cumming over of the Duke of Alançon, vpon the vieu of his portrature brought over by our said s^rvaunt; you shall therfor, at the tyme of your audience with the King and his mother, shew them, that the cause of our staye in aunswering them hath proceded vpon twoo respects. Th'one, for that we haue had sundry conferences with our counsel, to knowe their opinions what inconvenience might followe, if vpon a publicq and open entervieu, there shuld not growe satisfaction of our persons; for that we would be lothe that the King our good brother, seking to enter in to straighter amitie with vs by this offre of mariage, there shuld fall out such discontentement by this occasion throug not satisfaction, as might impaire the good amitie alrede betwene vs, and therfor we thought it a matter worthy of good deliberation. Th' other, for that, as well vpon the discoverey of a late entreprise intended against those of Rochel, as other aduertisment^e from that countree, there is conceived in the hart^e of our good subiect^e a new jalousie and misliking of this matche, and therfor we, desiring nothing more then the conservation and continuance of their good devotion toward^e vs, know not what to resolute. Notwithstanding, being pressed by their ambassado^r to yeld our aunswer, he receved the same from vs as followeth. We shewed him that wheras he vsed divers reasons to perswade vs to give our consent to an open and publick entervieu, we could in no case be led to yeld therto: for that we can be putt in no comfort by those that desier moost our mariage and ar well affected to that crown, who haue also seen the yong gentleman, that there will grow any satisfaction of our persons. And therfor you may saye, that if it wer not more to satisfie the earnest request of our good broth^r the King and the Quene his mother (whose honorable dealing^e toward^e vs as well in seking vs himself, as in offering vnto vs both his brethern, we cannot but esteme as an infallible argument of their great good willes toward^e us,) we could in no case be induced to allowe of his cumming neith^r publickly nor privatly, for that we feare (notwithstanding

the great protestations that he and his mother make to the contrary,) that if vppon the entervieu satisfaction follow not, there is like to ensue thereby in stede of straighter amitie, disdayn, vnkindnes, and a gawll and wound of that good freendshipp that is alredy betwen vs. The doubt wherof maketh vs very much perplexed to yeld to a thing that we in our conceit greatly feare will not have that good succes and issue that of eith^r partie is desired. Notwithstanding, if you shall see that the doubtes that we laye before them shall not staye them, but that Mons^r le Duke will nedes cum over in sum disguised sort; that then you shall tell the King from vs, that we desier that the gentleman in whose company he shall cum over (as one of his followers), may be one not of so great qualite as the Duke of Montmorency, nor accompanied with any great trayne, to avoyd the suspicion that otherwise wilbe of his cumming. For that if there followe no liking betwene vs after a vieu taken the one of the other, the more secretly it be handeled, the lest touch will it be to both our honours. We ar of late earnestly requested to a doughter of the Duke of Monpensiers, who is presently in house with the Electo^r Palatyne in Germanye, to reco^mend her reasonable request vnto the King, our good brother, and to Quene Moth^r, which is, that she may enioye the benifit of the edict, such her liuing as she hath in France, during the tyme of her absence, being withdrawn from thence in respect of the liberte of her conscience. You shall therefor saye vnto Quene Mother from vs, that we desier her to joyn with youe in the furtherance of this sute vnto the King her sonne, our good brother, who, we hope, as well for our sakes as that the gentlewoman is so nere of blood vnto her children, and that it is a naturall vertu incident to our sexe to be pitifull of those that ar afflicted, will so tender her case as by her good meanes the gentlewoman shalbe relieved and we gratified, which we shalbe ready to requite as occasion shall serve vs. Geven vnder our signet at our honour of Hampton-court, the first daye of February, 1573, the xvjth yere of our reign.

(Seal.)

To our trusty and welbelovid Docto^r
 Dale, our ambassado^r resident in
 France.

XV. *On the Antiquity of Abury and Stonehenge,*
by JOHN RICKMAN, *Esq., F.R.S.*

Read 13th June, 1839.

I AM sensible that I undertake an unpopular task in endeavouring to restrain within ascertained limits the unknown date of the most revered objects of antiquarian curiosity extant in Great Britain ; but I also know that in the estimation of enlightened minds, truth, or (its near adjunct) probability, is preferable to indefinite wonder ; and I shall venture to produce circumstantial evidence, that the antiquity of Stonehenge and even of Abury, falls short of the commencement of the Christian era.

To begin with facts and dates not very problematical, I shall assume that the Roman roads in Kent, which evidently aim at uninterrupted communication between the Continent and London, were made or in progress at the time of Agricola (A.D. 60), when London was not indeed dignified with the title or privileges of a military colony of veterans, but is said by Tacitus to be famed for its commercial importance ; and the great number of inhabitants and others at that time slaughtered there by the insurgent Britons, confirms its early pretensions as the then capital city of Britain.

The Roman roads in Kent deserve notice as having been planned with an intention of greater scope than (within my knowledge) has been ascribed to them. The nearest and middle harbour of access from Gaul was evidently Dover ; but whenever the wind was unfavourable for a direct passage, further resource became desirable, and from Lemanis (Lymne, near Hythe) and Ritupæ (Richborough, near Sandwich) branch roads were made, joining the Dover road at Canterbury ; so that a dispatch-boat, by sailing from the windward port, or steering for the leeward of these three ports, could seldom fail of a ready passage to or from the continent ; and especially it is remarkable, that the prevailing south-west wind (with this advantage) permitted a direct passage from Gessoriacum or Itius (Boulogne or Witsand) to Ritupæ ; in effect to London ; the Wantsum channel then and long after existing within the Isle of Thanet to Regulbium (Reculver) on the Thames, being

that by which early navigation was sheltered in its access to the British metropolis. Indeed the first paragraph of the Itinerary of Antoninus gives the reputed distance from Gessoriacum to Ritupæ, as if more important or more in use than the shorter passage to Dover.*

Canterbury affords no indication of Roman origin, and was probably the British capital of Kent before Julius Cæsar invaded Britain; nor could any track-way of an uncivilized people find its course from Canterbury to London, otherwise than by the lowest practicable ford across the river Medway at Maidstone.

From this place the native Britons travelled onward by way of Noviomagus (Holwood); the first syllable of its name probably being prefixed by the Romans when they began to inhabit this British stronghold and made their tombs below Holwood, on the side of the old track-way; which must have continued in use for cattle and bulky commodities till many centuries afterwards; in fact, until Rochester bridge was built. Maidstone (Vagniacæ) indeed finds a place in the Itinerary, although (from want of a practicable line between that place and Canterbury) this direct road from London, through Noviomagus, turns abruptly northward (in the Itinerary) from Maidstone to Rochester† (Durobrivis), where the Romans had established a ferry, protected by a fortified station, and thereby had secured a direct road from Canterbury to London for military purposes and pedestrians.‡

After the Kentish roads were thus established, other military roads were successively made; the most eminent of which, the Watling Street, must have been among the first, as passing through the British town of Verulamium (near St. Alban's), at that time the largest town next after London. Yet we must conclude, from evidence which cannot be obliterated, that another road from London preceded the Watling Street in formation; because, at the

* "A Gessoriaco de Galliis, Ritupis in portu Britanniarum, Stadia numero CCCCL";—Pliny says [Lib. III. c. 16.] 50 miles, which is not far from the fact.

† The name of Rochester is perhaps more nearly connected with this its assumed origin than at first sight appears. The Welch descendants of the Provincial Britons call the City of Rome *Caer-Ruffin*; and the appellation of the Bishop of Rochester (Roffen'), known to be as ancient as the establishment of Christianity in Kent, still remains in sound the same; so that *Roffen-ceaster* (Saxon) being translated, is no other than The Roman Fortress.

‡ The Roman road from London to Durobrivis (Rochester) by way of Noviomagus and Vagniacæ, was (according to the 2d iter) 37 miles. The direct road from London to Durobrivis (according to the 3d iter and the 4th iter) was 27 miles.

Tyburn end of Oxford Street, the ancient Watling Street deviates northward by a decided angle from the direct and therefore more ancient road towards Bath; and this priority is supported by probability, founded on the well-known passion for the use of warm baths, which produced edifices at Rome second only in extent to the Flavian Amphitheatre of the eternal city.

Indeed a subordinate motive existed for the early formation of a Bath road, inasmuch as it passes through Calleva (Silchester), the third of British towns in extent; London being, within the walls of Constantius, about 370 acres, Verulam within its walls 245 acres, and Calleva rather more than 100 acres; and that the Romanized inhabitants of the last named town were distinguished by their cultivated taste, is testified by the amphitheatre outside the walls, one of the few undisputed relics of that kind in Britain. The Roman road reaches Calleva by way of Staines (Pontes), and, crossing the river Kennet at Newbury, passes on through Spinæ (Speen) to Cunetio (near Marlborough) and Verlucio, to Aquæ Solis (Bath). (See Supplementary Note 1.)

Having premised thus much, I hasten to proceed to the professed object of this essay; first abjuring the authority of Dr. Stukeley, who bestowed great attention on the Abury Circus, but whose imagination too often surpassed even his zeal in antiquarian research. Much is due to this amiable man and accomplished scholar notwithstanding his credulity and unaccountable inaccuracies of representation; to establish which fact against him it is enough to refer to his verbal description and plan of the well-known Silchester, as if its walls included a regular four-sided figure, it being in fact an irregular eight-sided polygon, seemingly regulated in a great degree by some antecedent circular entrenchment of a British place of refuge; yet, by a date marked under a tolerably good sketch of the adjacent amphitheatre, it is proved that the Doctor really visited the place in May, 1724.

His plan of Abury itself does not violate the truth, otherwise than as exhibiting many more stones than existed in his time. But he misrepresents the road between West Kennet and Silbury, as if crooked instead of rectilinear, and making a turn half round the base of the artificial hill; as if the Roman road aimed at such an obstruction merely for the sake of thus avoiding it; and he then relies on this fictitious curve in support of his opinion of the priority of date of the said hill.

My first suspicion that the great earthen Circus at Abury was planned with reference to the Roman road, and therefore after its formation, sprang from the well-known fact that the Roman mile was about one-twelfth part shorter than an English mile (see Note 2) ; for it may be seen in the Ordnance Map, and on a larger scale in Sir Richard Colt Hoare's ground-plan of the situation of Abury [see Plate XXIII.] that, with a radius of a Roman mile, assuming Silbury Hill as a centre, you strike through the middle of the Abury Circus, and also cut the Roman road, where it is crossed by the Druidic avenue ; which with a graceful curve led from a marked commencement (as if for forming a procession), in a circle of stones (now destroyed) which stood at some little distance south of the Bath road. The above-mentioned adoption of the Roman mile shews that measure of length to have been used for settling the position of Abury Circus and its adjuncts, in like manner as the mensuration of the length and breadth of the passages and interior apartments of the Great Pyramid by Greaves, enabled Sir Isaac Newton to settle the exact length of the Egyptian, or sacred cubit ; of which all these measures proved to be aliquot parts or multiples. Nor is it foreign to our subject to mention in this place, for the sake of comparison, that the Great Pyramid covers an area of nearly twelve acres English (16 Egyptian) and Silbury Hill four acres and a half, its circumference (omitting the surrounding grassy slope of matter washed down from the surface of the hill) being 2,300 feet ; its altitude or perpendicular height is 130 feet to the flat surface (35 yards diameter) which forms its truncated summit.

A considerable work certainly ; but in viewing attentively the situation of Silbury Hill, I cannot but doubt whether it be entirely an artificial work ; to me it appears to be placed upon the end of a moderate ridge, which ridge interrupting the necessary line of Roman road, was therefore cut through to some depth, and between the road and Silbury Hill the cut has been widened and sunk lower than the road, which operation is proof enough that such road existed before the hill was raised by man's labour ; for it is incredible that any road-maker should have been so ignorant and stupid as not to have taken advantage of the depression of surface (if it then existed between the road and the hill) for easing the ascent.

Such indeed is the depth of this cut, that the excavated chalk must have assisted materially in raising the artificial hill, considering that the end of

the ridge forming its base was also to be rounded from the form of a D to that of an O, suitably to the intention of those who made Silbury Hill assume its present appearance; which may have been effected by simply carrying up the earth and chalk in baskets, or by the expedient of a circular road, like that by which the Belgian memorial of triumph at Waterloo was raised on the crest of Mount St. Jean.

But I must not omit to mention in this place, that attentive examination of the ground plan proves Silbury Hill not to have been completed at once, the peculiar form of excavation on the north side of the turnpike road manifesting two distinct efforts; the first such as may have sunk the surface around the hill to that of the bottom of the excavation between the road and hill; the second deeper and more extensive, but requisite for raising the artificial hill to its present mass and elevation; which would have appeared to more advantage had the enlarged scale been originally intended, because the hill would then have been placed farther from the road, and thereby on an entirely flat surface.

The second elevation (of which the base is perceivable in mounting the hill) was requisite for rendering Silbury a conspicuous object over the uneven ground intervening between it and Abury.

The enlarged excavation, to the extent of a quarter of a mile, is limited on its south side by the line of Roman road, and is very deep and steep at the southwest corner, where it penetrates the natural rising ground. Part of the eastern limit of this excavation, now forms the fence of a field, and near the road is six feet deep; but it may have been originally deeper, as this part, and indeed the basement of the entire excavation, has been brought to a water level by deposition of alluvial matter from the occasional overflow of a stream, which afterwards becomes the river Kennet.

What I have ventured to say of Silbury Hill, as dependent on the Roman road for its position, may probably suffice for bespeaking attention to circumstantial proof of similar origin of the Abury circle, connected as it is with the same Roman road and with Silbury Hill, and thus furnishing evidence which derives additional weight from the co-existence of two remarkable objects in the same locality; a combination scarcely attributable to accident.

The avenue from West Kennet to Abury, much as it is dilapidated, is still unquestionably designated by the few upright stones remaining on either

side of it; these are about seven feet in height from the ground, in breadth from five to seven feet, in thickness from four to five; their weight (making allowance for the under-ground portion of the stone) averaging, in their now weather-beaten state, at about 15 tons. It may be perceived that these stones were originally placed at regular distances, 25 yards apart in line, or 70 on each side of the avenue, which is about a mile in length, terminating at the principal entrance of the Abury circle. Doctor Stukeley produces sufficient evidence of the existence of the Western or Beckhampton avenue; which we may suppose was never so well defined as the access from the metropolis. But instead of suffering this western avenue to fall into the road, which he calls *Via Badonica*, he is seduced by his wayward fancy into the inconsistency of terminating it in a graceful curve for his imaginary Serpent's Tail, so that his western avenue ends in a point, and thus leads to nothing.

Of the entrances into the Abury Circus, originally four, one is obliterated by the site of the village church, three remain conspicuous, and are still used as such. These entrances complete the fitness of the Abury Circle for its use as a Circus, of which purpose the foss or ditch, as being *within* the circumvallation, is sufficient indication, and (as far as I know) is allowed by all so to be.

A measurement taken on the ridge of the vallum (says Sir Richard Colt Hoare) amounts to 4,442 feet. The diameter within this vallum, or rampart, averages (according to the same authority) at 1,215 feet (imperceptibly differing from a quarter of a Roman mile), whence may be deduced a circumference of about 3,600 feet, on which might be seated 2,400 persons. The inner slope of the vallum, at its highest part, is now 32 feet wide, which must have been full 40 feet before the rain of centuries had lowered the crest of the vallum and also washed away a portion of the base of this artificial bank, producing thereby the flat ledge, 12 feet wide, which indeed is supposed, and not without probability, by Sir Richard Colt Hoare so to have been purposely left in the original construction of the work.* On a grassy slope of 40 feet about twenty rows of spectators might be accommodated, and it is remarkable that at the north-east part of the vallum, modern sheep-tracks afford a lively representation of such rustic seats as must have formerly existed with more regularity and economy of space. Twenty such

* This kind of precaution is called the *fore-ground* of a bank in fen drainage.

circles of spectators, multiplied by 2,400, produce 48,000 spectators; about half the number, I believe, who might be seated in the Flavian Amphitheatre at Rome, which from its magnitude is usually called the Colosseum.

It remains for consideration under what circumstances the uncivilized tribes who inhabited Britain earlier than the existence of history, would or could construct such a regular place of national concourse as that at Abury. In favour of their so doing, we must not forget the influence of religion, which from the dawn of civilization has produced the earliest combined efforts, as evidenced by the remains of ancient temples, in all the four quarters of the globe; nor is the existence of such influence among the Britons left doubtful by Cæsar, who speaks of their Druids as formed into a hierarchy of various degrees, and superior to their brethren in Gaul.

Yet we cannot but suppose that the Britons limited their labours at Abury according to the dictates of common sense; and did not construct a Circus more capacious than was sufficient to contain the expected number of spectators of the ceremonies and games which were to be there exhibited; so that it is reasonable to advert to the populousness of ancient nations, which is well discussed and reduced within narrow limits in one of the best of Hume's Essays: but the indefinite date usually ascribed to the Abury Circus, reaches back to that of the savage hunter state, which requires a large area for the subsistence of each family. Every one must judge for himself whether the aboriginal Britons formed an exception from the rest of mankind; whether they did not remain, during ages, in the grade of savages, before the Romans found them advanced into that of Barbarians by the settlement of Belgian colonists or conquerors from Gaul, and the consequent introduction of agriculture. (See Note 3.)

But supposing, in favour of the remote antiquity of Abury, that the Druids had sufficient influence to collect as many spectators as could possibly attend the annual festival at Midsummer, and that a suspension of war and of private animosity took place at that season, like the *Treuga Dei* of feudal times, how was it possible to find 40,000 persons who had means of providing for such a journey? A week's absence from home must have been unavoidable by all who were fifty miles distant; and a longer journey and more time must have been required of most of the inhabitants of the southern counties. I even doubt whether in all these such a number of able-bodied

inhabitants existed previously to that steady labour in cultivation of the ground, without which any considerable national festival was impracticable, because food cannot be provided in large quantities and stored for future consumption from any other source. The foregoing arguments will be illustrated by adverting to the contrasted state of the provincial Britons, who formed a part of the Roman empire. When the natives were restrained from mutual slaughter, and the arts of peace began to insure plenty of subsistence, the population (as in North America) on unoccupied land may have doubled itself in a quarter of a century, and improved roads would have permitted a larger proportion of that population to assemble at Abury.

At the same time the Romans, always tolerant of national religions, would not fail to encourage any effort which promised them an imitation of their beloved games, in a Circus more ample and not less convenient than those at Rome in the time of the republic. Presuming, therefore, that the construction of this provincial circus cannot rationally be dated earlier than the time when the population sufficed for filling it, we must advert to the extant traces of towns as left by the Romans at their departure from Britain. Roman London may be supposed then to have contained 40,000 inhabitants, Bath and Verulam 20,000 each, and ten or twelve other towns, within a distance of 80 miles, might average at six or seven thousand each, in all 150,000 (see Note 4); and earlier in the Roman period, a circle drawn with that radius, including the rural population, may be supposed to have contained that number, in which case and at which time we may therefore venture to suppose that 50,000 were not unreasonably expected to attend an annual festival of national and religious character.

The position of Abury, as connected with the Bath road, was the best that could be chosen for ready access by so many visitors; and coincident with this motive the Wiltshire Downs (especially the adjacent valley of Clatford) furnished plenty of insulated blocks of durable rag-stone (by Stukeley called *marble*) which lie on the surface, and used to be called "grey wethers" from their distant appearance like the sheep who fed among them.

These stones were well adapted to the formation of such Avenues and Circles as were constructed at Abury and Stonehenge, and we know that the Druids were capable of producing specimens of what in Greece would be called *Cyclopean* Monuments of their peculiar religion. (See Note 5.)

The Kist-Vaen, in Clatford valley, manifests an effort of this kind ; and the enormous stone which exists at Abury, may have been rudely shaped by fire, if not quite suitable for its purpose. This stone is not far within the northern entrance of the circus ; its form and position that of a flat square pitched on one of its corners ; the diagonal measure from corner to corner being 18 feet, its thickness between four and five feet, its weight about 70 tons ; which might obviously be lifted by numerous levers skilfully applied, and loaded with counter weights for its temporary support, until rollers (easily made of the trunks of well-grown young trees) were properly placed for moving it to its present position.

But the construction of Stonehenge denotes another era ; there the stones have been shaped and fitted to each other, and were to be conveyed twenty miles over difficult ground and an intervening river, by the aid of some such machinery as is exemplified in the invention described by Vitruvius, and delineated in Rollin's History of the Arts and Sciences of the Ancients. (See Plate XXIV. and Note 5.) This sort of vehicle must have been fitted to each stone when conveniently suspended for that purpose, and afterwards disengaged from it by entire disjunction and separation of the wooden framework into its component parts, before it could be dispatched for a similar burden ; but such a machine, then new at Rome, evidently required skilful carpentry and sharp tools not possessed by barbarians. The difficulty of raising the heaviest upright stones, which weigh about 40 tons, was not so formidable (it will be seen in the Plate) as the super-imposition of the lintels, which weigh about ten tons each ; and as I have met with nothing but wonderment and vague conjecture as to the means of accomplishing the accurate fixture of these imposts, I have obtained and inserted a sketch of such a contrivance, as will shew that patient labour well applied might suffice for that purpose.

The marked difference of Abury and Stonehenge consists in the evidence afforded by the latter of the ready use of iron, or, more properly speaking, of steel tools ; which, therefore, were probably brought into use in the interval of time which must have elapsed before the less rude structure was attempted ; the Celtic chissels of copper alloyed with tin, being incapable of producing the regular formation and workmanship visible at Stonehenge. (See Note 6.)

From all these premises I infer that Silbury Hill, the Abury Circus, and

the avenues of approach to it, were not constructed earlier than the third century of the Christian era, and that the more difficult operations requisite for the formation of Stonehenge may be assigned to the next century, or (to speak with due caution) that this temple was completed before the final departure of the Romans from Britain.

SUMMARY.

I must now be permitted to exhibit in regular array the arguments which have already been adduced in the desultory manner necessary for possessing the mind of the reader with a general view of the subject submitted for his opinion; and unless he can give credence to a combination of improbable events, I expect to obtain his favourable suffrage.

1. It will be necessary for the gainsayers of my opinion to believe that the Abury Circus, with its appendages, having been casually placed between London and Bath, that the direct road to Bath, afterwards made by the Romans, accidentally crossed the entrances of the eastern and western avenues of the previously constructed Abury Circus.

2. Or if they think the position of Abury was chosen with reference to any road, they must believe that before the arrival of the Romans in Britain a direct trackway existed between London and Bath; and herein they must believe that the various interjacent tribes (three may be named), Trinobantes, Atrebates, Belgæ, concurred in forming and maintaining a direct road more than a hundred miles in extent. And moreover they must believe that some urgent occasion for a direct road existed among British barbarians before the Christian era, although the less barbarous Saxons, more than 600 years afterwards, had so little regard to the direct Bath road (ready-made for them by the Romans), that they abandoned it except for about twenty-four miles between Speen and Silbury Hill; a mile beyond which the two modern Bath roads separate, one of them leading through Chippenham, the other through Devizes, the first four miles to the north, the other as much to the south of the line of Roman road, thus increasing the distance to Bath three or four miles in the short space of twenty-one miles direct.

3. But how is it possible for the advocates of Ante-Roman Abury to attribute to barbarian tribes such enlarged views of public convenience as to have established even a trackway in one continuous line to the extent of a hundred miles—at a time when no such thing as a public, a travelling public, can be said to have existed; and not only to have made a practicable trackway, but a finished road, exactly like those which are seen elsewhere within the limits of the Roman empire? If it be granted that the Roman road which separates from the present turnpike road at Silbury Hill, was originally made by the Romans, the question is at an end, as I have already shewn that the intermediate cut between Silbury and that road could not have existed when such road was made, because in that case an experienced road-maker would not have failed to take advantage of it. And, further, it may be established by simple inspection, that the well-defined limit of excavation at Silbury, is regulated by the adjacent road, to the extent of 400 yards; leaving between the road and excavation no more intervening space than safety demanded before the road-way was depressed by use.

I am at a loss to know what answer can be made to this unalterable argument imprinted on the ground itself. Nor is it credible that the Britons should have enforced upon each other the labour of road-making; which we know to have been one of their alleged grievances while under the dominion of the Romans.

Therefore we may rest assured that they made no roads until compelled to do so by the Romans, and that the Bath road was not made till then, nor consequently Silbury Hill; thus proved to have been made conformably to that road.

4. If further it be granted that the Romans introduced their mile, together with road-making, into provincial Britain, what is the chance that the middle of the Abury Circus, the commencement of the Kennet Avenue to it, and (as far as appears) of the Beckhampton Avenue, should all be referable to the radius of a Roman mile, if that mile was unknown in Britain at the time when Abury Circus with avenues to it from the Bath road was planned?

5. Supposing the founders of the Abury Circus to have planned their work as long since as the building of Rome (for instance), what was the chance against their anticipating in earth-work the fashion of Roman amphi-

theatres? Or if the Britons originated this form, what was the chance that the Romans should afterwards have made amphitheatres like that of the Britons, before they were acquainted with it or them? For were it proposed as a problem to construct in earth-work, as nearly as the material permitted, an amphitheatre for spectacles and spectators, similar to those of which remains are seen at Rome and in several Roman provincial towns, would it be possible to arrive at a better imitation than is still visible at Abury? And if this be not the result of chance, but imitation, were the Romans or the Britons copyists in their labours? No one will hesitate to answer, the Britons; and therefore that the Abury Circus did not exist till after their acquaintance with the Romans.

6. If, again, the Britons intended the rustic benches of this circus to contain no more spectators than were likely to resort to it at great festivals, how could so great a number as forty or fifty thousand be expected before the general introduction of agriculture and constrained pacification permitted the human species in Britain to increase, and enabled the numerous class of society to acquire and carry with them food for a journey of some days' duration? This could not happen until Roman dominion had instructed and civilized the British tribes, whose mutual dissensions and wars were previously such as to prevent them, even when attacked by a foreign enemy, from steadily combining in national defence.

7. I shall now advert, but with less confidence, to the improbability that the Britons possessed knowledge of such mechanical apparatus as is requisite for the removal and fixation of massive stones; not herein denying that the result of their frequent efforts of this kind, evidenced in great variety of rude remains, must have gradually led to the best practice of which their skill and the combined strength of multitudes were capable; nor that the variety of stones extant and known to have been destroyed at Abury and its avenues and elsewhere proves the facility at which their directing engineers had arrived. Possibly the largest stone at Abury may have been the masterpiece of their exertions till after that Circus was completed; afterwards the gradually-acquired knowledge of machinery and of iron tools, enabled them to construct the Temple at Stonehenge; or more probably to reconstruct it on the site of a ruder place of worship, the numerous tumuli of chiefs and their families, brought thither for sepulture, seeming to indicate that the

sanctity of the place was of longer duration than the last century of Roman dominion in Britain.

8. A rare opportunity once occurred of endeavouring to ascertain the degree of art exerted in the structure of Stonehenge. When one of the large trilithons fell, in consequence of a rapid thaw, in the beginning of the year 1797, I was within forty miles of the spot, and hastened thither to inspect, before obliteration, any remarkable appearance in the foundations laid open under the three disjoined stones then recently fallen; but the foundation exhibited nothing remarkable, the two great stones having no artificial support in the ground, and one of them exhibiting an irregular shape of its base quite unsuitable for stability, as forming the obtuse angle of a rhombus, and that not penetrating more than six feet deep. The transverse stone which had been supported on the two uprights had fallen backwards and displayed the very respectable workmanship of its two mortices, which were hemispherical, about eighteen inches diameter; and, as well as the corresponding tenons (one on the top of each upright), exhibited a vermiculated surface, apparently worked into shape by a well-directed steel point, such as must be used on stones not penetrable by the saw or by the mason's chisel and mallet. The insulated rag-stone formation is of this description, and its durability is such, that the angles of walls built with it as squared by fissure, do not lose their sharpness for centuries; as is exemplified in church-towers wherever such stones are applied to that use. The accurate juncture of the upper surface of the uprights and the lower side of the transverse stone must have cost much more labour and not less skill than the tenons and mortices; but these surfaces exhibited no mark of tooling.

9. I shall not endeavour to produce further special argument to establish the era at which I think Abury and Stonehenge must have been constructed, but I shall venture to suggest generally as a canon of criticism (grounded, I will venture to say, upon the experience of every inquiring antiquary) that the more recent date ascribed to any remnant of antiquity is always the most probable date; and this, because the chances of demolition or decay increase to such amount in the lapse of centuries as to form a powerful negative proof, irresistible unless by positive evidence. The earliest historical notice of Stonehenge occurs on occasion of the massacre perpetrated there

by the Saxons about the middle of the fifth century, and still traceable in the name of Amesbury (the town of Ambrosius), the habitation nearest to Stonehenge. Negative evidence against the existence of Abury and Stonehenge, earlier than the Christian era, may be inferred from the silence of Julius Cæsar and of the early geographers (Ptolemy and others) who wrote of Britain; but to this there is no need of resort, after the variety of proofs already adduced that the Abury Circus could not have been designed, nor the Stonehenge Temple perfected, until after the Romans had established themselves in Britain.

JOHN RICKMAN.

House of Commons, Easter, 1839.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

1. *Roman Road from London towards Bath.*

OUR early antiquaries held various opinions touching part of the road between London and Speen; and the final development of its course is sufficiently modern to demand a short statement in this place.

This road commenced no doubt at London Stone, in Cannon Street, and occupied the present line of Watling Street, Newgate Street, Holborn, and Oxford Street; but its direction from Tyburn was uncertain; insomuch that heretofore it was doubted whether Colnbrooke or Staines was the next station on the Roman road to Bath; but the modern Ordnance Map cannot be inspected without exhibiting to the eye a line of ancient road pointing direct from Tyburn to Staines. The Roman name of this place, *PONTES* in the plural number, probably designates wooden bridges to and from the River Island, above the modern Staines Bridge, where the particular line of crossing the river may be inferred from the boundary stone (*unde Staines*) of the very ancient river jurisdiction of the corporation of London. From this place the Roman road continued its course S.W. by W. to Duke's Hill, whence its change of direction westward, direct to Silchester, was ascertained in the year 1835.

Silchester has been a fertile subject of antiquarian speculation; its present name seems to denote that it was fortified by Silius (*Silii Castra*), and thereby acquired his name, after the date of the Itinerary, wherein it is called *Calleva*; heretofore a wandering name, by various conjectures assigned to the site of modern Wallingford, Henley, Farnham, and Reading, nothing having been certain but that it was on the Roman road to Bath; which now is proved to coincide with *Calleva*, and leaves the position of *Vindomis* or *Vindonum* (the heretofore reputed Silchester) uncertain.

The first syllable of this name (*Vindonum*), signifying *white* in the British language, (Wynn, Gwynn) always rendered its application to the brown clay eminence of Silchester very improbable, and goes far towards our deeming *Vindonum* a small entrenched British place of refuge (*dunum*) on a chalk soil, such as is *Vin-dogladia*, in Dorsetshire, upon the north side of the road between Wimborne and Blandford.

Between Silchester and Speen no distinct trace of the Roman road has yet been discovered; but as the river Kennet must have been somewhere crossed by a bridge, and as Roman coins have been found in the peat-moss above the town of Newbury, there is

good reason to suppose the Roman road and its bridge to have been directed at the nearest practicable ascent of Speen Hill, at the top of which is the undoubted position of Spinæ.

This station is conspicuous at its south-east angle, which is obtuse and accommodated to the form of the hill-top. The southern wall of Spinæ has disappeared, but on its foundation (impenetrable for any other purpose) is a shrubbery (in the pleasure ground of Mrs. Wilde) which includes a serpentine gravel walk. This shrubbery, 340 yards in length, and of which the terminations are distinctly those of the southern wall, shews that Spinæ was not an inconsiderable station; but the much-frequented Bath road having passed through it during 16 or 17 centuries, has permitted no other vestige to remain, than the foundation of the aforesaid wall, which is on the brink of a very steep declivity, and out of the line of any possible road.

From this elevated spot the Roman road passes onward to Marlborough, at which place, or short of it, at Mildenhall, must be placed the station called *Cunetio* in the Itinerary. At the west end of Marlborough appears the well-known artificial mount, on which was placed the keep or dungeon of a Norman castle, which is incidentally mentioned in the time of William the Conqueror, and in the reign of Henry III. had become so considerable that a Parliament sate there, and passed the statute of Marlebridge about the year 1270. The area covered by this mount is about an acre and a quarter.

About a mile beyond Marlborough, the road crosses the lower end of Clatford-bottom, in which, at some distance north of the road is (or rather was) the chief deposit of stones convertible to Druidic purposes. In the valley itself still exists, unremoved by invading cultivation, the Kist-Vaen, composed of a stone about 16 tons weight, placed on three supporting stones, its upper surface eight feet from the ground. All the largest stones have been selected from this and the adjacent valleys, and the remnant are fast disappearing, as they furnish an excellent material for building, sufficiently testified by the road-side retaining walls before arriving at West Kennet. From this place Silbury is conspicuous, and I shall here add that the area ascribed to it by Sir R. C. Hoare (five acres and a quarter) must be understood of the surface of the artificial mount, not of the level ground on which it is placed; but I cannot reconcile to fact the height assigned by him to it (170 feet), unless his surveyor thought himself at liberty to carry up the side slope to an imaginary apex, and so to form a perfectly conical hill.

The name of Silbury appears to me worthy of notice, as if connected with Silius, the name of some Roman governor or general, the same perhaps who fortified Silchester and built its Amphitheatre. The same man was certainly a very likely patron, perhaps adviser, of the provincial Britons in the construction of the Abury Circus for their national games and ceremonies, in which case the name of Silius was not unlikely to adhere to the pivot on which the formation of the entire plan depends. Be this as it

may, it is not irrelevant to remark in this place, that the termination of the name in Bury, as if denoting a memorial of interment there, does not militate against the conjecture: but this opinion may seem to require explanation.

Human language in its early formation possessing few words, each of them was applied to more objects than one, in case of any affinity with each other. Thus the word *Dun*, which in the Celto-Gallic language denoted an eminence, appears as the termination of the names of nine or ten places in Roman-Britain (*e. g.* Sorbio-Dunum), and as many in the provinces of Gallia; and we still recognize the word in *downs*, or upland sheep-pasture; and it denotes sand-hills in the name of Dunkirk. In like manner, the Gothic progenitors of the Saxons applied their word *berg*, *burgh*, *borough*, to every natural hill or eminence; and to those more especially on which primitive towns, or rather places of refuge, were usually placed for better defence. Further, the word was applied to every artificial hillock or tumulus raised in memorial of the dead; and as from the first syllable of tumulus is derived our word *tomb*, from *berg* we derive the verb to *bury*, and *burial*; also *barrows*, of which abundance remain in England,—especially around Stonehenge and elsewhere on Chalk Downs, which, till they are cultivated, retain imperishable traces (records they might be termed) of the labours of remote ages. The name of the capital of Scotland, called *Dun-Eden* in Gaelic, Edinburgh (*Edwin's-Berg*) by the Saxons, is a conclusive instance of similar application of the two primitive words, as here noticed.—Thus, from the termination of the word Silbury, we have no right to deduce further inference than that this artificial hill was in some unknown manner connected with Silius.

But ought not this eminent work of the Britons to be investigated with as much care as Sir R. C. Hoare has investigated many of the Barrows near Stonehenge? Silbury Hill was judiciously assigned to the Lord of the Manor under the Abury Inclosure Act, for its better preservation, and, with his permission, the Society of Antiquaries or any other responsible public body might sink a well on the summit of the hill, with improvement rather than detriment of its appearance, as it would be raised a few feet by the excavated chalk-rubbish. The expense of sinking such a well has been calculated at £92. 10s.; and, allowing for the unusual position, might probably amount to £150.

2. The Roman Mile.

The Roman mile contained 5000 Roman feet, 5 feet making a pace (*passus*), and therefore 1000 paces (*mille passus*) expressed the Roman mile; which, according to the best authorities, was equal to 1611 yards English, our own mile being 1760 yards. Thus it is seen that a pace (*passus*) is two steps, not one step (*gradus*) as we too often use the word pace; a word which in propriety designates the space described by the passage of either of the feet to its next footstep; a step (*gradus*) being of course one

half of the pace. Printed treatises may be found which countenance the vulgar error here noticed.

3. Slaughter alleged by Roman Generals, why exaggerated.

The enormous slaughter said to have been achieved by Julius Cæsar in his Gallic wars, may perhaps be alleged in favour of the existence of a considerable population in Britain at that time. But the splendour of triumphal honours at Rome was measured by exaggerations of this kind, which every man in an army, from the general downwards, was thus induced to countenance and exalt into materials for the historian. The reputed number of emigrating Gauls destroyed by various Roman generals, refutes itself by the impossibility of subsistence in their progress. Terror of barbarian invaders at first, and glory in their defeat afterwards, equally tend to exaggeration of their real number.

4 Roman Towns and Stations within eighty Miles of Abury.

Abury is about 80 miles from London, and, within that distance, Verulam and Bath have already been mentioned. Add to these, within the same distance, Corineum (Cirencester), Glevum (Gloucester), Sorbio-Dunum (Old Sarum), Durnovaria (Dorchester), Clausentum (Southampton), Venta-Belgarum (Winchester); and, on the London Road, Pontes (Staines), Calleva (Silchester), Church-Speen (Spinæ), Cunetio (probably Marlborough). To these may be added smaller stations of unsettled position, Vindomis, Brage, Vindogladia, and Verlucio.

5. Cyclopean Remains.

The origin and date of the ancient structures, now familiarly termed Cyclopean, will ever remain in comparative obscurity; the earth must have been considerably over-spread with inhabitants and Egypt well cultivated before that people acquired the art and the leisure requisite for fashioning and moving with facility the large stones which form the roof of the central chamber of the opened pyramid; after which the emigrants or exiles from that enlightened nation could not but carry with them that species of knowledge; and when their new situation permitted, they naturally imitated the arts of their forefathers. Thus Danaus or his descendents have left in the Morea specimens of massive stone-work indicative of its authors, and durable to the present age; and from such small beginnings, architecture and statuary assumed a new origin in Greece and her Asiatic colonies. But the Britons and the whole race of kindred Gauls or Celts remained ignorant of the use of steel or iron tools; the immediate application of which in workmanship, however useful, bears but small proportion to the remote effects produced in consequence of it. The Britons, by aid of fire and collision of other stones,

might in some degree improve the form of the unattached rag-stones found on the surface of the Wiltshire downs, but they were unable to shape them by fissure for building or to fit them to each other, till they were in possession of steel wedges and other appropriate tools of that material. Such is the line of distinction which may reasonably be established between the works of the Britons before and after Roman arts were in some degree introduced among them.

6. Explanation of the Plates.

Plate 1, differs little from that of Sir R. C. Hoare,—scarcely at all, except in representing more exactly the ground plan of the excavation around Silbury Hill, as was necessary for illustration of the line of argument held in this treatise.

Plate 2, represents a method by which the ancient Britons may be supposed to have moved, and to have erected large blocks of stone for the construction of Stonehenge. Such stones, after having been shaped and dressed, may have been transported by a machine similar to that mentioned by Vitruvius, whereby the stone being surrounded in a cylindrical frame-work became the nucleus of a roller, around the ends of which ropes were coiled; and a drawing power being applied to the end of each rope caused it to unwind, and thereby to set in motion the roller. This contrivance for the transport of a great weight over rugged ground possessed mechanical advantages over any wheel carriage:—1st. Because the surface in contact with the ground being broad, is not liable to sink in soft places: 2dly. Because there is no friction of axle; and 3dly. Because it contains a mechanical purchase which doubles the power applied; the advance of the roller being evidently only half that of the moving power.

The stone being thus conveyed to the spot fixed upon for its erection, we may suppose that an excavation was ready to receive it, and that the excavated earth would form a bank. [See sketch 3, and profile at letter E.] The roller would then be dragged along the sloping side of this bank, until the lower end of the stone was opposite to the spot on which it was destined to stand; and from this inclined position it may have been raised to upright by ropes attached to it, and passed over two pair of thirty-foot poles inclined in a direction contrary to that of the stone itself. Then, by a power applied to these ropes, the stone may have been securely raised to perpendicular.

After the uprights had been thus fixed in the ground, the impost may have been raised by a succession of wooden blocks or long billets, being placed underneath the stone, the ends of it being alternately elevated so as to admit a block [See sketch 2, and letter A.]; and if we suppose the stone to bear upon these blocks, for one-third of its length only, the remaining two-thirds would be in equilibrium with each other. Thus, by means of a long pole, or poles, lashed firmly along the upper surface of the stone, the weight to be swayed up at each effort would not be that of the whole stone, but of one-third of it only, the upper and lower thirds being (as before said) in equilibrium.

When the impost had been thus raised to a level with the uprights, it was necessary to move it laterally into its place, which may have been done by so placing the uppermost blocks [see B] as to form an inclined plane, from whence the stone might be made to slide into its position under such command as to adapt the mortices and tenons to each other, for permanent juncture of the three stones in one mass.

7. *Celtic Tools.*

The most unquestionable relique of Ante-Roman date is the Celtic chisel, which being made of an imperishable compound metal, has been found in plentiful number, various in size, and not very dissimilar in pattern. The manner of using this tool of many purposes does not seem to be so generally known, but that a familiar exposition may be acceptable in this place. Its shape is that of a modern chisel without shoulders, the receptacle or socket for the haft extending into the blade, and being larger in proportion than in our chisels: for which good reason will appear, considering that this tool was also a powerful wedge, and was steadily held in the proper place by means of the pierced side ear, which always appears near the upper part of this instrument.

In this ear was inserted a stiff twisted thong of leather, twisted copper wire, flexible wood, or other fit substance, whereby the tool might be held, and hammered with any degree of violence, without danger to the directing hand, or of the chisel swerving from its mark. For defending the tool from damage, a stout haft of wood was inserted in the socket, and more than one such must have always been in readiness to replace it when worn or shivered by blows of a stone hammer. The same person might thus hold the tool immovable with one hand and strike with the other, or, in case of a ponderous two-handed stone hammer, two were employed, a female or a youth sufficing for holding steadily the inserted earing. It is to be considered, that in defect of a fine steel edge, which may be forced into wood by the hand, or used as a saw, no mode of steady penetration is competent other than as above described, which equally applies to scooping canoes, splitting timber, and shaping it, as well as the minor purposes of piercing and carving, for which we use chisels and knives. Those who suppose the above explanation to be imaginary or too hazardous, may satisfy themselves at any blacksmith's shop by seeing the nail-holes made in a horse-shoe, which communicating so much heat to the piercer that it cannot be held by the hand, a wythe or twisted stick is fastened to it and held by the left hand, exactly as the blunt Celtic chisel was made to receive violent blows without injury to the hand or annoyance to the nerves of the holder. It is remarkable that Don Ulloa had opportunity of seeing, in Peru, what he calls copper axes of the Inca period, usually found in exploring ancient tumuli (guacas) for hidden treasure. (Ulloa, book vi. cap. xi.)

He represents these axes as usually wider at the edge than our Celts, and not adapted for use exactly in the same manner, as being perforated near the back of this metallic

tool, which is there thickened so as to bear hard blows without injury. That the perforation was not intended for a stout handle wherewith to wield the tool, may be inferred from the smallness of the aperture (fit for a flexible cane or whalebone), and more evidently from the perforation not being always rectilinear. (See Don Ulloa's plate 4.) He distinctly negatives any traces of the use of steel by the Peruvians. Massive stones, larger than those at Abury or Stonehenge, have recently been found near Quito : so that in more instances than one, the advance in civilized arts by the Belgian colonists in Britain, and the Peruvians, before they were visited by the Romans and Spaniards respectively, seems to have been checked at the same limit by the want of steel.

Very many copper-tin celts of the Ante-Roman Britons are still extant; and it is worth mentioning that Mr. J. Britton, F.S.A. possesses a Celt embedded in its matrix of the same metal. A relique so remarkable ought not to remain liable to the casualties of private possession.

XVI. *Letters illustrative of the Gunpowder Treason: Communicated by JOHN BRUCE, Esq. F.S.A. in a Letter to Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H., F.R.S., Secretary.*

Read March 5, 1840.

MY DEAR SIR HENRY,

Chelsea, February 18, 1840.

I BEG to transmit to you copies of two letters connected with the history of the Gunpowder Treason, which I think will be found worthy of consideration by the Society of Antiquaries.

The originals are in the Cotton Collection, in the volume Titus B. II.; a volume composed of various miscellaneous transcripts and original documents, divided into six parts, the last part being entitled "Letters and Papers of State in the time of Queen Elizabeth." Amongst them, and placed between documents dated in 1571 and 1574, are the letters in question. The fact of their being thus obviously misplaced, and the circumstance of the signature of the second being rather difficult to decypher, and the writer's name having been consequently left blank in the catalogue, may account for their having hitherto escaped notice.

They are written upon sheets of foolscap, and bear marks of having been kept some time in dirty pockets. Probably they were found upon the person of Catesby, the chief conspirator, to whom they are both addressed.

The first letter to which I shall allude, is an original, dated the 12th of October, no doubt in the year 1605, and addressed by Thomas Winter to his "louing frind Mr. Ro. Catsby."

The preparations of the conspirators were completed about the beginning of May 1605; but, as the Parliament was not appointed to meet until the following 3rd of October, they despatched Fawkes upon a mission into the

Low Countries, and agreed that the others should separate, in order to avoid suspicion. Early in September they again assembled in London. They heard Fawkes's report of his mission, and sent off Sir Edmund Baynham^a to Rome, in order that, being there when the news of the explosion arrived, he might negotiate with the Pope on behalf of the conspirators, and explain to him their designs. At this time the Parliament was again prorogued from the 3rd October to the 5th November, a circumstance which alarmed the conspirators, and, according to Greenway's narrative, they deputed Thomas Winter, the writer of the following letter, to be present in the House of Lords at the time of the prorogation, and observe the demeanour and countenances of the Lords Commissioners. As a retainer in the household of Lord Mounteagle, who was one of the Commissioners, he found no difficulty in being present at the ceremony, and his report of the easy, careless manner in which the Commissioners conversed and walked about the house, in apparent unconsciousness of the volcano beneath them, quieted the fears of the conspirators, and they again separated to abide the further delay.

Catesby went into Northamptonshire, residing principally at his house at Ashby St. Leger's, and occupying himself and some of his friends in raising a troop of horse, under pretence of joining the service of Spain in Flanders. About Michaelmas he went to Bath, and shortly afterwards returned to London; where the following letter was addressed to him. Its reckless tone is extremely characteristic of the daring writer, and it confirms the fact of his poverty. Ashby, mentioned in it, was Catesby's residence in Northamptonshire; Winter's brother, was Robert Winter of Huddington, in Worcester-shire, also one of the conspirators; and Mr. Talbot was Robert Winter's father-in-law, the same person who is several times mentioned in Sir Everard Digby's letters—John Talbot of Grafton, father of George the ninth Earl of Shrewsbury.

^a Baynham was a fit person to be employed on such a mission. Mr. Jardine says that he was "a Catholic gentleman of good family in Gloucestershire, but of profligate and turbulent habits. Besides being engaged in Essex's rebellion, he had been more than once prosecuted in the Star Chamber, in the time of Elizabeth, for riots and affrays, and was known as the captain of a club, or society, called 'The Damned Crew;' the name of which strongly denotes its character."—*Criminal Trials*, ii. 47.

The letter is as follows :

“ To my louing frind Mr. Ro. Catsby.”

“ Though all you malefactors flock to London as birdes in winter to a dunghill, yett doe I, honest man! freely possess the seet cuntry ayre, and, to say truth, would fayne be amonge you, but cannott, as yett, gett mony to come vp. I was att Asbye to haue mett you, butt you were newly gonne; my busines, and your vncertaine stay, made me hunt no further. I pray you commend me to our frinds. And, when ocasion shall require, send downe to my brother's, or Mr. Talbott's: within this moneth I wilbe with you at London. So God keep you: this 12th of October.

“ Your louing frind,

“ THO. WINTOUR.”

This letter, although interesting as marking the movements of the chief parties in that unparalleled conspiracy, has nothing like the historical value of the one to which I am next to direct your attention. It is written in a dark, mysterious manner, and, of itself, tells but little, but, when taken in connexion with other facts—read, as it were, by the light thrown upon the movements and proceedings of the conspirators and the government from other quarters—it seems to me to afford very strong presumptive evidence that Lord Mounteagle, the peer to whom the letter of discovery was addressed, had a guilty knowledge of the plot, and must, therefore, have played the part of a spy amongst the conspirators.

Before I insert the letter I would request attention to the following circumstances of suspicion against Lord Mounteagle which are known at present.

I. He was related to most of the principal conspirators; to Tresham, the Winters, and to Catesby; the following letter is addressed by him to his loving kinsman Robert Catesby. He was connected also with the Throgmortons, the Abingtons, and with Thomas Percy.

II. He had been concerned with the principal conspirators in former conspiracies: with Catesby, Thomas Winter, and Tresham, in that of Essex in 1601; and with Catesby, Winter, and the Jesuits Garnet and Greenwell, in

the treasonable correspondence with Spain in the year in which Elizabeth died.

III. His intimacy with the chief conspirators continued up to the time of the completion of their preparations for carrying the plot into effect. This may be inferred from the fact that he sent letters to the Pope by Sir Edmund Baynham, the messenger secretly despatched to Rome by the conspirators in September 1605.

IV. His conduct previous to the receipt of the letter of discovery, and at the time of its delivery, wears the appearance of a scene arranged for the purpose of effecting an open declaration of what was, secretly, very well known before. This point has been so ably developed, and commented upon, in Mr. Jardine's admirable account of the Gunpowder Plot, that I shall only refer to his work in proof of it.

V. It is obvious that the Government did every thing in their power to keep Lord Mounteagle's connexion with the conspirators out of sight. This again is a point which Mr. Jardine has clearly proved. In the examinations in the State Paper Office, the name "Lord Mounteagle" occurs twice: in one instance a slip of paper is pasted over it; in the other, it has been most carefully endeavoured to be obliterated. Garnet, also, in one of his overheard conversations in the Tower, is said to have remarked—"Well! I see they will justify my Lord Mounteagle of all this matter. I said nothing of him, neither will I ever confess him."—Jardine, p. 69.^b

VI. The reward that he received—£500 per annum for his life, and £200 per annum of fee-farm rents—was most extravagant, upon the supposition that the delivery of the anonymous letter to Lord Salisbury was his only claim upon the gratitude of the Government.

If, bearing in mind these things, we read the following letter, I think we shall be irresistibly led to the conclusion, that Lord Mounteagle had a guilty knowledge of the plot, and earned his reward by betraying his companions. The letter is without date, but was evidently written in September 1605.

^b Since writing the above, I have been informed that there is at Hatfield an original examination of Garnet, in which Lord Mounteagle is directly implicated. It was kept back at Garnet's trial by command of the King—probably on that account.

It is addressed "To my louing kinsman Robert Catesbye, esquier, geve theise. Lipyeat." Lipyeat, or Lypiat, was a house of the Throgmortons near Stroud.^c

"If all creatures borne vnder the Mones spheare can not endure without the ellimentes of Aier and fyre, In what languishment haue wee lede owre lyfe, since wee departed from the deare Robine whose conversation gaue vs such warmeth as wee neded no other heate to mainetayne owre healthes: since, therfore, yt is proper to all, to desire a reamedy for their disease, I doe, by theise, bynd the, by the Lawes of Charitye, to make thy present aparance here, at the bath, and lett no watery Nimpes divert you, who can better lyve with the aier, and better forbear the fyre of your spirite and vigoure, then wee, who accumptes thy person the only sone that must Ripene owre harvest. And thus I rest: Ever

*fast tied to your friend
Ship
Wm Mounteagle*

It is unnecessary for me to point out the suspicious allusions in this letter to air and fire; the unquestionable proof which it affords of the continuance of Lord Mounteagle's intimacy with the chief conspirator; or the significant title which it bestows upon him—"the sun that must ripen our harvest;" but I may add, that the terms of attachment applied to Catesby, and the description of the fascination of his conversation, are similar to those which occur in other allusions to that remarkable man. Rookwood

^c Atkyns's Gloucestershire, 368.

said, in one of his examinations, that he had long been intimate with him, and "loved and respected him as his own life."

Catesby went to Bath about Michaelmas 1605, it now appears, in consequence of the above invitation. Percy, and, as we may conclude, Lord Mounteagle, met him there, and it was then determined that, "the company being yet but few, Mr. Catesby should have the others' authority to call in whom he thought best." In pursuance of this resolution Catesby admitted Sir Everard Digby, Francis Tresham, and Ambrose Rookwood into the plot.

I need not remind you that Catesby and Percy, probably the only persons who could directly have proved the active interference of Lord Mounteagle, were killed at Holbeach.

I have the honour to be,

my dear Sir Henry,

Your very faithful humble servant,

JOHN BRUCE.

SIR HENRY ELLIS, K.H. F.R.S.
Sec. S. A.

A P P E N D I X.

AT A COUNCIL OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES,

DECEMBER 15, 1776.

RESOLVED,

That such curious Communications as the Council shall not think proper to publish *entire*, be extracted from the Minutes of the Society, and formed into an Historical Memoir, to be annexed to each future Volume of the Archæologia.

APPENDIX.

Proclamation of the Regent Murray, in Scotland, 1568.

Nov. 26th, 1835. ALFRED JOHN KEMPE, Esq. communicated to the Society the following Proclamation addressed to the Scottish People, under the Regency of the Earl of Murray, in the name of James VI. of Scotland: a printed exemplar of which he had found among the Muniments at Loseley House in Surrey.

“ Ane Proclamation set forth by my Lord Regent, in the name of our Sovereign Lord, declaring the purpose of them who assisted with our Sovereign Lord’s Mother, &c.

“ JAMES, by the Grace of God, King of Scots, to all and sundry our faithful and true lieges, to whose knowledge these our letters shall come, greeting. For as mickle as the occasion of the present troubles, occurred within our realm, is not unknown to you, and what work God has wrought in time begone, since the horrible and unworthy murder treasonably perpetrate in the person of the king our maist dear Father of worthy memory. The world may see it, and the posterities following will keep it in lasting memory. That execrable fact, as it is detestable in God’s sight, so ought all men that either fears God or has respect to the civil society amangs men to abhor, with the persons that still would maintain the Authors and Devisers of that beastly cruelty; and by the contraire avance and promote the righteous quarrel of us their native prince and lawful king, descended of the right line of the maist noble and valiant princes of this region, as a special comfort and favour sent by the mercy and providence of Almighty God to this afflicted nation.

“ And howbeit the cruel murderers of our maist dear Father, their favourers and assisters, after his murder, had conspired the same cup for us to taste of. To transfer the Crown from the righteous line to sic as lang has bene ambitious thereof; yet that same God that preserved our Innocent Person from their merciless hands, has respected the equity of our cause and maintained the same, to his glory and our safe guard, when in man’s sight baith we and they that professed our obedience and avowed our quarrel were maist like to be overthrown. But because the malicious hearts of our conspired enemies not only proceed in their wickedness against us and our authority, but also seduce the true and simple people our lieges to follow them—slanderously speaking, and of us as that our Title were in doubt.

“ We have thought good to notify and make known the certainty of the hail [whole] matter, for the satisfaction of them whose judgment yet remains in suspense ; that being resolved of the simple and naked truth, they may give place to the right and abstain from error, and put a difference between our true subjects seeking God’s glory and our due obedience, and the rebellious faction treasonably seeking to bereave us of our lawful Crown and proper inheritance under ane crafty pretence of the Queen our Mother’s title, unto whom (God wot) they bear no better good will nor to us. Saving in sae far, as her presence may move a controversy, wherein by process of time having baith us and her cuttit [cut] off, they may win the game and possess the garland lang hoped for. But what end shall God put to sic usurpers—all ancient histories baith godly and profane declare in similitude—was ever innocent murder left unrevenge? Or was it ever in the power of man sae far to blind the eyes of him that is Almighty : but when the iniquity of men was come to fulness, his potent hand quickly confounded baith the force and policy of his wicked creatures.

“ That cullorat clengeing [coloured clinging or cloking] of James, sometime Earl of Bothwell, chief murderer of our dear Father upon the xii day of April, the year of God 1567 years, could not assure that godless and wicked man nor make his cankered conscience rest without terror ; the hail warld perceiving his pretence nae other thing but as a mask to blind the eyes of God and man. The murderer seeking his own purgation ; the accustomed order of the law perverted.

“ In that sufficient warning was not given to our dearest gud schir [god-sire] and others the kin and friends of our said dear Father to follow and pursue the murderers, and the very time of the committing of that cruelty not expressed ; neither yet could that dishonest and pretended marriage suddenly and unprovokedly thereafter accomplished, either blind God or satisfy the people that continually craved vengeance of God for that saikles [sakeless *i. e.* wantonly shed] blood and concealed murder ; nor yet the revising or rather mocking of God and the warld could colour shame and dishonour, where it was sae far procured, that honour, conscience, and greatness were all tynt [attaint] for the inordinate affection borne to that Tyrane. Laith we are to condescend mair speciallie : but, alas ! what profits silence where there is nae repentance ; not words and reports of men, but writ remains, contening the discourse of that lamentable tragedie and unnatural cruelty, the truth whereof no process of time will consume, nor age wear away. And when that unlawful divorce was, and mair unlawful marriage compleat, what estate our innocent person stood into, the eternal God best knows and all godly men may judge. Our Father lately murdered, and the Queen, our Mother, coupled with him, the chief authour of that mischievous deed ! She thrall and subject to him, circuit with a company of ungodly and wicked persons, notorious pirates, murderers, and others, ready to execute all their unlawful commandments, divers of our nobility abhorring with the wicked time, either departing forth of our Realm,

or privily reposing themselves to see the end of that confusion ; at last constrained by just necessity, it behuivit [behove] them, rather late nor never, to provide our surety, whom God had granted to them as native Prince. That we should not fall into the merciless hands of them whilks [which] slew our Father. To separate that Tyrane and godless man fra the Queen our Mother, and to put our person in surety—for whilk purpose, ane great number of our true and faithful subjects, being convened on the field, aganis the said Earl, after he had refused singular combat, of a Lord and Baron of Parliament, and Gentlemen undefamed (Houbeit before he had offered himself thereto by his Cartel and Proclamation) he escaped, and our said Mother come to the nobleman and others our faithful subjects convened for that effect, wha refusing to leave the ungodly and unhonest company of the murderer of our Father, and minassing [menacing] sic as had been careful of our preservation, by common consent scho [she] was put in surety until further deliberation might be had in the matter. Shortly thereafter God manifested the murder more clearly, and not only the report of divers actually present thereat, and many other things gave presumption, but writ declared the truth ; resolving many of the doubt they stood into. Always the Queen our Mother, seeing the troubles occurring in her government, how contrariously things succeeded, and how evil her subjects liked of her Regiment, dimitted the Crown of this kingdom with all honours, privileges, and commodities thereof in our favours. According to the whilk, by a great number of the three Estates of the Realm, purposely convened to execute her commission, we were lawfully Inaugurate with the Crown Royal of this our Kingdom, and our dearest Cousin James, Earl of Murray, Lord Abirnethie, nominate, elected, sworne, and admitted in Regent to us our Realm and Lieges, unto our age of xvii years ; wha according to his commission did all that was in him to maintain the good and godly Peax [peace] standing betwix us and all Christian Princes our nighbours, friends, and confederates—To intertain justice and quietness in the state of our common-weill for the commodity and safeguard of true men and virtuous personages, and punishment of broken men, troublers of the country and others transgressors of the laws. Whilk our Coronation, Inauguration, and Possession in the Crown of this our Realm is by acts of ane lawful, free, and plain Parliament found and declared to be duly, rightly, and orderly done and executed ; and also lawful and vailable in the self, in all respects, and we also righteously invested and possessed in this our kingdom, as our said mother, our godsire, grandsire, or any others our maist noble progenitors, native Princes of this our Realm, were and has been of before—Or as if she the tyme of the said coronation had been departed forth of this mortal life, or had compared personally, in presence of the hail three estates of this our realm assembled in Parliament and made the said dimission, notwithstanding any manner of title, action, or interest, or any other thing, that presently or can hereafter be objected in the contrary. And also that the nomination, constitution, and ordination of our said

dearest cousin, in Regent to us our Realm and Lieges, during the time of our minority; and the acceptation of the said office by him was, is, and in all time coming shall be reputed, holden, and esteemed lawful, sufficient, and perfect, and all things whilkis he had done or should do by virtue of his said office, to be also dewly, lawfully, sufficiently, and righteously done, and to have als great avail, force, strength, and effect, in all respects and conditions, as any things done, by whatsumever Governors and Protectors of this our Realm, in the minorities and less-ages of any others, native princes of the same. Ratifiand, approvand and confirmand the said nomination and acceptation in all points. And als in the same lawful free and plain Parliament it was founden, declared, and concluded that, the cause and occasion of the conventions and messages of the earls, lords, noblemen, barons and others faithful and true subjects, and consequently their taking arms and coming to the fields, with open and displayed banners, and the cause and occasion of the taking of the person of the Queen our Mother, upon the xv day of Junii last bepast, and halding and detaining her within the house and fortalice of Lochellevin, continually sen syne and in time coming, and generally all other things invented, spoken, written, or done by them, or any of them, to that effect, sen the tenth day of February, the year of God 1566 years, upon the whilk day, one while, the king our maist dear Father was treasonably, shamefully, and horribly murdered, unto the day and date of the said act touching it and detaining of her person, that the cause and all things depending thereon, or that any ways may pertain thereto, was (to our grief) in her own default. The causes whereof, as they are patent to God, so alas they are over manifest to the hail world. What the Parliament has concluded presently needs not to be expressed at greater length, it is contained in writ and print. And many others nor the inhabitants of this country has knowledge of the same. But what surety is able to gainstand Treason? Or what bands and subscriptions can persuade them to be true, that are als facile with their hands to subserve, as with their tongues to speak the thing they think not? The scheme is their own, and the spot and ignominy will lest [last] unto their posterities. Gif any in the degree of Nobility, or any other our meanest subjects, had been oppressed, disdained, or handled otherwaye nor the ancient lawes of the country prescribed, then men might have had occasion to weary our government and to have such alteration; but what is he that in his conscience is able to complain or accuse the Estate of unjust dealing, or uncourteously; yet, seditious men of unquiet spirit, inuyfull* to see the pure people of this our realm enjoy that quietness and good days wherein they had ane interest, but moved partly of ambition, partly in hope of gain, and sakeless revenge, of them that never offended them, and chiefly to stay the ordinary course of justice, treasonably, against the tenour of the said acts of Parliament, practised and confined the liberty of the Queen, our Mother, and in conclu-

* Uneasy, ennui-full.

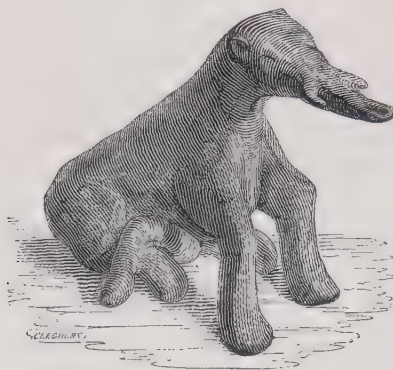
sion, by fraudulent and crafty means brought the same to pass in sic sort as scho [she] was not only convoyed to Hamilton, but there through the perverse counsel of sic as had been participant of our said Father's Murder, sae far induced her that she intended by force to bereave us of our Crown, wherewith we are rightfully possessed—And for the main speedy execution of the purpose, convened a great force not only of sic as lang as thrustit for our place, but of others dissembled friends and unnatural subjects. To what end their treasonable Insurrection and Rebellion has succeeded ye all our gude subjects understand. God has advanced our just and righteous quarrel and granted us victory of our conspired enemies, whaes blood neither we, nor nane professing our obedience or avowing our quarrel, ever sought. But being sharply assaulted and pursued, for preservation of our innocent person, and that room and authority wherein God has placed us, it behived [behoved] our said Regent, the noblemen and faithful subjects assisting him, to resist their cruelty and invasion. What womanly mercy was in the person of her that, alas, thought the shedding of Scottish blood a pleasant spectacle? What favour and clemency can men look for at her hands that stirs this sedition against her only lawful Son? Or what security can noblemen or godly men think themselves into, scho [she] bearing Regiment, by wha's occasion our maist dear Father, being a portion of her own Flesh, was savsit. God has his counsels to put in execution, and already has begunin, to execute his judgments—Sic as fears God and would the lawful and righteous blood royal continued in the succession of our Crown, will willingly obey us and forth-set our authority. The same God that has overcome the rebellious Faction, will yet repress their insolence, gif they tend to farther untruth and conspiracies. And we doubt not but ye will assist us in their contraire to their opprobrye and confusion. Our will is herefore, and we straitly command and charge you all and sundry our lieges and subjects foresaids, as ye will answer to God, and upon your allegiance and bound-in duty to us, that nane of you take upon hand to rise, assist, fortify, maintain or obey our said mother or any conspirators, movers of sedition and insurrection, under colour of whatsom-ever pretended authority nor orders, under the pain of treason. And that Lyoun King of Armes, his nether-heralds, Masars, [mace-bearers] Pursuivants, and Messengers, whatsomever, make publication hereof at the Mercat Crosses of the head Boroughs of our Realm and others places needful, that nane pretend ignorance of the same.

Given under our signet, and subscribed by our said dearest cousin and Regent—At Glasgow the xiiii day of Maii and of our Reign the first year 1568.

Imprentit at Edinburgh be Robert Lekpreuik, Prentar to the King is
Majestie, Anno Do: MDLXVIII.

Bronze Figure found at Toddington, Bedfordshire.

May 31, 1838. JOHN BOWYER NICHOLS, Esq. F.S.A., exhibited to the Society a small bronze figure of an elephant seated on his haunches, found at Toddington, near Dunstable, in Bedfordshire (here engraved in its original size).



The particulars of its discovery are simply as follow. About two years ago, the occupier of a farm, called the Lodge, in that parish, being desirous of separating a piece of rough land, formerly a brickfield, from the land adjacent, ordered his labourers to cut a ditch for that purpose; one of whom, in so doing, dug up the object here engraved. It was immediately brought to the house of W. C. Cooper, Esq. of Toddington Park, who purchased it, and has allowed it to be exhibited to the Society.

Toddington was formerly a market town, and a place of much more consequence than at present. It is situated near two well-known Roman roads, the Watling Street and the Ikenild Way, which cross each other near this spot. It has also been shown by a learned member of this Society, Henry Brandreth, Esq. in some Observations on the Roman Station of Magiovintum (*Archæologia*, vol. xxvii. p. 103) that there was another minor Roman road, which, branching off from the Watling Street, near Dunstable, at Houghton gap, actually passed through the town of Toddington, in its way to Ampthill and Bedford.

Mr. Brandreth also notices, in the same paper, the discovery of several weapons, pieces of armour, &c. at Toddington, in 1819.

These circumstances render it more than probable that the above bronze is of Roman workmanship.

Seal of Margaret Countess of Richmond, and Sir Thomas Stanley.

June 14, 1838. The Rev. THOMAS RACKETT, F.R.S. and F.S.A., exhibited an impression of a beautiful and elegant Seal of Margaret Countess of Richmond, and her husband, Sir Thomas Stanley, bearing the legend

“ Sigillū dñi & dñe libtats Honoris Richemoundi.”

The arms in the area are those of Stanley, with the family crest, an Eagle and Child, impaling the arms of England in a bordure, as borne by Margaret from her father the Duke of Somerset. The matrix of this Seal, of brass, in the most perfect preservation, was discovered a few years ago in Ireland, among some documents belonging to the Earl of Wicklow. It is at present in the possession of Mr. Hunter, the Earl's agent.

Armlets found near Drummond Castle, in Perthshire.

June 14, 1838. WILLIAM JERDAN, Esq., exhibited to the Society two Armlets, discovered in 1837, in the vicinity of Drummond Castle, in Perthshire, of great beauty of workmanship.

The spot where these Armlets were discovered is on the farm of Pitkelloney, a few hundred yards above the town of Muthill, and about two miles from Drummond Castle, the seat of Lord and Lady Willoughby de Eresby, to whom Pitkelloney belongs. They were within a few feet of each other, and slightly covered with earth; the first being ploughed up in making the deeper ridge furrow, which requires the plough to go over the ground a second time; and the last dug up close beside it, on further turning up the mould to ascertain the possible existence of any other relics.

These Armillæ are of brass, the one sixteen inches in circumference, weighing three pounds three ounces; the other fifteen inches round, and three pounds ten ounces in weight. Their forms are similar, and pattern the same, except in the fine mosaics which adorn the four centres of the clasps. These mosaics are curiously fastened in with iron pins, riveted on the inside, and surrounded and connected by the main treble wreath of the armlet by strong, rather elastic, wires, entwined by smaller wire in a very graceful manner. The colours are red and yellow: on one, the figure is a plain and perfect cross, and on the other a cross-ornament with a flower-like addition. The main brass wreath itself is extremely elegant, and its disposition, passing round the mosaic and continuing from one extremity to the other uninterruptedly, is so handsome that several jewellers of the present day have begged and obtained leave to copy it as a model of modern fashion. The smaller specimen appears to have had a piece of the metal, two inches

long, let into the circle, and also to have been patched or strengthened in another part. It is not so perfect as the other, though both are extraordinary productions for the æra to which they belong.

After referring to the contents of different papers in the *Archæologia*, particularly to those in volumes x, xiv, and xxii, upon the subject of ancient Bracelets and Armillæ, Mr. Jerdan inclines to the opinion that the date of the Armillæ just described may be placed soon after the Christian æra; in the time of Agricola and Galgacus.

Bronze Vessel discovered in the Isle of Ely.

Dec. 6, 1838. GODDARD JOHNSON, Esq. exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries, by the hands of Hudson Gurney, Esq., V.P. a bronze vessel, recently discovered in the Isle of Ely, accompanied by the following letter.

Mersham, Norwich, Sept. 17, 1838.

DEAR SIR,

The bronze vessel, with an ornamented handle, (Plate XXV.) which I forward to you, was discovered in the month of April 1838, in the hamlet of Prickwillow, (in Ely Trinity,) in Burnt Fen, on an estate called Little Shallows. It was discovered by the occupier of the farm, whilst digging clay to improve the land, at the depth of nearly seven feet below the surface. A neat ornament surrounds the upper part of the vessel immediately beneath the brim; the interior is tinned or silvered, and the exterior of the bottom is marked by raised concentric circles; but the handle, and the portion of the vessel from which it springs, are the more highly ornamented parts. Here we see the bust of a winged genius surrounded by various animals. The extremity of the handle is formed by two dolphins conjoined. Lengthwise, upon the handle, is a vine-branch in enamel; and near the extremity, horizontally written, is BODVOGENVS. F; the last letter for *fecit*.

The general appearance of the vessel, at first sight, might lead one to suppose it had been used for some culinary purpose: but the elegant manner in which the handle is ornamented, and more especially the enamelled vine-branch, indicate to me a sacrificial use. It is observable, too, that the raised concentric circles on the exterior of the bottom are perfectly uninjured, and have no appearance whatever of having been subjected to the action of fire.

There can be no doubt but that the vessel before you is of Roman origin.

From inquiries at the British Museum I find that two vessels, smaller in their sizes, but similar in general shape, of bronze, silvered or tinned within, marked at bottom in

the same manner with deep concentric circles, were purchased two or three years ago for that institution, from Mr. Millingen; both having the name of the same manufacturer by whom they were formed, placed lengthwise upon the handles. These vessels were found together in Italy, and at the time of the discovery lay fitted one into the other, one of course being rather smaller than its companion. The name of the workman is written ANÆVICERIAL, probably for Anævicerialis.

Similar vessels, in point of form, but varying in size, of bronze, some tinned within, also occur among the Towneley Antiquities in the Museum; and one or two have corroded names upon the handles, written lengthwise. Some, too, of these have, and some have not, the concentric circles at the bottom.

It may perhaps be sufficient to remind you that in the eleventh volume of the *Archæologia* (Pl. viii. p. 105) a vessel of this kind was engraved, found near Dumfries, in Scotland, in 1790; on the handle of which the manufacturer's name, ANSIEPHARR, appeared. And in the xvth volume I find Sir H. C. Englefield exhibited to the Society nine fragments of similar utensils, in silver, richly sculptured, belonging to Sir J. E. Swinburne, Bart., which had been found in 1747, in making a hedge near his house in Northumberland. These were subsequently engraved in plates xxx, xxxi, xxxii, and xxxiii of that volume. The fragments themselves attracted the particular notice, at the time, of the late Richard Payne Knight, Esq. They are now preserved in the British Museum.

I am, dear Sir, your obedient faithful servant,

GODDARD JOHNSON.

Gold Ornaments found in Ireland.

Dec. 6, 1838. EDWARD HAWKINS, Esq. F.R.S. and F.S.A., exhibited several gold ornaments, recently found in Ireland.

They consist of two torques, the largest weighing about twenty-seven ounces, two hollow balls of thin gold, an ornament, such as Sir William Betham has considered to be ring money, and another of the same metal, of peculiar form, possibly intended as the fastening of a garment. The two specimens of torques differ materially in form from any which have been before exhibited to the Society, having a long cylindrical piece, terminating in a kind of conical button, issuing from the broad end of one of the hooks. Several balls, similar in shape to those exhibited, and of different sizes, were found at the same time. The balls were all perforated, and were probably strung as large ornamental beads.

Bronze Roman Weight, found in the Thames.

Jan. 17, 1839. CHARLES ROACH SMITH, Esq. F.S.A., exhibited to the Society a bronze Roman weight, for a steel yard, recently found in the bed of the Thames. It represented the head of a wolf, was of good workmanship, and weighed eleven ounces.

Identification of the Author of the ancient Ballad upon the intrenchment of the Town of New Ross.

Feb. 21, 1839. The following letter from CROFTON CROKER, Esq. F.S.A. and M.R.I.A. was read, addressed to Sir Henry Ellis, identifying the Author of the ancient Ballad, upon the entrenchment of the town of New Ross, in Ireland, formerly communicated to the Society, by Sir Frederick Madden.

DEAR SIR HENRY ELLIS,

Rosamond's Bower, Fulham, Feb. 18, 1839.

In 1829, Sir Frederick Madden communicated to the Society of Antiquaries, a very curious ballad, composed in the year 1265, on the entrenchment of the town of New Ross, in Ireland, from the Harleian Manuscript, No. 913; which ballad, with some introductory observations, were published in the twenty-second volume of the *Archaeologia*.

Although Sir Frederick Madden has entitled this a Ballad "on the walling of New Ross," the whole tenour of the song shews that it was composed when the foss or ditch was nearly finished, but before the walls were begun. Stanihurst's account of the walling of New Ross, as given in Holinshed's *Chronicle*, is exceedingly minute, and seems to have escaped Sir Frederick's notice; who, I apprehend, is mistaken in calling the Sir Walter mentioned in the ballad, a De Burgo. He was, I rather think, a Le Poer, or Power, not improbably the father or grandfather of the Walter le Poer, who is chronicled by Holinshed, in 1302, as having "wasted a great part of Mounster, burning manie farmes and places in that countrie."

In addition to what Sir Frederick Madden has stated respecting the interesting manuscript, in which this ballad on the entrenchment of New Ross occurs, an attempt to trace its history may not perhaps be considered by you as unworthy of being communicated to the Society.

That a friar named Michael of Kildare was the writer, is not only tolerably certain

from the passage alluded to by Sir Frederick Madden, which is the closing verse of a religious song, viz. :—

“ This sang wrozt a frere
 Ihesu Crist be is socure
 Loverd bring him to the tour
 Frere Michel Kyldare.”

but from a satire in Latin, at p. 26, which commences “ Ego Michael Bernardi.”

The Manuscript consists of sixty-four leaves of vellum, 12mo size, and is written in a good hand, and embellished with initial letters in colours. On folio 25, a paragraph commences, “ Anno domini M.ccc°.viiij. xx°. die Feb.,” which is the identical year when the song on the death of Sir Piers de Birmingham, printed by Ritson in his collection of “ Ancient Songs,” from this manuscript, appears to have been composed. From this coincidence I think that the year 1309 may be fairly assigned as the date when the Harleian MS. No. 913 was written.

Various notices respecting it, at different periods, enable us to trace its history with some degree of accuracy. On the suppression or dissolution of the monastery in which the Manuscript had been preserved, it came into the possession of a George Wyse, as is evident from the following entry in the writing of Elizabeth’s time, on the back of the second folio,

“ Iste Liber pertinet ad
 me Georgiū Wyse.”

The comparison of the autograph of George Wyse, who was Bailiff of Waterford in 1566, and Mayor of that city in 1571, which is extant in the State Paper Office, leaves no doubt as to the identity of the individual.

The Wyse family, it may be observed, were distinguished for their literary taste. Stanihurst, speaking of them, remarks, that “ of this surname there flourished sundrie learned gentlemen. There liveth,” he adds, “ one Wyse in Waterford, that maketh (verse?) verie well in the English.” And he particularly mentions “ Andrew Wise, a toward youth and a good versifyer.” To the same family were granted various ecclesiastical possessions in Ireland. Sir William Wyse, the ancestor of the late Member for Waterford, and possibly the father of the before-mentioned George, had a grant of the Abbey of St. John, near that city, the 15th November, 1536.

However this manuscript may have come into the hands of a member of the Wyse family, it seems to have continued, if not in their possession, at least in the same locality, as in the reign of James I. it is noticed as “ The Book of Ross or Waterford.”

See No. 418 of the Lansdowne MSS. in the British Museum, a collection made by Sir James Ware, which contains transcripts of several pieces from it, where the following note occurs upon the copy of the song already mentioned, respecting the death of Sir Piers de Birmingham :—" *Out of a smale olde book in parchmt. called the book of Rosse or Waterford. Feb. 1608.*"

I am not aware of any further notice by which the history of this interesting manuscript can be traced, until the appearance of the "Catalogus Manuscriptum Angliæ et Hiberniæ," printed in 1697, where it is mentioned as in the Library of More, Bishop of Norwich. That this little collection of Monkish rhymes should have escaped the fanaticism of the Commonwealth, proves either how highly it was prized, or that its escape was almost miraculous; and therefore baffles sober conjecture. But having been transferred from Ireland to the library of Bishop More, a few years after that in which it is registered as being in his possession, the well-known English poem which this manuscript contains, on Cokaygne, was printed in the "Thesaurus" of Dr. Hickes, from a manuscript lent to him by Bishop Tanner.

A careful comparison of the poem on Cokaygne, as printed by Hickes, with the copy in "the Book of Ross or Waterford" (the only early copy, I believe, now known to exist in manuscript), can leave no question that the original of Hickes was derived from the copy in the British Museum. And, as no such manuscript is to be found in the public library of the University of Cambridge, where More's manuscripts were deposited after his death; and also as the contents of the Catalogue of 1697 agree with those of the Harleian MS. No. 913, there can be little doubt that the MS. "Book of Ross or Waterford," as Sir James Ware's copyist calls it, had been lent by More to Tanner, and that, not having been returned before the death of the former prelate, or from some other cause, it had afterwards passed into the library of the Earl of Oxford. The circumstance, hitherto unexplained, of this manuscript being mentioned, at nearly the same period, as in the possession of several persons, has led to the supposition that two, or even three copies of it were in existence.

At the time that "the Book of Ross or Waterford" came into the Harleian Library, it certainly was in a very tattered condition, and some of the leaves wanting. At present, as noticed by Sir Frederick Madden, many of the leaves are transposed, the order of the pieces does not strictly coincide with that in More's catalogue, and two or three articles have evidently been lost.

Among the transcripts made for Sir James Ware, (Lansdowne MS. 418) the following tantalizing note is an evidence of the loss of an Anglo-Irish ballad from "the Book of Ross or Waterford" of some interest.

"There is in this book a long discourse in meter putting the youth of Waterford in

mind of harme taken by the povers, (the Poers) and wishing them to beware for the time to come ; I have written out the first staffe only,

“ Young men of Waterford, &c.”

And it would seem from the transcript of this stave, that the copyist was unfortunately deterred from proceeding by the difficulty he experienced in reading his original, which is therefore now lost to us.

Believe me to be, dear Sir Henry,

Your very faithful humble Servant,

T. CROFTON CROKER.

Sir Henry Ellis, K.H. F.R.S. Secretary.

Ancient Bronze Figure of a Stag.

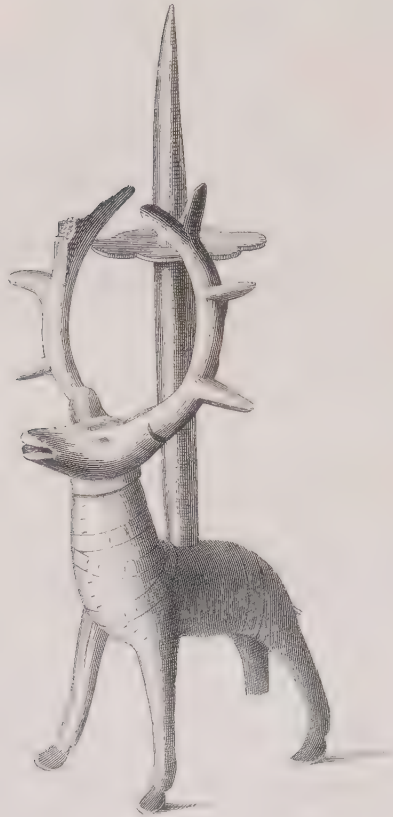
Jan. 10, 1839. WILLIAM HENRY ROSSER, Esq. exhibited an ancient bronze figure of a stag, accompanied by the following Letter to Sir Henry Ellis.

7, Warwick Court, Gray's Inn,

7 Jan. 1839.

MY DEAR SIR,

At the request of G. A. Wake, Esq. of Tatchbury Manor House, Southampton, I beg to exhibit to the Society of Antiquaries a brass figure of a stag, found in, or shortly previous to the year 1834, in a meadow at Nursting, near Redbridge, Hants, about sixteen inches below the surface, and which, when found, was encrusted with the venerable green of ages, but subsequently *carefully cleaned*, and, as will be seen, rather barbarously treated, by the labourer who found it, in digging. Mr. Wake, by his letter, requests the opinion of the Fellows of the Society, as to “the use or purpose to which it had been originally applied;” and, at the same time states his own hypothesis regarding it; and after quoting from Mr. Hatcher’s “Historical and Descriptive Account of Old and New Sarum,” that, from Bittern, the ancient site of Clausentium, a Roman road ran through Nursting, and traversed the river Tees, or Test, Mr. Wake would infer that the brass stag being found on the spot of the ancient Roman fording place, “it might have been dropped from the end of a staff, where it might have been used as an ornamental supporter to a standard.” Mr. Wake appears to have been led to this hypothesis from the spike rising from the back of the stag. I apprehend, however, there can be no doubt that the figure is part of an ancient candlestick; and, judging from the inequality of the three unbroken legs, the stag originally stood on an artificial mound, or other base



of uneven surface, the bottom of which was probably very broad ; as, from the size of the spike, it is adapted to a large and weighty taper.

The candelabra of the classic ages, were stands on which *lamps* were placed, or from which they were suspended, but not for candles. When the *filum*, or wick of the lamp was first dipped in fat, or surrounded with wax, the records of antiquity do not inform us : but the word *candela* is of Roman origin, and Pliny's description of it refers to the link, the torch, and the rush light.*

There have been three former exhibitions to the Society, of ancient candlesticks. The first by Sir Joseph Banks, found in the bed of the river Witham, in Lincolnshire, the lower part, boat-shaped, standing on three legs, and furnished in the centre with two

* " Funiculus pice illitus, aut cera vestitus, ex scirpo etiam fiebant."

sockets, and a spike between them; and, at one end of the boat, an upright piece, apparently for holding snuffers; engraved in the 14th Vol. of the *Archaeologia*. The second, was one of a pair of brass candlesticks found in a chest in Ashbury Church, Berks, in 1794; engraved, gilt, and enameled: the base was an equilateral triangle resting on three feet, and supporting a column, on the top of which was a spike. This was engraved in the 15th Vol. of the *Archaeologia*, where it is observed that "the ancient candlesticks had no sockets, but the candles were stuck on spikes." The third exhibition was by Sir Sam. R. Meyrick, of a pair of candlesticks very similar in form to those found at Ashbury, of copper, engraved and gilt, and richly ornamented with enamel; and their height, including the spike at top, sixteen inches. Among the ornaments of these candlesticks, were human figures; from the costume of which Sir Samuel was enabled to assign them to the commencement of the twelfth century, although he could not trace anything of their original locality; having bought them of a travelling dealer at Aix-la-Chapelle. These candlesticks were described, and one of them engraved, in the *Archaeologia*, Vol. xxiii.

Although I have no doubt whatever of the original use of the article now exhibited, I cannot offer even a suggestion as to its age.

I remain, my dear Sir, yours most truly,

W. H. ROSSER.

Bronze Bracelets, Carving in Jet, &c. found at Strood, near Rochester.

March 7, 1839. MR. WILLIAM HARRISON exhibited two bronze bracelets, and a carving in jet, found at Strood, near Rochester, on the 30th November, 1838, belonging to Mr. H. Wickham, of Strood. They were discovered in digging for brick earth, in a field situated between the parish church and a farm called the Temple; and near the same spot have been found several skeletons, many earthen vessels, and about 600 Roman coins, of first, second, and third brass. A Roman road is supposed to have passed very near the site. One of the bracelets terminates in serpent's heads. The carving appears to be a rude representation of the head of Medusa, and is furnished with a groove, to serve either for suspension, or as the lid of a box.

Mr. Harrison also exhibited a stone hatchet, found in 1838, at Hartlip, near Sittingbourne, on the estate of William Bland, Esq.

On the Antiquity of Free Masonry in England.

April 18, 1839. JAMES ORCHARD HALLIWELL, Esq. F.R.S. and S.A., communicated the following observations on the antiquity of Free-Masonry in England.

“ We possess no series of documents, nor even an approach to a series, sufficiently extensive to enable us to form any connected history of the ancient institutions of masons and free-masons: we have, in fact, no materials by which we can form any definite idea of the precise nature of those early societies. We must, therefore, rest contented with the light which a few incidental notices and accidental accounts, far from being altogether capable of unsuspected reliance, afford us. These, as far as I have been able to collect, I have arranged in the following few pages, with a hope that some fresh evidences may before long be discovered to elucidate a subject not, by any means, devoid of all interest.

“ During some late researches among the manuscripts in the British Museum for the illustration of the early history of English Poetry, I chanced on one in the Old Royal library, said in the catalogue by Casley to be a ‘ Poem of Moral Duties,’ and marked 17 A. I. Upon a further examination, however, I found that it was a very singular and curious poem on the constitutions of Masonry, and a history and laws of the society of masons, stated to have been established by King Athelstan. This MS. consists of a small square duodecimo volume, on vellum, of the fourteenth century, on thirty-three leaves. It is thus entitled in an old rubric:—

‘ Hic incipiunt constitutiones artis gemetrie secundum Euclidem.’

“ The account commences with a fabulous history of the invention of the art, by ‘ the Grete clerke Euclýde.’ It then proceeds to state that—

‘ Thys craft com ynto England as y zow say,
Yn tyme of good Kyng Adelstones day;
He made tho bothe, halle and eke bowre,
And hye templus of gret honowre,
To sportyn hym yn bothe day and nyzth,
And to worschepe hys God, with alle hys myzht.’

and we then have a full transcript of all the articles in verse. I do not think it necessary to give more than one specimen, because the whole poem will be printed in a collection I am now preparing for the press:—

“ Articulus primus.

“ The furst artycul of thys gemetry,
 The mayster mason most be full securly—
 Bothe stedefast, trusty, and trewe;
 Hyt schal hym never thenne arewe.
 And pay thy felows after the coste,
 As vytaylys goth thenne wille than woste,
 And pay them trewly upon thy fay,
 What that they deserven may.
 And to here hure take no more,
 But what that they mowe serve fore.
 And spare nowther for love ny drede,
 Of nowther partys to take no mede.
 Of lord my fellow, whether he be,
 Of hem thou take no maner of fe.
 And as a jugge stonde up-rigzth,
 And thenne thou dost to bothe good ryzth.
 And trwly do this, whersever thou gost,
 Thy worschep, thy profyt, hyt schall be most.”

I think that the foundation of such a society, by King Athelstan, has every adjunct of external probability.

The most refined principles of the art were kept concealed among the more ingenious members of the fraternity*—the free-masons—in imitation, perhaps, of a law which, according to Vitruvius, the ancient architects had established among themselves—“ non erudiebant nisi suos liberos aut cognatos, et eos viros bonos instituebant, quibus tantarum rerum fidei pecuniæ sine dubitatione permitterentur.”† So studiously did they conceal their secrets, that it may be fairly questioned whether even some of those who were admitted into the society of Freemasons were wholly skilled in all the mysterious portions of the art.

That industrious antiquary John Leland has preserved, in his collections in the Bodleian Library, “ certayne questyons, with awnsweres to the same, concernynge the mystery of maconrye, wryttene by the hand of Kynge Henrye the Sixthe.” The answer to the question, “ how comede ytt yn Englonde,” is as follows:—

* See in MS. Addit. 6760, a short essay on this subject, by James Essex, Esq. F.S.A., a Cambridge architect of the end of the last century.

† Vitruv. Lib. vi. *pref.*

“ Peter Gower, a Greacian, journeyedde ffor cunnyng yn Egypte, and yn Syria, and yn everyche londe whereas the Venetians hadde plauntedde moconry, and wynnynge entraunce yn al Lodges of Maconnes, he lernede muche, and retournedde, and woned yn Grecia Magna, wacksynge and becommynge a myghtye wyseacre, and ratelyche renowned, and her he framed a grate lodge at Groton, and maked many masonnes, some whereoffe dyd journye yn Fraunce, and maked many maconnes, wherefromme, yn processe of tyme, the arte passed yn Engelande.”

This refers to the well-known story about Pythagoras. Groton is the name of a place in England; but the one here meant is Crotona, a city of Grecia Magna, which, in the time of Pythagoras, was in a very flourishing condition. The answers to the eighth and ninth questions are also exceedingly curious.

Henry VI. was the great patron of the societies of masons, and shielded them from a great deal of persecution, which had begun to assail them. The strenuous enthusiasm of Wickliffe maintained, that beautiful churches savoured of hypocrisy, and therefore were pernicious. This opinion, directed against the very foundation, and origin, and upholds of the different lodges, was not likely to render their situation more safe. It is said that Henry actually joined the society; and, whether the piece copied by Leland be really in his handwriting or not, it is certain that in his will he left to his college, in Cambridge, the annual sum of £117. 6s. 10d. for the wages of officers belonging to the works then in operation :—

| | | | | | | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|-------|----|------|
| For the master | - | - | - | - | - | - | 50 | 0 0 |
| For the clarke | - | - | - | - | - | - | 13 | 6 8 |
| For the chief-mason | | - | - | - | - | - | 16 | 13 4 |
| For the chief-carpenter | - | - | - | - | - | - | 12 | 18 0 |
| For the chief smith | | - | - | - | - | - | 6 | 13 4 |
| For two perveours, either of them at sixpence per day | | | | | | - | 18 | 5 6 |
| | | | | | | <hr/> | | |
| | | | | | | £117 | 6 | 10 |

No mean sum, in those days, for one of a body to inspect the works; and, it must be remembered, a freemason.

According to Bede, Bennet abbat of Wirral first brought masons and workers in stone into this country. The company of free-masons* had their arms granted them by William Hunckeslow, Clarencieux King at Arms, 13 Edw. IV.; and, two years

* Their regular codes are common in MS., and have, I believe, been printed. See in MS. Sloan. 3323, and 3848, transcripts respectively of the dates of 1659, and 1646.

previously, a company of under masons was formed in London. The first Company were incorporated by Charter, in the year 1677, by King Charles the Second.

In the 3 Hen. VI. an edict was passed against the societies of masons, which has never, I believe, been repealed—

“Whereas by the yearly congregations and confederacies made by the masons in their general chapters and assemblies, the good course and effect of the statutes of labourers be openly violated and broken, in subversion of the law, and to the great damage of all the Commons: Our said Lord the King, willing in this case to provide remedy, by the advice and assent aforesaid, and at the special request of the said Commons, hath ordained and established, that such chapitres and congregations shall not be hereafter holden; if they thereof be convict, shall be judged for felons: and that all the other masons that come to such chapters and congregations, be punished by imprisonment of their bodies, and make fine and ransom at the king’s will.”

Thus I leave the matter, with hardly a perceptible hint as to the manner of degeneration from bodies of skilled architects to friendship societies, the only remaining connecting link of their origin being a few signs and marks emblematic of their early efforts. Their separation from the Roman Catholic church doubtless contributed, in a great measure, to further the distinction; and when we take into consideration the extreme privacy of their proceedings, it is not much a matter for wonder that no satisfactory record should remain explanatory of the transactions of the primary assemblies.

Roman Pavements discovered at Basildon, in Berkshire.

April 18, 1839. CHARLES ROACH SMITH, Esq. F.S.A. communicated the following Observations on some Roman Pavements lately found at Basildon, Berks, in a letter to Sir Henry Ellis. They were accompanied by drawings of the pavements, exhibited by Messrs. Grissell and Peto, of York Road, Lambeth.

DEAR SIR,

At the close of last year, some paragraphs in the papers informed us that discoveries of Roman remains had been made near Pangbourne, in the line of the Great Western Railway. Sepulchral urns, human skeletons, and Roman coins were asserted to have been excavated at Shooter’s Hill, and subsequently, tessellated pavements at Basildon. Such notices are generally of but little service to the antiquary, being often filled with conjectures and speculations, instead of a plain unvarnished detail of such facts as may be useful in directing and assisting research. I lost no time in making every possible

inquiry; and, though my exertions have not proved so successful as I could have wished, yet the information I have collected on the subject may be relied on as being substantially correct.

With reference to the discovery at Shooter's Hill, Dr. Allnutt (of Wallingford) states that it consisted of "five skeletons superficially imbedded in chalk and covered with dry sand, spear-heads, spurs, battle-axes, urns of terra cotta, and a large quantity of coins of various Roman Emperors." Of the former of these relics I regret I could obtain no drawings for the Society (for sketches describe more faithfully than words); and, as regards the coins, the doctor informs me, they are so badly preserved as to defy conjecture as to whose reigns they commemorated: but four, in tolerable preservation, are of Licinius, Constantinus, and Gratianus.

The tessellated pavements (of which, by favour of Messrs. Grissell and Peto, I exhibit the drawings,) were discovered in the vicinity of Shooter's Hill, at the village of Basildon, which is situated on the Thames, about two miles to the north of Pangbourne, on the road to Streatly, Moulsoford, and Wallingford.

Their actual position was about two hundred yards from the high road, in a field called Church Field, lying between the village and the church. The depth at which they were found, was only about twelve or fourteen inches below the surface of the ground; so that, as it subsequently appeared, the plough had in several places abraded and broken up the floors. No remains of walls were here seen. The pavement, No. 1, was about eight feet in diameter, and appears to have formed the centre of a room, whose dimensions cannot be ascertained, as the external parts, composed of red tessellæ of one and a quarter inch square, were broken up by the workmen.

At the distance of two or three yards was found the pavement marked No. 2, eight feet in diameter. This the men destroyed soon after it was discovered, to avoid being hindered in their work. About fifty yards from these pavements, in continuing the railway, the workmen found a perfect skeleton, and the remains of a second; by the side of one of them was a sword. A portion of wall about three feet in length, was dug up at this spot, about two feet below the surface. At the depth of eighteen inches were also found several pavements of large flints (probably twenty) from six to eight feet in length. These, the Rev. R. B. Fisher informs me, the workmen supposed to have been graves, though only a few small pieces of bone were found. There were also large quantities of red pottery, and large tiles of various sizes and shapes, but much broken and in great confusion. One coin only I am able to authenticate as being from this precise locality. It has been forwarded by Messrs. Grissell and Peto, who state it was deposited underneath the tessellated pavement. It is in large brass, and of Lucilla. The obverse has the head and bust of Lucilla looking to the right.

Legend : LVCILLAE (Aug.) ANTONINI (Aug. F)

Reverse : V (enus). S. C. Venus standing to the left, and holding in the right hand an apple, and in the left the hasta. It bears evidence, from its worn state, of having been in circulation some considerable time previous to its inhumation.

The pavement marked No. 1, it will be perceived, by reference to the drawing, is a square, with three borders, of the zigzag, plain white, and guilloche patterns, inclosing an octagon, which comprises two intersecting squares with the guilloche border, the octangular compartments being filled alternately with diamonds and gordian-knots. The intersecting squares include two circular borders, one of a variety of the zigzag, the other of the *à la Grecque* pattern; and within these, in the centre of the whole, a rose. The four corners formed by the octagon, with the square, are filled with figures of the lotus. The tessellæ are white, red, blue, and gray; arranged with admirable skill, to produce a pleasing effect in the *tout ensemble*, and which, together with the good taste and judgment displayed in the design, astonish us, the more we examine the details, at the ingenuity and contrivance of the artist, in blending so many intricate geometrical forms in one beautiful and harmonious whole.

No. 2 is a parallelogram, formed by the addition of three rows of tesserae to two sides of a square, which comprises five others, gradually decreasing in diameter towards the centre, the line of demarkation between each being made by a streak of deeper red. The monotonous effect of the red colour is relieved by the introduction of twenty-four tesserae of blue brick placed at equal distances round the outer square; twenty, arranged in like manner round the next, and decreasing in like manner towards the centre. The design is chaste and simple; and I do not remember having ever seen one similar.

The whole of these remains have been broken up, and no effort has been made to excavate the adjoining parts which, there is every reason to infer, contain the other portions of these, and also, in all probability, other remains of the villa.

The situation is one of the best that could have been selected, either for a private dwelling place, contiguous to some military station, or even for a station itself. It is chosen on a gentle slope, from the fertile valley running between the Oxfordshire and Berkshire hills, which shelter the position to the east and west, while, to the south, is a rich open country, of meadow and arable land on either side of the Thames.

The Tamesis of Richard of Cirencester has been usually assigned to the ancient town of Wallingford; Dr. Stukeley places it at Streatly, which is but a short distance from Basildon;* Dr. Beke prefers Moulsoford, on the Thames between Streatly and Wallingford; whichever position future discoveries may decide to be the correct one, the

* See *Archaeologia*.

present remains will at least be allowed to confirm its site to this neighbourhood, and the existence of a Roman road, running from Durocina (as Dr. Beke supposes) through Streatly, Pangbourne, and perhaps through Englefield and Sulhampstead, to Silchester.

I remain, Sir, very respectfully yours,

CHARLES ROACH SMITH.

Antiquities found in the Counties of Dorset, Devon, and Somerset.

May 16, 1839. The Rev. THO. RACKETT, F.R.S. and S.A., communicated an account of some antiquities found in the counties of Dorset, Devon, and Somerset, in the following letter to Sir Henry Ellis.

MY DEAR SIR HENRY,

I have the pleasure of exhibiting to the Society of Antiquaries various antiquities, the greater part of which have been recently found in the counties of Dorset, Devon, and Somerset; and which, I flatter myself, will prove not unworthy their notice and regard.

In the month of May, 1826, I laid before the Society various Greek and Roman coins found in my own parishes of Spetisbury and Charlton, in Dorsetshire, or within ten miles of my residence; and which, I venture to assert, were proofs of an intercourse with the Greeks and Phœnicians; and that they also were proofs of those nations having made colonies and settlements on the western coast.

About the same time Sir William Betham gave figures, in a publication on Irish antiquities, of an armilla, ring money, &c.; since which time the subject has received great illustration by the discoveries of our learned Director, John Gage Rokewode, Esq. F.R.S., P. C. de la Garde, Esq. and others. I shall therefore briefly state the facts of finding these antiquities, with a few observations of my own.

“The first object to which I shall call your attention, is a stirrup found on Hamden Hill, near Montacute, in Somerset, now the property of Mrs. Farquharson, formerly the relict of John Philips, Esq. of Montacute, by whose permission I now exhibit it to the Society; and here I must make an extract from the late Sir R. Hoare’s account of antiquities found at Hamden Hill, in the 21st Vol. of the Transactions of the Society:—“A few years ago,” says he, “singular remains were found by the labourers, who, in pursuing their quarry, came to a chink, or as they call it, a gully in the rock, in which were many human bones, skulls, lance and spear heads, with articles of brass and iron, together with many fragments of chariot wheels; one of which was nearly

perfect, as will be seen in the annexed drawing." The stirrup was found near this spot in digging, at no great depth in the earth. It appears to have been cast, as the figures are similar on each side—Bacchus, Silenus, and Bacchanals; and at the bottom it is to be noted, one side is notched, or dentated, in order to give secure footing to the sandal, while the other side is plain.

The next object for notice is a mould for casting celts, similar to that which was found in France*, and is now in the possession of the Society. This was found a few months ago near Anstey, in Dorsetshire, not far from Abbey Milton, and is the property of C. Hull, Esq. a gentleman who farms his own estate. The head in terra cotta, found at Ilchester, is also the property of this gentleman, as are also the armillæ, the ring money, the ivory figure, &c.

I cannot avoid observing that many of these articles appear of superior workmanship to the middle ages. That the terra cotta head, and the figure, together with the stirrup, appear to have the Etruscan character, and consequently are of the highest antiquity.

The medallion was found at Badbury Rings, and the ring at Combe, near Wareham, not far from the ancient British Camp on Woodbury Hill. The other coins were found in Devonshire; and, with the medallion, are the property of the Rev. Carrington Ley, Vicar of Bere Regis, in Dorsetshire.

I remain, dear Sir, very faithfully yours,

T. RACKETT.

Account of a Brass Vessel found near Pulford in Cheshire.

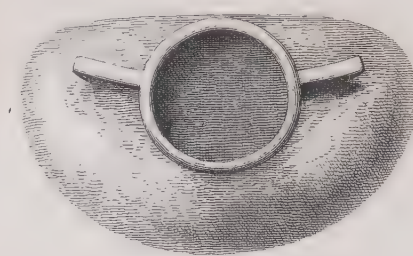
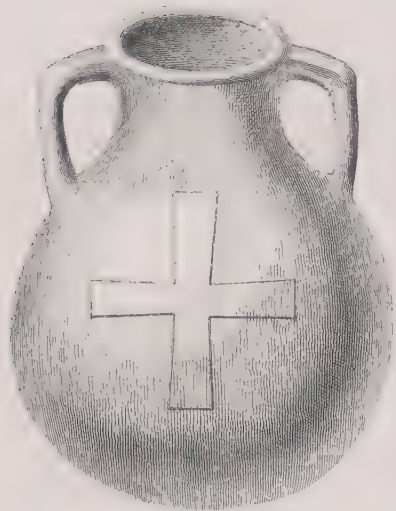
30th May 1836. EDWARD HAWKINS, Esq. F.R.S. and S.A. laid before the Society the drawing of a Brass Vessel found near Pulford, accompanied by the following letter to Sir Henry Ellis:—

DEAR SIR HENRY,

The Rev. J. R. Lyon, Rector of Pulford in Cheshire, has forwarded to me, for the purpose of laying it before the Society of Antiquaries, the inclosed drawing of a small brass vessel found lately while digging a deep hole in the castle ditch of that village. It

* "An interesting object of Celtic antiquity has been found near Valognes, in the Manche. It appears to be a mould for casting the bronze battle axes of the Gauls, frequently found in those parts. It is of freestone, no doubt sufficiently hardened to stand the heat of the bronze in a state of fusion. It forms a companion to the one for casting dies, found in the forest of Bricbec. They are unique in their kind."—*See the Gent. Mag. for October 1838.*

will be observed, that one side is flat, the other convex, and that it is furnished with two handles or loops placed at the neck, and near the flat side, as if for the purpose of making it convenient to carry about the person.



One somewhat similar was found some time since in the river Thames, and is now deposited in the British Museum; it is of ruder form and workmanship than the Pulford vessel, and has generally been considered of Roman workmanship, but it is unknown. The Pulford vessel, it will be seen, is marked with a cross clearly indicative of its having been used in Christian times, and for religious purposes; probably as an ampulla to contain holy oil. It is not clear that this cross is equally old as the vessel; and I am rather disposed to think, that it is an ancient Roman vessel, subsequently applied to religious purposes, and then and therefore marked with the Christian sign. Be it what it may, the drawing is submitted to the inspection and criticisms of our learned and ingenious colleagues.

Believe, dear Sir Henry, yours most truly,

British Museum, 30 May 1839.

EDWARD HAWKINS.

Site of an Ancient Pottery in Holt Forest.

13th June 1839. W. L. LONG, Esq. of Hampton Lodge, Farnham, communicated the following remarks upon what appears to have been the site of an Ancient Pottery in Holt Forest:—

“The Holt Forest in Hampshire occupies an extensive hill of the kind of clay geologically termed ‘the Gault formation,’ between the chalk and the green sand. It is now for the most part inclosed and planted. While it was in its forestial state, there were two lodges; the ‘Great Lodge,’ which stood upon the top of the hill, and was inhabited by the grantees of the forest; on its site is built the present residence of the deputy surveyor. The smaller lodge, called ‘Goose Green Lodge,’ was at the bottom of the hill, on the southern extremity of the forest, adjoining the narrow strip of inclosed arable and meadow land by the sides of the river which separate the Holt from Woolmer Forest. All that remains of this lodge is a portion of one of the detached offices, now converted into a small tenement, and occupied by Mr. Lemming, the principal keeper of the Holt; the modern turnpike road from Farnham to Petersfield passes close to this cottage.

“In the immediate neighbourhood of this lodge, are traces of most extensive ancient potteries, covering many acres with fragments of vases of different sorts, more or less thickly deposited, just below the surface of the ground.

“It seems that, all along this part of the forest, certain knolls exist, easily distinguished by the black colour of the earth of which they are composed, resulting from the charcoal and ashes, among which such an immense quantity of broken *terra cotta* is to be found that waggons might be easily laden with it. These little eminences (the stations, perhaps, of the furnaces), seem to form a line from east to west, nearly parallel with the southern skirt of the forest. I employed one of Mr. Lemming’s men to open the earth in several places with a spade, and such was the accumulation of fragments, that it was with considerable difficulty he could dig at all. Pieces of utensils of every sort, size, and thickness, with the simple ornamental lines, varying from the zigzag to the wavy, and of different colours, red and white, but principally black, were thrown up at every spadefull. When they made the turnpike road through this (Goose Green) plantation, two entire vases were discovered, and placed in the possession of a gentleman then residing at Marelands in Bentley, which parish comprises this portion of the forest. The ditches and banks of the turnpike road on each side, for four hundred yards together, beginning a little below Mr. Lemming’s house, display the black burnt earth and fragments of pottery in profusion.

“Upon inquiry as to whether any traces of *clay pits* were known to exist, I was con-

ducted to a spot where a very considerable excavation is visible. This is *Marle-pit-hill* in Abbotswood (a part of the Holt in which the Abbat of Waverley enjoyed some privileges), above Dockingfield. Although called *Marle-pit*, it is in fact a *clay* pit, and a pit of a very strong clay. Half an acre of ground at least has been excavated, and the aperture of the excavation points apparently in the direction where the broken pottery is found. The modern potteries of Chert, in the adjoining parish of Frensham, are supplied with material from the plastic clay formation, a little to the north of the town of Farnham; but the gault is, I believe, used in such manufactures at Folkstone and elsewhere; and the black hue of the ancient pottery seems derived from this species of clay.

“Upon an attentive examination of the fragments, it would appear that a *lathe* had been employed in shaping them; and appearances of *glazing* occasionally occur. They do not seem to differ very materially from the pottery discovered in ancient British barrows. In the barrows, sepulchral vases are for the most part met with; but here we have an endless variety of forms, and, if diligently examined, they might make us acquainted with every species of utensil common in the days of the manufactory.

“The extensive woodlands hereabouts, not only in the region of the Holt, but southward and westward, all along the sides of the great terrace of malm rock or lower chalk, which rises between the Holt and Selbourne Hill, doubtless formed the inducement which led to the establishment of this vast manufactory. It may, perhaps, have continued in operation until the period when the Holt and Woolmer became royal hunting grounds. We cannot suppose that the early Norman princes, who very much frequented these forests, would have tolerated for a moment the existence of such a manufactory in the midst of their preserves. It is reasonable, therefore, to refer it to some earlier period than the Norman conquest. It will remain for those who are skilled in such distinctions to pronounce whether the fragments are attributable to Saxon, Roman,^a or British workmen.

“I have the honour to send some specimens of these fragments for the inspection of any member of the Society of Antiquaries, who may feel an interest in such objects.

“W. L. LONG.”

^a The Romans occupied the rich platform of the adjoining Malm-terrace; several remains of their buildings, &c. have been found.

Early English Monastic Libraries.

June 20, 1839. JAMES ORCHARD HALLIWELL, Esq. F.R.S. and S.A., of Jesus College, Cambridge, communicated some extracts from a Catalogue of a Collection of Books formerly belonging to the Monastery of Ramsey, of the 15th century, accompanied by a few remarks on some other early English Monastic Libraries:—

“THE catalogue of the library of the Ramsey monastery is one of the most curious of those that have not been printed; and, as it is in the form least likely to be preserved entire for any considerable length of time, I have thought that an extract from it might not be unacceptable to the Society of Antiquaries. At the same time I take the opportunity of affixing a few notes, in addition to what Mr. Hunter has said in the only treatise expressly on the subject of the contents of the Monastic Libraries previous to the Reformation in England.

“Among the Harleian charters (Y. 24), is an imperfect inventory of the goods of some religious house taken May 24th, 1524. The catalogue of the library is as follows:—

‘ De libris existentibus in librario.

‘ In primis too byblis wryton. Item, iiij bokes of Nicholay de Lyra vppon the Byble. Item, pastorale beati Gregorii. Bartholemeus de proprietatibus rerum. Item, Hugo de sacramentis. Item, Lathbery super thronos. Item, dieta salutis. Item, Brito super biblia. Item, liber duodecim prophetarum. Item, Ricardus Hampoll de amore Christi. Item, de vita activa et contemplativa. Item, liber diversorum meditacionum, et orologium sapientiæ. Item, lucerna consciencie. Item, destructorium viciorum. Item, liber decretalium Sexti, Clementis, et Decretorum. Abbas super decretalia. Et sunt plures alii libri in predicto librario de diversis operibus, ut patet intuentibus.’

“It is much to be regretted that this catalogue ends so abruptly. In an inventory of the College of Cobham, made 1 Ric. II. and 1 Hen. IV. (Harl. Chart. C. 18), we find Higden’s Polychronicon, Summa Raymundi, and a Treatise on Grammar, besides several religious volumes. Small catalogues of libraries are, however, so common in rolls of this kind, that it would be an endless task to form a complete list; nor are they of much importance in comparison with the others.

“The catalogue of the Ramsey collection is among the Cottonian rolls, and marked II. 16. It is on five separate skins of vellum, and very imperfect. The following extract is from the first part:—

‘Libri fratris Walteri de Lilleford, quondam prioris Sancti Iuonis, quos contulit communitati Rammeseye.

‘Prima pars summæ theologiæ secundum fratrem Thomam de Aquino. Prima secundæ cum ultima parte summæ ejusdem Thomæ. Item, secunda secundæ ejusdem Thomæ. Scriptum Petri Tharenteys super primum librum sententiarum. Item, primum scriptum sententiarum fratris Egidii. Secundum scriptum sententiarum fratris Thomæ Aquini. Item, tertium scriptum sententiarum ejusdem Thomæ. Item, quartum scriptum sententiarum ejusdem Thomæ. Item, summa magistri Henrici de Gandavo super omnes libros sententiarum, in duobus voluminibus. SUMMA de potencia Dei. De malo. Exposicio fratris Thomæ de Aquino super x libros Ethicorum, in uno volumine. EXPOSITIONES fratris Thomæ de Aquino super viii libros phisicorum, et expositiones fratris Egidii super libros de generatione et corruptione, et expositiones fratris Thomæ super libros de sompno, de vigilia, et eciam super libros de memoria et reminiscencia, et idem etiam Thomas super tres libros de anima, in uno volumine. COMMENTUM Averoyis super xii libros methaphisicæ, et commentum Averedi de vegetalibus Aristotilis, et commentum super tres libros de causis, in uno volumine. EXPOSITIO fratris Thomæ Alquini super novam translationem xii librorum methaphisicæ, in uno volumine. DISPUTATIONES de quolibet magistri Henrici de Gandavo, in duobus voluminibus. xiii quolibet magistri Godefridi de fontibus. Et duo quolibet Jacobi de Viterbio, et tria quolibet magistri Petri de Averina. AUGUSTINUS de confessionibus, s. xiii libri. Item, Augustinus de quantitate animæ, et super Genesim ad litteram, libri xii. Augustinus contra monachos soliloquiorum libri duo. Augustinus de vera religione. De natura et gratia. De natura boni. Augustinus de libero arbitrio. De immortalitate animæ. De corruptione et gratia. De predestinacione sanctorum, in uno volumine. AUGUSTINUS de Trinitate, s. libri xv. et libri retractationum ejus xxii. in uno volumine. ANSELMUS de veritate, de libero arbitrio, de casu diaboli. Anselmus, cur Deus homo, s. liber secundus. De concordia prescenciæ. De conceptu virginali. Monologion. Prosologion. Contra insipientem. De processione spiritus sancti. De similitudinibus. De grammatico. Bernardus de consideratione liber quintus. Anselmus de sacrificio azimi et fermentati, et epistola ejusdem de incarnatione verbi, in uno volumine. TEXTUS de generacione et corrupcione. Item, de anima. De sompno, et vigilia. De memoria et reminiscencia. Item, omnes libri ethicorum Aristotilis, in uno volumine. SUMMA de veritate. COMMENTUM super tres libros de anima. EXPOSITIONES fratris Egidii super tres libros de anima. LIBER methaphisicæ et phisicæ et metheororum, in uno volumine. QUESTIONES super omnes libros metaphisicæ. REPORTACIONES fratris Walteri de Lilleford de disputacionibus. VETUS logica et nova, in uno volumine. QUESTIONES Porphyrii. Predicamentorum peryamenias. Elenchorum et super omnes libros phisicorum, super librum de motu animalium, super primum

librum de juventute et senectute. De longitudine et brevitate vitæ. De sompno et vigilia. De phisonomia Aristotilis. De memoria et reminiscencia. De sensu et sensato, cum multis aliis, in uno volumine. . . SEXTUS liber decretalium. . . QUESTIONES disputatæ a diversis doctoribus. Narracio Eustachii de moralibus Aristotilis ad Nichomachum. . Textus topicorum Boycii. Questiones disputatæ a diversis doctoribus. Tractatus de spera. Expositio libri posteriorum cum questionibus, et summa magistri Galfridi Haspul, in uno volumine.'

"The large catalogue of the library of Canterbury Cathedral in the British Museum (Cotton. Galb. E. 1v. f. 128), has been wholly overlooked by Mr. Hunter; and I do not know of any printed notice of it, though it is the most comprehensive of any that remain. We find here the works of Priscian, Cassiodorus, Isidorus, Suetonius, Aristotle, and Terence. In history nothing but anonymous Chronicles. In science the works of Alpericus, Bede, Albinus, Ethicus, Athelard, Gerlandus, Helpericus, Boetius, and Euclid's Elements in fifteen books.

"Theology is generally found to be the reigning subject in these collections. Poetry is rare; and with very few exceptions I have found none of the lighter kind; versified bibles, hymn books, &c. form the principal portion of this class.

"One volume from the Ramsey collection is in the Old Royal Library (5 D. X.), in the British Museum; and a great many manuscripts may be found in that library which have formerly belonged to the old monasteries. Considerable catalogues may be obtained by these means in the course of time; and if they could be compared with the original inventories, it would render them of greater value. The manuscripts themselves would thus become of additional interest, especially if the name of the donor of them to the monastery could be concluded from entries made in them.

"Since writing the above, I have carefully examined the extensive and very valuable catalogue of the library of the Monastery of Syon, preserved in Archbishop Parker's collection at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. I have no hesitation in saying, that this is the most curious volume of the kind now remaining, because it comprises a full list of books in almost every department of literature. As, however, it is my intention ere long to edit this volume with notes, more need not be added in this place."

Account of an Illuminated Psalter of the Fifteenth Century.

December 19, 1839. JOSEPH WELD, Esq. of Lulworth Castle, exhibited to the Society an illuminated Psalter of the first part of the 15th century, and the following letter was read from John Gage Rokewode, Esq. Director, addressed to Sir Henry Ellis, Secretary, in relation to it:—

DEAR SIR HENRY,

This manuscript is a folio, on vellum, measuring sixteen inches by ten and a half, bound in red velvet, with silver clasps. It contains two hundred and thirty-six leaves, the first six of which are occupied by the kalendar. The Hours of the B. Virgin begin folio 7, with mattins, and end with complin, folio 36. The Office for the Dead follows, folio 37, which is succeeded, folio 73, by David's Psalms with the Canticles, and the Athanasian Creed; and the book closes with the Litany.

It is important to observe that the Litany conforms throughout with the common Litany in the Sarum Processionale,* and the Kalendar also contains the chief English Saints.

In the Kalendar the following entry has been made under the month of June.

“Maria fitz Loys nat. in iijo Kalend. Junij. A°. dñi M°. cccclxvij.”

This lady, daughter and heir† of Sir Henry Fitz Lewis, became second wife of Anthony Widville, Earl Rivers; Jacquette de Luxemburg, the mother of the earl, it must be remembered, was widow of John Duke of Bedford, the Regent of France.

Each page throughout the manuscript has a border, chiefly painted with flowers and foliage, and the initial of each psalm, lesson, and prayer contains within it some miniature. Such pages as set forth the beginning of a service, have borders richer than the others, and also larger miniatures; and some of these borders are beautiful in their design, and have much delicacy of colouring.

The richest page throughout the MS. is that upon which begins David's Psalter. The border represents the tree of Jesse, and the subject of the miniature in the initial letter is the anointing of David. The young king, on his knees, receiving the holy unction, has a purple robe over his armour, and behind him stands Jesse, habited in a robe of scarlet and gold. It is doubtful whether this miniature may not have some allusion to the crowning of Henry VI., in the presence of his uncle, the Duke of Bedford. In the margin, forming part of the original design, is the achievement of the Duke of Bedford. Arms—quarterly France and England, a label of five points, the two towards the dexter being ermine, the other three azure, each charged with fleurs de lis or. Crest—on a chapeau doubled ermine, a lion passant guardant, ducally crowned or, and gorged with a like label of five points, as in the arms. Supporters‡—(which for want of

* Processionale ad usum insignis eccl'ie Sar. impressum Lond. 1554.

† Inq. p. m. Henrici Fitz Lewes Mil. 3 Oct. 20 Edw. IV. n. 86. Maria his dau. and heir, then wife of Earl Rivers, was found to be fifteen years old; which however, according to the entry in our MS. she had hardly attained.

‡ In the Bedford Missal the supporters of John Duke of Bedford are, dexter, an eagle argt. gorged with a ducal crown or. Sinister an antelope, as blazoned in the text, Motto, “A vous

room in the margin of the MS. are depicted below the shield) an eagle or, and an antelope sable, armed and unguled or. Motto—"pur souffrir." At the foot of the page described, is another shield of arms, which being no part of the original design of the MS. we shall not notice at present.

The larger miniatures comprise, beside the anointing of David, the following subjects.—The Annunciation; Christ in limbo; a Dirge; David slaying the lion; David and Goliath; David in triumph; Saul seeks the life of David; the marriage of David; David before the ark; David playing on the harp.

The smaller miniatures are composed chiefly of heads representing prophets, saints, priests, religious, princes, nobles, and others, generally executed with the taste and accuracy of a Giulio Clovio.

Many of the subjects have that individuality about them as to leave no doubt of their being portraits. Among the princes, are to be recognised Kings Henry IV. and V. of England; * the head of the latter monarch is given more than once; and in the prayer for the living and the dead in the Litany, it occurs as the last miniature in the MS., apparently with the shadow of death upon it. The robe of another king depicted, is powdered in gold letters with the word "Moy." † The name "Job" is repeated on the dress of one subject, and round the collar of an aged man, in a green bonnet spotted with gold, is written, "Macer Owny." ‡

Often throughout the MS. where the text breaks off, the line is filled up by an ornamental scroll or pattern, into which some posy, motto, or pious sentence, Latin, English, or French, is sometimes introduced, in gold letters. We select the following of these.

I comynnde me vn to zow. I pray . God . save . ye . Duke . of . Bedford. fol. 21.

Vne sans plus.

Tou a vous.

In god is all mⁱ gode.

In gode tyme i woll. in god is all.

A payne endure.

herman : zour : meke : servant. fol. 129.

Pour souffrir.

Souereyne.

Wan god wole leten may be.

entier," perhaps adopted as a compliment to the duchess, whose motto round her arms gives the answer "J'en suis contente."

* Fol. 76, 81, apparently folio 22, 198, 230 v., 236.

† Fol. 189 v.

‡ Fol. 198.

In . god . is al.

I . am . herman . zoure . owne . servant. fol. 232 v.

Some of these mottos are repeated in the MS. *Sovereign* occurs thrice; this word is to be seen upon a scroll with the feather, on the Seal of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster; and it is also found upon the tomb of King Henry IV. at Canterbury. *Une sans plus* (seven times repeated) is the well-known posy of King Henry V., which was flourished upon "leech damaske" at Queen Katharine's coronation. The motto of the Duke of Bedford, "pour souffrir," is introduced thrice.

Not the least in interest of these inscriptions, is the commendation of the writer to his patron, and his prayer for the Duke of Bedford, and the twice repeated affirmation;—"Herman your meke servant." "I am Herman your own servant."

Anthony Earl Rivers, or Mary his Countess, from the entry of her birth in the Kalendar, would seem to have acquired this MS. from the earl's mother, the Duchess of Bedford; at all events, after the death of the Duchess, in 1472 (presuming her to have been the owner of it) it came to the Catesby family.

At the foot of folio 7 is a shield bearing quarterly, 1st, Two lions passant guardant Sable—Catesby. 2nd, Gules fretty and a chief argent—Cranford. 3rd, Azure, a chevron ermine—Lodbrok. 4th, Sable, four bendlets or, a canton argent—Bishopston. Impaling De la Zouche, quarterly, 1st and 4th, Gules, ten bezants, 2,2,3,2,1—De la Zouche; 2nd and 3rd, Gules, three leopard's heads jessant de lis or. These are the arms of William Catesby, of Ashby Ledgers, who died in 1485, having married Margaret, daughter of William Lord Zouche, of Haringworth. The same arms occur folio 25, and the coat of Catesby is introduced below the border of other pages of the MS., either quarterly with, or impaling one of the coats above described. All these arms of Catesby are additions of the time of King Henry VII.; and, in some instances, parts of the illuminated border of the page where they occur, have been scraped off for the introduction of them.

Mr. Weld derives this MS., together with the Louterel Psalter which we have described in the *Vetusta Monumenta*, from the Duchess of Norfolk, the heiress of the Sherborn family.

I am, dear Sir Henry, faithfully yours,

JOHN GAGE ROKEWODE.

Seal of the Dean and Chapter of Lichfield.

December 12, 1839. RICHARD ALMACK, Esq. F.S.A. of Melford, in Suffolk, presented an impression from a brass seal of the Dean and Chapter of the church of St. Mary and St. Chad, in Lichfield, recently found on the edge of the green by the road side, in the village of Cavendish, in Suffolk.

The inscription,

✠ S' DEICANI ET CAPI' ECCLEI SC̄EI MARIE
ET SC̄I CED DEI LYCPEIFELD' AD CAS ✠

This appears to be the seal, of which a poor engraving, from a very mutilated impression, is given in Shaw's Staffordshire, vol. i. plate xxix, fig. 5. It is there stated to be of the date 1384.

The matrix, in a perfect state, is now in the possession of the Rev. T. Castley, Rector of Cavendish.

Cromlech near Mont Orgueil Castle, in Jersey.

Jan. 16, 1840. GENERAL SIR HILGROVE TURNER, G. C. H. presented two drawings of a Cromlech (Plate XXVI.) situated near the Castle of Mount Orgueil, in the island of Jersey, on a hill which commands the castle, close to the King's Warren, in a field belonging to Jean Fauville, who made the excavation in the mount in which this Cromlech was nearly buried, in the summer of 1839; the earth at that time reaching up to the lower surface of the impost stone. This large flat piece of rock measures seventeen feet by eleven; its colour is grey, and it is land stone: the ten supporters are from rocks in the sea, and form a circle. This Cromlech, among the country people, has the name of the Pouquelay; probably a Celtic word. Four cups or vases of earthen ware have been found within the spot occupied by these stones; two stone celts, highly polished; a curved stone, perforated and polished; and several human bones.

Seal of the Vice Custos of the Grey Friars at Cambridge.

6th Feb. 1840. JAMES ORCHARD HALLIWELL, Esq. presented an impression from the matrix of a seal recently found at Cambridge by some workmen engaged in pulling down an old wall. It exhibits a shield, charged with a cross ragulée, surrounded by other instruments of the Passion of our Lord; the spear and rod being disposed in saltire, the crown of thorns in the first quarter, the hyssop in the second, and two whips in the third and fourth. The inscription is "S. Vicarii Custodis Cantabrigiæ," and a figure in the act of praying, at the bottom of the seal, is probably intended for the owner. The matrix belongs to the end of the fourteenth or commencement of the fifteenth century. Mr. Halliwell considers it to have been the seal of the person next in rank to the superior of the Cambridge Convent of Grey Friars, which stood on the spot now appropriated to Sidney Sussex College. He interprets the *Custos* to refer to the superior of the convent, and the *Vicarius* to the next in rank, the vice-master as he would now be termed. Cambridge was one of the seven Custodies of the Minorites (See Parkinson's *Antiquities of the English Franciscans*, 4to. Lond. 1726, p. 16); and the convent was dissolved on the 20th May 1546 (Cole's MSS. Brit. Mus. vol. xlv. p. 228). A document in the treasury of Sidney College copied by Cole (MS. volume xli. p. 213) states that in 1559, before the founding of Sidney College, the old convent was used as a malting-house.

Roman Urns found at Skeynes, near Edenbridge, Kent.

13th Feb. 1840. RICHARD DAVIS, Esq. communicated the following Account of the finding of some Roman Urns at Skeynes, in the parish of Edenbridge, in Kent, in a letter to Sir Henry Ellis.

SIR,

9, St. Helen's Place, Bishopsgate, 7 Feb. 1840.

I take the liberty of sending you the following particulars, which I hope may not be uninteresting.

On the 30th January some of my labourers, in trenching on my property (Skeynes, in the parish of Edenbridge, formerly called Edulnebrigg, in the county of Kent,) preparatory to planting, dug up several urns, supposed to be Roman, containing calcined bones together with earth; the number I presume was eight, in two straight lines, running from east to west, two feet apart from centre to centre, thus :



Unfortunately no one was informed of the circumstance (I imagine under the expectation of finding money) until they were all much damaged. The spot in which they were found is about forty yards from an ancient manor house which I lately pulled down. The urns were embedded, in an old meadow, in very strong yellow clay, at one foot six inches from the surface, which is composed of good dark mould. The ground, to the depth of two feet immediately under the urns, is foreign to the layer they were in. Judging from the most perfect portion which remains, I should say they were from eleven to twelve inches in height, about nine inches diameter in the bulge, and five inches diameter at bottom. They are composed of half-burnt clay, black in the interior and red on the surfaces, and are very light. No vestige of tile or covering was found.

Edenbridge is situated on the north bank of the Eden, a branch of the Medway.

The situation of the spot where these urns were found is about half a mile east of the village.

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

RD. DAVIS.

PRESENTS TO THE SOCIETY,

SINCE THE PUBLICATION OF THE TWENTY-SEVENTH VOLUME OF

ARCHAEOLOGIA.

1837-8.

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| Philosophical Transactions, for 1837, Part II. 4to. | } | By the President and Council of the Royal Society. |
| Address of H.R.H. the Duke of Sussex, 30th Nov. 1837. 8vo. | | |
| Abstracts of Papers printed from 1830 to 1837. 8vo. | | |
| The History and Antiquities of Suffolk: The Hundred of Thingoe. fol. 1838. | } | By John Gage, Esq. |
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| Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica, Parts XVI.—XXII. 8vo. 1837-8. | } | By J. B. Nichols, Esq. |
| The Gentleman's Magazine, from January to December. 8vo. 1838. | | |
| The Numismatic Journal, No. VII. 8vo. 1838. | | J. Y. Akerman, Esq. |
| The Churches of London, Nos. XIII.—XXIII. 8vo. 1838. | } | By John Britton, Esq. |
| Some Account of Mont Orgueil Castle. 8vo. 1838. | | By Lieut.-Col. Oldfield. |
| A Silver Medal of Walgherton Female Friendly Society. | } | By John Twemlow, Esq. |

- Eleven Treatises on Subjects of Antiquity. 8vo. } By Cav. Giovan. Orti di
1833-36. } Manara.
- Table shewing the mean Temperature and mean
Height of the Barometer at St. John's, New- }
foundland, for three years and a half. } By Joseph Templeman, Esq.
- Defence of the Resolution for omitting Mr. Pa- }
nizzi's Bibliographical Notes from the Cata- }
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- Le Keux's Memorials of Cambridge, Nos. III. }
and IV. 4to. 1838. } By Thomas Wright, Esq.
- Samlede Afhandlingar af R. K. Rask. 8vo. 1836. }
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Northern Antiquaries.
- Descripção do Real Mosteiro de Belem. 8vo. }
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Castro e Sousa.
- Lettre sur le Temple de l'Ile de Gozo. 8vo. }
1836. } By the Chev. Albert de la }
Marmora.

1838.

- List of the Meetings of the Literary and Scien- }
tific Bodies of London, for 1837-8. } By Mr. A. Schloss.
- A descriptive Catalogue of the Medals struck }
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- Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great }
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- A coloured Engraving of the Altar Window in }
the Church of Hampton Lucy, co. Warwick. } By Thomas Willement, Esq.
- Three Catalogues,—of The Red Book of the }
Exchequer,—The Dodsworth Manuscripts,— }
and The Manuscripts in the Library of Lin- }
coln's Inn. 8vo. 1838. } By the Rev. J. Hunter.
- Suite des Études sur les Armes et Armures du }
Moyen-age, 8vo. } By Mons. C. N. Allou.

- Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians, } By John Murray, Esq.
3 vol. 8vo. 1837.
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- The History of Godmanchester. 8vo. By Robert Fox, Esq.
- A Supplement to the Catalogue of the Library } By S. W. Stevenson, Esq.
of John Holmes, Esq. 8vo. 1837.
- Two Portraits of the late Wm. Stevenson, Esq. }
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Read 18th April, 1839.

ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR 1838.

WE the Auditors appointed by the Society of Antiquaries of London on the 14th day of March 1839, to audit the Accounts of their Treasurer for the year ending the 31st day of December 1838, having examined the said Accounts, together with the Vouchers relating thereto, do find the same to be just and true; and we have prepared from the said Accounts the following Abstract of the Receipts and Disbursements, for the information of the Society; viz.

| | £. | s. | d. | £. | s. | d. |
|--|----|----|----|-----|----|----|
| Balance of last year's Account | | | | 611 | 16 | 3 |

RECEIPTS OF THE YEAR 1838.

| | | | | | | |
|---|-----|----|---|-------|---|---|
| By annual Subscriptions | 959 | 14 | 0 | | | |
| By Admissions of Members elected | 218 | 8 | 0 | | | |
| By dividend on stock 3 per Cent. Consols, due 5th July 1837 | 195 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| By Sale of Books and Prints | 69 | 16 | 6 | | | |
| By Stamp-duty on Bonds | 22 | 10 | 0 | | | |
| | | | | 1465 | 8 | 6 |
| By Compositions in lieu of annual Subscriptions | | | | 462 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | £2539 | 4 | 9 |

DISBURSEMENTS OF THE YEAR 1838.

| | £. | s. | d. | £. | s. | d. |
|--|-------|----|-----|-------|----|----|
| To Artists and in Publications by the Society | 661 | 10 | 4 | | | |
| For Taxes | 22 | 13 | 10½ | | | |
| For Salaries | 447 | 10 | 0 | | | |
| For Tradesmen's Bills, for House Expenses | 108 | 14 | 8 | | | |
| For Insurance | 22 | 11 | 0 | | | |
| For Anniversary Dinner | 24 | 8 | 0 | | | |
| For Postage, Parcels, Advertisements, and Petty Cash | 56 | 8 | 5½ | | | |
| For Collecting Subscriptions | 47 | 7 | 0 | | | |
| For Stamps for Bonds and Receipts | 27 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | <hr/> | | | 1418 | 3 | 4 |
| Balance in the hands of the Treasurer on the 1st day of January 1839 | | | | 1121 | 1 | 5 |
| | | | | <hr/> | | |
| | | | | £2539 | 4 | 9 |
| | | | | <hr/> | | |

Stock in the 3 per Cent. Consols, 6,500*l.* since increased to 7,000*l.* by the purchase of 500*l.* stock, replacing the amount sold out in 1834.

Witness our hands this 17th day of April 1839.

(Signed) BRAYBROOKE.
W. WHEWELL.
EDW. BLORE.
J. FORSHALL.

Read 9th April, 1840.

ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR 1839.

WE the Auditors appointed by the Society of Antiquaries of London on the 27th day of February 1840, to audit the Accounts of their Treasurer for the year ending the 31st day of December 1839, having examined the said Accounts, together with the Vouchers relating thereto, do find the same to be just and true; and we have prepared from the said Accounts the following Abstract of the Receipts and Disbursements, for the information of the Society; viz.

| | £. | s. | d. | £. | s. | d. |
|---|-------|----|----|-------|----|----|
| Balance of last year's Account | | | | 1121 | 1 | 5 |
| RECEIPTS OF THE YEAR 1839. | | | | | | |
| By annual Subscriptions | 936 | 12 | 0 | | | |
| By Admissions of Members elected | 235 | 4 | 0 | | | |
| By half year's dividend on £6,500 stock 3 per Cent. Consols, due 5th January 1839 | 97 | 10 | 0 | | | |
| By ditto on £7,000 stock 3 per Cent. Consols, due 5th July 1839 | 105 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| By Sale of Books and Prints | 85 | 14 | 2 | | | |
| By Stamp-duty on Bonds | 30 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | <hr/> | | | 1490 | 0 | 2 |
| By Compositions in lieu of annual Subscriptions | | | | 336 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | <hr/> | | |
| | | | | £2947 | 1 | 7 |
| | | | | <hr/> | | |

DISBURSEMENTS OF THE YEAR 1839.

| | £. | s. | d. | £. | s. | d. |
|--|-------|----|----|-------|----|----|
| To Artists and in Publications by the Society . . . | 734 | 5 | 8 | | | |
| For Taxes | 47 | 19 | 8 | | | |
| For Salaries | 447 | 10 | 0 | | | |
| For Tradesmen's Bills, for House Expenses . . . | 101 | 2 | 7 | | | |
| For Insurance | 22 | 11 | 0 | | | |
| For Anniversary Dinner | 27 | 3 | 0 | | | |
| For Postage, Parcels, Advertisements, and Petty Cash . | 65 | 2 | 10 | | | |
| For Collecting Subscriptions | 46 | 8 | 0 | | | |
| For Bond Stamps | 25 | 10 | 0 | | | |
| In purchase of £500 stock 3 per Cent. Consols . . | 463 | 15 | 0 | | | |
| | <hr/> | | | 1981 | 7 | 9 |
| Balance in the hands of the Treasurer on the 1st day of January 1840 | | | | 965 | 13 | 10 |
| | | | | <hr/> | | |
| | | | | £2947 | 1 | 7 |
| | | | | <hr/> | | |

Stock in the 3 per Cent. Consols £7,000.

Witness our hands this 7th day of April 1840.

(Signed) DE GREY.
 RICHARD WESTMACOTT.
 CHARLES FREDERICK BARNWELL.
 DECIMUS BURTON.

THE Treasurer reports that, by the expenses incurred in preparing for the press Layamon's Version of Wace's Chronicle, edited by Sir Frederick Madden, and also the Exeter Book under the superintendence of Mr. Thorpe (the former of these works being

now nearly ready for publication) the subscriptions raised in aid of the Society's Anglo-Saxon works have been exhausted. It has consequently been found necessary, under the sanction of the vote of the Society of the 17th of March 1831, to apply a portion of its funds towards making good the deficiency. The sums drawn from time to time from those funds for this purpose amount already to £522. 1s. 1d., which being deducted from the balance of £965. 13s. 10d. stated in the Auditor's Report, leaves but £443. 12s. 9d. in the hands of the Treasurer. The account will be laid before the Society, under the direction of the Anglo-Saxon Committee, as soon as the publication of Layamon is completed.

LONDON :
J. B. NICHOLS AND SON, PRINTERS,
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